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Edward A. Horton

THE ARENA.

No. LXXXV.

DECEMBER, 1896.

THE RELATION OF ART TO RELIGION.

BY WILLIAM ORDWAY PARTRIDGE.

Painting nor sculpture now can lull to rest
My soul, that turns to His great love on high,
Whose arms to clasp us on the cross were spread.
Michael Angelo's Sonnets.

One can best show the relation of art to religion by making it plain that there can be no great and enduring art without religion, and that art is essentially the handmaiden of all true religion.

Robertson once said, "What we want is not so much, not half so much light for the intellect, as dew upon the heart." And the love of art is like a rose leaf pressed against the world's scarred cheek. It is full of consolations for the desolate and the oppressed. It admits them to a world of ideal relationships, where the poorest may own all that he can see with beauty's eyes. It lifts man above the desire of material possession; it feeds his spiritual nature. There is somewhere a picture of an ideal female figure riding the tempest, and touching softly a lyre which is pressed to her side. The artist has called it "Stilling the Storm." He has attempted to depict the mission of art, which is indeed to still the storms of life, to dissipate doubt, and to keep man in tune with the celestial harmonies. The shadow of doubt cannot be dispersed always by intellectual effort, no matter how searching and exhaustive. But it is rarely that one appeals to the ministration of art without receiving divine consolations. Truly has Robertson understood it; it is dew laid upon the heart.

It is not only idle, but unreasonable, to claim that art can take the place of religion. It is unreasonable, because art is merely a manifestation of the divine, a completion, one

hidden world, and when he has once opened out its beauties to you, you may go from world to world, forever enjoying and forever finding something new to enjoy. What was once considered the abstraction of the poet, namely, that man is changed into the image of that which he looks upon, is now found to be scientifically true; and if we wish our children to have beautiful faces and beautiful lives, we must place before them only what is noble, lovely, and inspiring.

As long ago as Sappho the poets have sung that the good and the beautiful were one; and the love of beauty is impossible without the love of truth and the love of God.

There is in the study and the love of beautiful things a steady growth and progression without weariness and effort.

Art and religion have had many martyrs. Men have died for the truth in art as well as in religion. I have known such men, martyred because they would not sacrifice their high ideals to the demands of trade; because they would not belittle their vision to the money standard placed upon it by their contemporaries. But that time is passing away. Still we must not forget such men or fail to honor them. Lowell has remembered them fitly in his poem "Massaccio." He beautifully writes of this artist:

He came to Florence long ago,
And painted here these walls that shone
For Raphael and for Angelo,
With secrets deeper than his own;
Then shrank into the dark again,
And died, we know not how or when.
Thoughts that great hearts broke for, we
Breathe cheaply in the common air.

The art of to-day is to express the character and the feeling of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, — the dawn and the dream of humanity; the human and the Christian relation of man to his fellows, with the many colors, brilliant and sombre, which play about this relationship. If any of you have visited the Paestum, or stood upon the cliffs of Girgenti in southernmost Sicily, overlooking that wondrous expanse of sky and sea, and called up the people who constructed those Titanic temples outlasting time, you have felt that peculiar awe steal over you, and with it a sense of desolation not inspired by the ruins of column and pediment, but the result of a lack of a something the present heart demands, and which all true artists of this day are vaguely trying to produce. What is it? Can I formulate

it? Can I give it a better name than Henry Drummond, who calls it love? I fear not, though I may spin the definition out to greater length; but we shall see. I remember meeting Phillips Brooks after his trip around the world, and his speaking on this very subject, which was very dear to him, and saying in regard to the great West that it inspired feelings sublime, awful, but it lacked the all-comforting human interest, it had no human history. He meant that no man had adequately gathered up its mighty fragments and given them back to men in such terms of beauty that our world could appropriate it with satisfaction to the heart and soul, as well as to the understanding.

Beauty builds up the natural man. I have seen a poor shoemaker working all day like a slave at his bench, with a rose stuck in front of him upon a bit of wax, and singing away as blithely as a caged lark will sing, to one bit of sky revealed to him through the shop window.

Beauty enlarges human thought for those who have no time for the technical training of the eye and the brain. It opens out to us the love of eternity. A beautiful face is like a beautiful flower; it feeds our enthusiasm, stimulates human courage, and makes all things possible to man. Michael Angelo wrote:

The might of one fair face sublines my love.

Do I make this relationship of art to religion plain? I have attempted to show that art adds something to mere natural beauty. Indeed, Bacon defines its mission. "Art," he said, "is man added to nature." But while art completes and unifies nature, it is unjust and irreverent to attempt to place it on a level with religion. In the noblest statue ever executed, in the grandest fresco of Titian or Tintoretto, in the most consummate achievement of Rembrandt and Velasquez, indeed, in the very Parthenon and Pyramids, there is something less than in the lowliest human being that wanders about our city streets. He is divine in his own right, whereas the greatest art is but the reflection and the suggestion of this divinity. The greatest art product may be destroyed and lost forever, but it is not so with the divine element in man.

Art ministers to the serenity of the soul in danger and in sorrow, as well as in transporting joy. More than all else in this world does it reveal to man his fellow-man, in his archetypal completeness, the human and the divine. In the

crowded street of the metropolis, the lover of ideal beauty hears voices that fall sweetly upon the turmoil and the jar of the market place and make it holy ground. As Longfellow writes :

And in Thebes, the hundred-gated,
In the thoroughfare,
Breathing as if consecrated,
A diviner air ;
And amid discordant noises
Of the jostling throng,
Hearing far celestial voices
Of Olympian song.

Art breaks through the purely physical, and reveals to us the underlying principle of life, the eternal. One finds this in the "Transfiguration" of Raphael, or in the "Assumption of the Virgin" by Titian. These paintings represent moments in the lives of the artists when the light of truth broke in unobstructedly upon their souls.

Artists, as well as laymen, are inclined to be the victims of the "isms" and the mistakes of this age of invention. The safeguard lies always in throwing art back upon the thing it reflects, which is life,—and in purifying and simplifying that thing you purify and clarify the reflection. It does not take a great thinker to know, when he once puts his mind upon this subject, that a man's art can only be what he is himself; and when he has once made his mind up to this, he reduces all these vexed questions concerning art down to a very simple principle, and furnishes a safeguard for life as well as art. Shakespeare has well said: "Art holds the mirror up to nature." His art did this, therefore it was supremely great.

Let us take this question of art more seriously. It is not a thing to be put on and off like a garment; it is an atmosphere. Men and nations are known by their prevailing intention and thought.

How shall we know great art when we see it? In the most natural way, — by its uplifting power. Some one has said that there are no revelations to-day, and but very little inspiration. Whose fault is it? If our hearts and lives are tuned to the beauty that lies all about us, revelation will be as natural as breathing. But if our hearts and minds are filled with foreign influences, beauty finds place elsewhere.

When I see a work of art I always wish to trace it to its

fountain head, as one follows eagerly to its wellsprings some clear river, and never have I been disappointed in so doing. But not to be disappointed, you must take the trend of the artist's life, not the accident of a slip or a false step which the world is too apt to seize upon, overlooking the man's intentions and achievements. It would seem as if art's special vocation ought to be to make our cities and homes as beautiful as the country, so that we may find in them that order of rest which nature furnishes.

A thing of beauty is a joy forever.
Its loveliness increases; it can never
Pass into nothingness, but still will keep
A bower quiet for us, and a sleep
Full of sweet dreams, and health and quiet breathing.

Out of the depths of his great soul and experience Shakespeare spoke the following words :

Poor soul, the centre of my sinful earth,
Fooled by these rebel powers that thee array,
Why dost thou pine within, and suffer dearth
Painting thy outward walls so costly gay?
Why so large cost, having so short a lease,
Dost thou upon thy fading mansion spend?
Shall worms, inheritors of this excess,
Eat up thy charge? Is this thy body's end?
Then, soul, live thou upon thy servant's loss,
And let that pine to aggravate thy store;
Buy terms divine in selling hours of dross;
Within be fed, without be rich no more:
So shalt thou feed on Death, that feeds on men,
And, Death once dead, there's no more dying then.

These words of Shakespeare tally with those of Angelo, Dante, Milton, and the truly great artists of all time. It is only among the second-rate men, men of lower degree, that you find art taking the place of religion, — among the inspired, never! Let us have done with this idle and harmful talk about "art for art's sake." All great art is for God's sake and the uplifting of mankind. The greatest artist of this century, Millais, found the inspiration of his life and its consolation in the Bible. Phillips Brooks has well written that —

The application of moral standards to history, to art, and to pure letters must be learned and taught. The isolation of the artistic impulse from all moral judgments and purposes must be restrained and remedied. The whole thought of art must be enlarged and mellowed till it develops a relation to the spiritual and moral natures as well as to the senses of mankind.

Working along these lines, America must produce an art

second to no other ; but if we are driven by thoughtless critics or material and sensual living from the clean and simple faith of the masters, from a humble and childlike dependence upon almighty God, our art products will be unworthy to endure and be forgotten among the wastes of time, as are the gaudy and brilliant products of Sidon and Tyre.

THE TELEGRAPH MONOPOLY.

BY PROF. FRANK PARSONS.

X.

§ 5. *The experience of England* constitutes a most powerful argument for public ownership of the telegraph. Up to 1870 the telegraph business in Great Britain was in the hands of private companies, and for many years complaints had been made of excessive charges, poor service, and inadequate facilities.¹ The companies pretended to compete, but in reality had an understanding among themselves which prevented the reduction of rates to a just figure. They were satisfied to keep the tariff up and allow each company to obtain such share of the business as its territory and facilities commanded. And when in 1861 the United Kingdom Company was established for the purpose of reducing the rate to 1s. irrespective of distance, it encountered such formidable opposition from the combination among the old companies that it was forced to abandon its attempt and swing into line.²

In 1869 the tariff charged by the United Kingdom Company as well as by the older Electric, International, British and Irish Magnetic Companies was:

1s.	(24 cents) for 20 words up to 100 miles.
1s. 6d.	(36 cents) for 20 words up to 200 miles.
2s.	(48 cents) for 20 words beyond 200 miles.
3s. to 6s.	for messages to Ireland.

In many instances these rates, high as they were, did not cover the whole transmission of a telegram. They only applied to the wires of a single company, and when a message had to be transmitted over the systems of two or more companies, an additional charge, frequently of considerable amount, was levied.³

¹ The first line was built, according to some authorities, in 1839, according to others, in 1843, and still others say 1846. By 1854 there were numerous complaints of error, extortion, and inadequacy, and Thomas Allan set the people to thinking about the advisability of public ownership. Similar complaints and proposals were made at short intervals until the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce took the matter up in 1865 and started an agitation which with the aid of Mr. Scudamore's knowledge and Mr. Gladstone's political strength secured the needful legislation in 1868-9.

² Papers on Electric Telegraph. Eng. 1868, pp. 53, 55, 202. Ency. Brit., P. O., sub-head Postal Telegraphs.

³ Quoted from the 41st Report of the Eng. P. M. Gen'l, Arnold Morley, 1895, p. 83, arranging the rates in tabular form for reader comparison. Besides the companies

These rates were scandalously high, and yet our own people at the time in question (1869) were frequently compelled to pay from five to six times as much for the same distance and the same number of words.⁴

In 1865 the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce called the attention of Lord Stanley, the Postmaster-General, to the telegraph question, showing that the rates were unreasonably high, the transmission unsatisfactory because of delays and inaccuracies, the treatment of the press unfair, and many towns and districts wholly unprovided for. The Edinburgh committee gave careful consideration to three different remedial measures: (1) a regulated amalgamation of existing companies; (2) the establishment of entire free trade in public telegraphy; (3) the transfer of the service to the post office. Its conclusion was in favor of the last, but it agreed to recommend the appointment of a royal commission of inquiry prior to legislation.

Lord Stanley appointed Frank Ives Scudamore to "inquire whether the telegraph might be beneficially worked by the post office." Mr. Scudamore was a man of the highest character, thoroughly impartial, and of very fine ability. He made a scientific study of the abuses of the existing service in England, the condition of the service in other countries, the benefits likely to result from a postal system, and the difficulties and disadvantages that might attach to it. The result was that he came to believe in the postal telegraph, and in 1866 made his report, a very able paper, conclusively showing the advantages of the proposed plan. In 1868 he made a supplementary report to Lord Stanley's successor, the Earl of Montrose, who transmitted it to the House of Lords with a communication of which the following is a part:

In the enclosed report, and that which preceded it, frequent reference is made to the manner in which the telegraph systems of Belgium and Switzerland have been framed and maintained by the post offices of those countries. The example of the colony of Victoria might, however, have been cited with equal propriety; for in that colony the telegraph has long been worked by the post office, and with such success that although the charges for transmission are high, the proportion of telegrams to letters is as high as in Belgium. There is indeed nothing new in the

mentioned there were the London and Provincial, the Universal Private, and a few other small companies. There was nominally a "local" rate of 6d. in London and some other large towns, but its scope was so restricted that it only applied to about 2 per cent of the total number of telegrams.

⁴H. Rep. 114, p. 6, where a table of rates from Washington in 1869 shows that 50 cents would do as much on the English lines as \$2.70 to \$3 would do in many cases on our own lines.

proposed scheme. Of its various parts each has been tried, and tried with success, either in Belgium, in Switzerland, in France, or in a British colony; and taking into account the greater wealth and commercial activity of the United Kingdom, I see no reason to doubt that the scheme, as a whole, will be equally successful here.

Your lordships will readily perceive that such a system, besides facilitating social intercourse, strengthening and multiplying the relations between the inhabitants of different districts, and stimulating the growth of trade and commerce, will also strengthen the country from hostility from without, and aid in the maintaining of law and order within the kingdom.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer in moving for leave to introduce the bill said :

It would be admitted as a general principle that the monopoly that had succeeded so well in regard to the conveyance of letters might be expected to succeed equally as well in a more rapid method of communication. I am not aware of any objection to monopoly in one case that would not hold good in the other. This country is behind others in the matter of telegraphic communication. The proportion of telegrams to letters is far less in this country than in Belgium or Switzerland. In 1866 the proportions were in Belgium 1 to 37; in Switzerland, 1 to 69; in Great Britain 1 to 121.⁵

These figures show that we are suffering from high rates for telegraphic communication, and inadequate facilities. If we were equally favored in the matter of charges, etc., the probability is that the proportion of telegrams would be largely increased. Our present system does not give satisfaction to the commercial world. A deputation from the Associated Chambers of Commerce waited upon the Postmaster-General and myself at the treasury to present a memorial on this subject. They complained of high rates, vexatious delays, inaccurate rendering of messages, and the absence of telegraphic communication in whole districts. Under the present system of private administration there is little prospect of fair reduction in rates. The cost of working the telegraph system is greater than it would be in the hands of the State. If telegraphing were made the monopoly of the post office it would be able to work at much lower rates than the companies.

After speaking of the extortionate charges of the private companies in the paragraph already quoted, Postmaster-General Morley continues thus :

Not only were the charges high, but the systems were incomplete. It was in the nature of things that companies whose aim was to secure a profit for their shareholders should restrict their operations as far as possible to the principal towns. In the absence of an obligation to work the telegraphs as a national undertaking, they naturally refrained from extensions to the smaller towns and villages, or to districts remote from the chief centres of population, which could not be expected to yield a remunerative business. Thus several towns in England and Wales with from 3,000 to 6,000 inhabitants were without any telegraph facilities, being situated at distances of from 5 to 10 miles from the nearest telegraph station. Where such towns were provided with telegraphic communication, the office was, as a rule, situated at the railway station, frequently at an inconvenient distance from the centre of the town. The

⁵ Now that Great Britain has a National Telegraph the proportions are 1 to 23, 1 to 30, and 1 to 30 respectively.

telegraphs were originally confined to the railways, and to a large extent this system prevailed up to the time of the transfer. It was only in the large towns that "town offices" had been opened, and these offices were neither numerous nor suitably distributed.*

In the large towns the telegraph offices were not well distributed. The offices of three or four companies were apt to be clustered together in the business centre of the city, sometimes only a few yards distant from each other, while the suburbs and outlying districts were almost wholly neglected. When the inquiry of 1865 was instituted the total number of places supplied with telegraphic communication by all the companies together was about 1000, while the number of places having postal communication at the same date was 10,685.

Postmaster-General Morley says, p. 34 :

It was a natural result of these conditions that the use of the telegraph was confined to a comparatively small section of the population. The companies themselves stated that their wires were chiefly used by "stock brokers, mining agents, ship brokers, colonial brokers, racing and betting men, fishmongers, fruit merchants, and others engaged in business of a speculative character, or who deal in articles of a perishable nature."

The situation is thus graphically described by Mr. Scudamore :

By maintaining high charges as long as they could, by reducing those charges inch by inch as it were, and only under pressure, by the confinement of their operations to important towns, and by planting their offices mainly in the business centres of those towns, the telegraph companies had brought speculative men, and speculative men only, to a free use of the telegraph. Whoever could make money on a turn of the market, whoever could advantageously place a few pounds when "Bumblebee" went below "Dulcibella" in the betting, whoever had it at heart to let Thames Street know that there was a large take of herrings at Wick, rushed cheerfully to the telegraph office, and would have submitted to any inconvenience, and paid any charge, to get his message through in time. But the general public, puzzled by a variable and complex tariff and disheartened by the distance of the telegraph offices from their doors, had got to regard the telegraph as a medium of communication which they might use in times of sore necessity, and then only, and to look upon a telegraph message with a feeling amounting to fear.

The parallel between the English telegraph before 1870 and our own system to-day is very striking — we have in an aggravated form all the evils the English reformers complained of, and several additional ones of our own — boundless dilution of stock, enormous profits, telegraphic millionnaires, monopoly of market reports, systematic ill treatment

* 41st Rep. Eng. P. M. Gen'l, p. 33.

of employees, etc. England had abundant reason for revolt; America has still greater reason.

The press of Great Britain, as we have seen, demanded a government telegraph, and persisted in discussing the subject in spite of the threatened stoppage of their despatches.

During the years 1865 to 1868 the agitation was taken up by mercantile associations all over the kingdom, and finally the Chambers of Commerce of thirty prominent cities memorialized the House of Commons, and sent a deputation to confer with the Postmaster-General. The memorial stated that the petitioners "had reason to complain of the high rates charged by existing companies for the transmission of messages, of frequent and vexatious delays in their delivery, of their inaccurate rendering, and of the fact that many important towns and even whole districts are unsupplied with the means of telegraphic communication."⁷

The House of Commons referred the memorial to a "select committee on the telegraph bill," and this committee made a very lengthy investigation of the whole subject. A great number of witnesses both friendly and unfriendly to the proposed legislation were called and examined, among them Mr. Scudamore, who most ably advocated a national telegraph system and successfully met all objections. He advocated the union of the telegraph and postal services, the reduction of rates, the extension of facilities to the whole population, the improvement of the service by keeping the offices open longer and making better arrangements for rapid transmission and delivery, the provision for an effective "free trade" in the collection of news for the press (of which collection the old telegraph companies had possessed a virtual monopoly), the severance of domestic and commercial telegraphy from the railway service, and provision for the transmission of money orders by telegraph.⁸ He pointed to the amalgamation of the telegraph and the post office in Belgium, Switzerland, France, Victoria, New South Wales, etc.; the establishment of places of deposit for messages in addition to the places of transmission as in Belgium; the use of telegraphic stamps in Belgium and France; the telegraphic money-order offices of Switzerland and Prussia; and called attention to the low rates, general use, great economy, efficient service, and universal satisfaction afforded by the government telegraphs in

⁷ See account of the memorial in H. Rep. 114, pp. 6-8.

⁸ See Scudamore's Supplementary Report, p. 142.

the countries named. He disclaimed originality in respect to any portion of the plan he proposed, showing that every part of it was already in successful operation in other countries.⁹

The telegraph companies used every effort to prevent and impede the reform. The objections they raised were :

1. It was not the government's business to telegraph.
2. There would be a loss if it did.
3. The telegraph would be better conducted under private enterprise.
4. The government rates would be higher.
5. And the use of the telegraph would decrease.
6. The government service would be non-progressive — no stimulus to invention, etc.
7. The secrecy of messages would be violated.
8. The telegraph would be used as a party machine.
9. The government could not be sued.
10. To establish a public telegraph would be an arbitrary and unjust interference with private interests. The companies had risked their capital in the new enterprise, and just as they were about to get their reward the government was going to take the business away from them, — private enterprise experimented and the people wanted to steal the fruit.

These objections are very familiar. Our monopolists know them by heart, and use them over and over, taking no notice of the answers to them no matter how many times they are refuted. It is easy to answer them *a priori*, and the overwhelming demonstration of their falsity by the actual experience of England ought to have buried them forever beyond the possibility of disinterment.

1. It is the government's business to transmit intelligence, and that business includes the use of the telegraph and all other appropriate means of transmission.

2. If rates remained the same, an increase of profit instead of a loss was to be expected by reason of the economies that would result from a united telegraph in combination with the postal service. The people could keep rates up and realize a large profit, or put rates down, thereby increasing the usefulness of the telegraph, and taking their profit in the form of more and better service for the same money. They did the latter, and as a matter of fact they have saved, at the lowest estimate, 150 millions of dollars in 25 years — the telegraphing they have done would have cost them at least 150 millions more than it has cost, including expenses of operation, extensions, repairs, interest on the capital, water purchase and all.

⁹ Minutes of Evid. taken by Commons committee.

3. It stands to reason that a servant appointed and paid by himself, and whose avowed interest and effort are to line his own pocket with the utmost possible "giltiness" consistent with his personal safety, — it stands to reason that such a servant will not conduct your telegraph or any other business of yours as well as you can do it yourself, or have it done by your own agent. As a matter of fact the public telegraph service turned out to be vastly superior to the private telegraph service according to the universal verdict of the English people.

4. It was reasonable to expect that the government rates would be lower, because the government would work at cost, and would moreover secure an absolute economy relatively to private corporations in the conduct of the telegraph. In fact the rates dropped at once $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{2}{3}$, average $\frac{1}{2}$, and afterward the ordinary inland rate was again reduced almost $\frac{1}{2}$.

5. The use of the telegraph doubled the first year.

6. The government service has adopted new inventions, and shown a progressive spirit in respect to employees, as well as the service of the public.

7. There has been no complaint of violation of secrecy.

8. Nor the least suspicion of partisan use.

9. The government can be sued and is sued. Claims against the government are tried judicially the same as other claims.

10. Interference with private interests to accomplish a public good is not arbitrary and unjust, it is the very essence of justice and good government. The private interests of gamblers, saloon-keepers, opium-sellers, ship-owners, house-builders, powder-makers, bone-grinders, grain-elevator men, etc. — private interests both good and bad — are interfered with for the sake of the public welfare. Telegraph interests form no exception. The companies had already received large returns on their investment, and would receive full compensation for their capital when the public took their plant — more than full compensation as it turned out.

The companies themselves knew enough to understand that all their pleas from one to nine were nonsense, — mere scarecrows to frighten ignorant timidity. It is possible they might have put some faith in the tenth point.

Men who have long enjoyed the privilege of putting their hands in their neighbors' pockets may really regard an interference with their time-honored custom as arbitrary and unjust.

Kings and emperors have not been noted for recognizing the wisdom and justice of democracy. No matter how arbitrary and unjust a despotism may be, it will hurl the whole of ethics at anyone who brings a suit of ejectment against it.

The merchants, the press, and the people generally were not deceived by the outcry raised by the companies and a few conservatives who, not being able to distinguish between proper and improper extension of government functions, were fearful of any enlargement of public activities. The people knew, without reading the refutations of learned men, that the companies' pleas from one to ten were lies and sophistries, that their only real objection was the loss of an opportunity for unjust profits (profits far larger than could be expected from the same capital in any fair field of investment), and that private profits and private interests must yield to the public good even when those interests and profits are just and right, much more when they are in themselves a menace to the commonwealth. It was clear that a postal telegraph would serve the people better and at less cost than a private telegraph, and therefore a postal telegraph must be established.

In 1868, as we have said, the Chambers of Commerce petitioned the Commons, charging the existing telegraph system with extortion, error, and inadequacy. Mr. Scudamore's reports and the committee's investigations gave overwhelming evidence of the truth of the charge and of the advantages of a national system. The press urged a change. The liberal leader, Mr. Gladstone, then as always anxious for the public weal and for that alone, took up the measure, bore down the opposition of the companies, and secured the passage of a law (July 31, 1868) enabling the Postmaster-General to purchase the whole, or any part he thought fit, of any existing telegraph property. And in 1869 another act was passed giving the post office the exclusive control of the telegraph business.

On the 29th of January, 1870, all the telegraphs in the kingdom became an integral part of the post office. The government bought from the companies 77,000 miles of wire with equipment for \$32,108,214, or \$416 a mile. The lines had cost the companies only \$11,000,000, and were really worth at the time of the transfer not more than \$8,000,000.¹⁰ This was England's mistake. She paid at least four times

¹⁰ Bronson C. Keeler in the *Forum*, Vol. IX, p. 457. The 41st Rep. of the Eng. P. M. Gen'l, p. 37, gives in round numbers £8,000,000 as the payment for existing lines and £2,130,000 for immediate extensions.

the value of the lines, probably more — the French government put up 68,000 miles of wire with equipment for \$65 to \$66 a mile.¹¹ When the acts of 1868–9 were passed in spite of all the companies could do, they determined at least to make the transfer as difficult and costly as possible. It was easy to raise the value of stock in contemplation of a government purchase, — such a rise would be apt to take place to some extent even without manipulation. In some cases shares that were selling for \$125 in 1866–7 realized the holders \$400 when the lines were sold to the government. The shares of another company rose from \$132 in November, 1867, to \$255 at the time of the government purchase. In another company the shares rose from \$30 to \$133.¹² And yet the companies did not always get what they asked by any means. The Northeastern Railway Company claimed £540,292 in compensation for its telegraph department besides a large sum for interest; it was awarded in all £168,696. The Metropolitan Railway Company claimed in all £433,000 and were awarded £51,907. These two instances out of more than twenty suffice to show the extent to which the fraudulent greed of the companies would have bled the country if it had had its way unchecked.¹³

The government's first move was the rapid extension of the lines into districts hitherto unprovided with telegraph facilities, and the reduction of the tariff to the uniform rate of 1s. for 20 words social or commercial, and 75 words press by day, 100 words by night, all irrespective of distance, a reduction estimated at one-third to one-half.¹⁴

The result was a vast and immediate increase in the popular use of the telegraph. Social messages and newspaper traffic developed enormously. The telegraph became something more than an aid to speculation, and began to be of use to the *people*. The government continued year by year to improve the means of communication, and in 1885 the tariff

¹¹ Keeler; H. Rep. 114, p. 88; Sen. Rep. 18.

¹² H. Rep. 114, p. 36. B. C. Keeler in *Forum*, Vol. IX, p. 450. Wanamaker's Arg. p. 130.

¹³ Twenty-fifth Rep. of Eng. P. M. Gen'l, 1879, p. 21.

¹⁴ Considering ordinary inland messages (not including press despatches) Mr. Scudamore calculated that the average rate was reduced from 36 cents to 26 cents or about one-third. (Ex. Doc., 1871–2, P. M. Gen'l Creswell's Rep., Nov. 18, 1871, p. xxvi, citing Mr. Scudamore's figures.) Taking the entire business into account, Mr. Price and our Senate committee, 1874, say that the average rate was reduced about one-half. (Sen. Rep. 242, 43–1, p. 9; "Postal Telegraphy," by J. A. Price, November, 1882.)

was further reduced to 12 cents for 12 words and 1 cent for each additional word. The address, however, which up to 1885 had been free, had now to be counted and paid for. Concerning this change Postmaster-General Morley says :

The reduction of the tariff in 1885 opened a new era. A comparison of the old tariff of 1s. for 20 words with 3d. for each additional group of five words and the new tariff of 6d. for 12 words with 1½d. for each additional word is complicated by the fact that the free addresses allowed under the former tariff were abolished under the latter. But the point that can be clearly seen is that, whereas it had been impossible to send a telegram, however short, at a less charge than 1s., a telegram of 12 words could now be sent for 6d. The fact that addresses were now charged for did not prevent the senders of telegrams from so reducing the number of chargeable words as to obtain the full benefit of the lower tariff. The actual length of the telegrams was largely curtailed, especially in the addresses; and economy was effected through the operation of certain new rules, one of which prescribed that figures, formerly chargeable each as a single word, should be counted at the rate of five figures to a word. In the result a large proportion of the total number of telegrams was brought within the minimum charge of 6d., while the average charge, which had been 1s. 1d. in 1885, was reduced to about 8d. in 1886, and has since fallen below 7¼d. Under the reduced tariff, telegraph business again received a powerful stimulus. The charge was so low as to popularize the telegraph service still further, and to render it available for purposes for which it had not hitherto been used. In particular, it became adapted to the requirements of local traffic; and in London the local telegrams were more than doubled in about two years, having risen from about 1,800,000 in 1884-85 to 3,800,000 in 1886-87.¹⁵

No class or interest was more benefited by the change than the press. The comparison between the year before and the year after the transfer is clearly and concisely stated by Postmaster-General Creswell in his report for 1871 :

The companies before the transfer sent news to 306 subscribers in 144 towns only in the United Kingdom; the postal telegraph sent news to 1,106 subscribers in 365 towns. The companies sent news to 173 newspapers only; the postal telegraph sent news to 467 newspapers, showing an increase of 221 in the number of towns to which news was sent, an increase of 800 in the total number of subscribers for news, and an increase of 294 in the number of newspapers taking news. There was, moreover, a vast increase in the quantity of news transmitted. The companies sent, during the session of Parliament, nearly 6,000 words of news daily; during the remainder of the year they sent nearly 4,000 words daily. The postal telegraph sent, during the session of Parliament, in behalf of the news associations, nearly 20,000 words of news daily; and during the remainder of the year nearly 15,000 words daily. The postal telegraph also transmitted 15,000 to 20,000 words daily for the ordinary newspaper correspondents; and seven newspapers rented special wires during the night at the uniform rate of £500, instead of rates ranging from £750 to £1,000, as before.¹⁶

Postmaster-General Morley speaks of the press service as follows :

¹⁵ Forty-first Rep. Eng. P. M. Gen'l, 1886, p. 35.

¹⁶ Ex. Doc., 1871-2. P. M. Gen'l's Rep. Nov. 18, 1871, pp. xxvi, xxvii.

The charge specified in the Telegraph Act of 1868 for press telegrams is 1s. for 75 words during the day, or for 100 words at night. But a proviso was added that for copies the charge was to be only 2d. per 75 or 100 words, and no condition was laid down as to the copy being for the same town as the original. The newspapers accordingly combined to receive from the news associations, messages in identical terms, and by dividing the cost they are enabled to get the benefit of a rate which comes nearer 2d. than 1s., the average charge being, in fact, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. per 100 words.¹⁷

And again :

The tariff for press telegrams in this country, working out as it does, on the average, at about $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. per 100 words, is the lowest in the world, and the amount of work performed for the press is without a parallel in any other country. Although the press telegrams, 5,400,000 in number, are included in the total of 71,589,000, no allowance is made for their exceptional length. Being of an average length of about 120 words, they contain an aggregate of about 650,000,000 words as compared with an aggregate of about 970,000,000 in all other telegrams. It is a striking fact that the words dealt with for the press form no less than two-fifths of the total number of words.¹⁸

The wonderful growth of the English system since 1869 is shown in the following table : ¹⁹

TABLE I.

	1869	1870	1871	1879-80	1894-5
No. of offices . . .	2,488	<u>3,000</u>	5,000	5,331	<u>10,000</u>
Miles line . . .	5,601	<u>15,000</u>	22,000	23,156	35,000
Miles wire . . .	48,990	60,000	83,000	110,861	215,000
Instruments . . .	2,300	<u>4,000</u>	6,000	12,000	26,000
Messages . . .	6,500,000	<u>10,000,000</u>	12,500,000	26,547,000	71,589,000

Note the great extension of lines and the increase of offices and instruments in the very first year of public ownership.

Even before it took charge of the traffic the government built many new lines, and put up a great deal of wire in order that it might so far as possible offer the people reasonable facilities at the very start. The statistics as to offices

¹⁷ 41st Rep. Eng. P. M. Gen'l, 1895, p. 37.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 35-6. For the composition of the 71,589,000 messages in detail, see note 17, Part IX of this discussion.

¹⁹ The facts will be found in the 41st Report of the Eng. P. M. Gen'l, pp. 34, 36; the report of Hon. Henry Fawcett, Aug. 14, 1880; the Report of the Exec. Com. of the Nat'l Board of Trade, Nov. 15, 1882; "Postal Telegraphy," by J. A. Price; P. M. Gen'l Creswell's Rep. for 1871; Report of Select Com. on Telegraphs, 1876 (Commons Session Papers, No. 357).

do not fully disclose the difference between the two systems, for, as we have seen, in many places the offices of several different companies were clustered together within a few rods of each other, while each office of the postal telegraph was in the centre of a distinct locality.²⁰ Moreover, the post offices and post boxes are used as places of deposit, for telegrams, stamped like letters for transmission at uniform rates. The number of contacts of each hundred persons with the postal facilities is very much greater than with the telegraph offices, especially when they are chiefly located in railway stations as was the case before the transfer. The number of times per month that the average citizen goes to the post office or passes near it or a post box is vastly greater than the number of times he goes to a railway station or passes near it. Referring to English progress in the middle of the postal year 1870-1, Senate Document 79 says:

Since the purchase 1,807 old offices have been continued in operation and 2,133 new offices opened. *Ninety-one per cent of the telegrams pass through the new offices because they are easier of access and more conveniently located.*²¹

The number of messages per annum nearly doubled within two years after the change, and the volume of business transmitted, the words sent over the lines, came near doubling the very first year after the transfer.²² The actual amount of work done by the telegraph, the number of word-miles, in all probability more than doubled the first year after the transfer.²³

The percentage of growth in the business of the British

²⁰ 41st Rep. of Eng. P. O., p. 34.

²¹ Sen. Mss. No. 79, 42-3, p. 5.

²² This was due partly to the large increase in the number of messages, partly to the increased length of messages resulting from lower rates, and partly to the enormous increase of press work. (See Creswell's Rep. 1871, above quoted.) The data indicate about 2,000,000 words of press in 1869, and 12,000,000 words in 1870, — a tremendous growth which has continued to the present time, the words of press handled by the telegraph in the year 1894-5 being 650,000,000. (41st Rep. of Eng. Postmaster-Gen'l, p. 36.) The U. S. Consular Report of 1895, cited in Sen. Doc. 205, 54-1, p. 49, places the press work of 1870 at 22,000,000 words, but this does not agree with the data of reports made at the time so far as counsel have been able to inspect them.

²³ The transmission of one word one mile constitutes a word-mile, which we think might be used as the unit of telegraph work, just as a car-mile is the unit of railroad work. It would be more scientifically correct perhaps to take a letter-mile as the unit, since words vary so much in length; but so minute a unit would prove burdensome in practice, and in comparing any considerable volumes of business the *average* length of a word will be found to be so nearly a constant quantity that the word measure will give very satisfactory results. The number of word-miles may be found by multiplying the number of words transmitted by the average distance of transmission in miles; or by multiplying together the number of messages, the average number of

telegraph during the first year of public ownership was four times greater than the largest growth ever made in one year by the American system according to the figures published by the Western Union. The growth of the British telegraph from 1869 to 1895 is double the growth of the American telegraph in the same time, the business of England being now about eleven fold the business of 1869, while the business here is only 5½ times our business in 1869,—a contrast which is greatly intensified by the fact that our population has increased about three times as fast as Great Britain's, so that relatively to the population the English public telegraph has grown six times as fast as our private telegraph. The following table shows the facts,—the year 1889 being taken instead of 1895 because the census affords precise data as to our population for that year: ²⁴

TABLE II.

	Population in Millions			Messages in Millions		
	1869	1889	Increase	1869	1889	Increase
Great Britain	31.	37.8	22 %	6.5	62.4	860 %
United States	38.5	62.4	63 %	13.	37.	340 %

The reader will note that the percentage of increase in population here is nearly three times the English increase, while the percentage of increase in the English telegraph is more than two and a half times the telegraph increase here;

words to a message, and the average transmission in miles; or by multiplying the words of each message by the distance it is transmitted and adding the products. The number of words transmitted in 1889 appears to have been about 175 millions, and in 1870, 300 millions, within 16 per cent of doubling the quantity of words; and as the average distance of transmission was considerably greater in 1870 by reason of the large extension of lines across more thinly peopled districts, there seems no room to doubt that the actual business done by the telegraph of 1870 was more than double the business of 1869.

²⁴The number of messages sent on all the lines in the United States in 1889 is taken from Western Union statements and testimony by the Washburn committee in 1870 (H. Rep. 114, pp. 21, 22, 37, 40, 125, 129), and the testimony of Gardiner G. Hubbard (*Ibid.* p. 150). The committee's own estimate was higher. We have taken the lowest figure that will accord with any of the statements made at the time so as to give our telegraph every possible advantage in the comparison. The number of messages sent on all our lines in 1869 is taken from Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics. The population of Great Britain is stated on the same authority. The population of the United States is from the census returns, and the message statistics of Great Britain are from the 41st Rep. of the Eng. P. M. Gen'l. See further, "Postal Telegraphy," by J. A. Price; Rep. of Nat. Bd. Trade, Nov. 15, 1882; Hon. Henry Fawcett's Rep., Aug. 14, 1880.

wherefore the English telegraph has grown more than 6 times as rapidly as ours relatively to the population. In 1869 there was about 1 message to 5 persons in England, and 1 to 3 persons in the United States, — our telegraph was considerably ahead of the English telegraph when both were in private hands, but when the English system became public it speedily came up with ours, passed it and left it far in the rear, and now the messages are nearly 2 to each person in Great Britain and less than 1 to each person here.

On the other hand the postal service, which is public in both countries, has developed much more rapidly in this country than in Great Britain. Starting centuries after the English post, our system has overtaken it and passed it.²⁵

Aside from interest on the telegraph debt (which was a mistake we do not need to imitate) the English telegraph has paid all expenses (operation, repairs, extensions, etc.) from January, 1870, to July, 1895, and given the country a profit of more than 8½ millions — the profit above operating expenses alone being over 25 millions.²⁶ The postal service as a whole turned into the treasury last year more than 14 millions of dollars net — enough to pay interest on the aforesaid debt and all cost of new construction and still leave a clear profit of about 12 millions.

²⁵ For 1892 the total correspondence according to official international statistics stood 76.8 *per capita* in the U. S., and 71.3 in Great Britain. (41st Rep. Eng. P. M. Gen'l, p. 3.) For 1894-5 the figure was 74 for G. B., and about 77 for the United States. The number of letters and postal cards dealt with by our post office is about one-fifth less *per capita* in the United States than in Great Britain. (Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics, p. 457; 41st Rep. of Eng. P. M. Gen'l, pp. 2, 40; Rep. of P. M. Gen'l of U. S., 1894, p. 33.) But the total use made of the post office is greater with us than in Great Britain. The beginning of the government postal service in Great Britain goes back to the 13th century. Mounted messengers in royal livery carried government despatches. The period at which these public messengers began the systematic carriage of private letters is variously stated as the 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries. That it was at least not later than the 15th century seems to be proved by private letters still existing and bearing indorsements showing that they were conveyed by relays of men and horses under government control. Sir Brian Tuke (1533) is the first postmaster whose name has come down to us. James I greatly improved the service, and in 1607 made James Stanhope postmaster-general of England. In America the first notice we have of the post office is in the records of the General Court of Massachusetts in 1639. In Virginia the colonial law of 1657 required every planter to provide a messenger to convey despatches as they arrived to the next plantation, the forfeit in case of failure being a hogshead of tobacco. In 1673 the government of New York established "a post to goe monthly from New York to Boston." The office of postmaster-general of America was created in 1692, and Franklin became the acting postmaster-general in 1753.

²⁶ 41st Report of Eng. Postmaster-Gen'l, p. 10, etc., and Mr. Morley's returns to the Commons for 1895. See Part I, note 12.

The success of the English system has been achieved under considerable difficulties. While the change of tariff in 1885 reduced the average amount received for a telegram from 1*s.* 1*d.* to 7½*d.*, a large addition was made to the main element of cost, namely, the pay of the staff. The proportion of the amount expended in salaries and wages to the total telegraph expenditure, which, in 1881, before the revision of Mr. Fawcett, stood at about 55 per cent, has since risen to about 65 per cent.²⁷ From 1870 to 1895 the proportion of wages to receipts rose from 39 per cent to more than 72 per cent.²⁸ Since 1881 the hours of labor have been reduced from 56 per week to 48 day and 42 night, and all Sunday work is paid for as overtime.²⁹ Besides this, allowances for good conduct have been introduced, and the workers have pension rights, full pay during absence on sick leave (instead of half-pay as formerly), vacations of two to four weeks on full pay, medical attendance free, etc.³⁰

In addition to all this the department loses about \$1,500,000 a year on press messages which are carried somewhat below cost.³¹ The country makes the newspapers a present every year of a sum that is more than sufficient to pay the interest on the telegraph debt.

Finally "the post office has had to contend with an increasing competition on the part of the telephone companies, who have chiefly competed in that class of business, the local traffic, which afforded, under the new tariff, the greatest promise of growth. It is stated by the National Telephone Company that the volume of their business is equivalent to 280,000,000 messages of an average length of 100 words each. A good proportion of this vast business would undoubtedly, in the absence of the telephone, have been transacted by the post office."³² Yes, and if Great Britain had not dozed off again after she captured the telegraph, but had kept awake and made the telephone service a

²⁷ 41st Rep. of Eng. P. M. Gen'l, p. 37.

²⁸ Mr. Morley's returns to the Commons, Feb. 11, 1896.

²⁹ 41st Rep. Eng. P. M. Gen'l, p. 11. Counsel has not been able to ascertain with precision the hours under the old *régime* of private telegraphy, but from the best information attainable it appears that on the average they were not less than 75 to 80 per week — it is likely they were more rather than less except in a few of the largest offices.

³⁰ 41st Rep. of Eng. P. M. Gen'l, pp. 7, 11.

³¹ *Ibid.* p. 37.

³² *Ibid.* p. 38.

part of the post-office work as it ought to be, — if Great Britain had done that the *whole* of the 28 billion word business would have come to the post office and a great deal more with it, for the low rates of public service would have enormously increased the business in the case of the telephone just as they did in the case of the telegraph.³³

The difference between public and private enterprise is strikingly shown in the statement made in 1876 by a committee of the Commons that the superintending and managing staffs of the post office in 1876 comprised 590 persons as against 534 persons on the staffs of the private telegraph companies of 1867, although the telegraph system of 1876 was more than three times the bulk of the system in 1867, and the messages were over 20 millions as against less than 6 millions in 1867,³⁴ — nearly a two-thirds saving in the item of superintendence, and more than two-thirds in the money paid out for superintendence, since the salaries of public managers are much more modest than those which the managers of private corporations vote themselves.

The economy to the public in the cost of transmission

³³ When the government took the telegraph the telephone was not in use. In 1880 several telephone companies began business in England. The Postmaster-General at once brought suit on the ground that the telegraph acts gave the government a monopoly of all improvements in telegraph communication, and in the same year the case was brought before the Exchequer Division, and decided December, 1880, in favor of the government. The Postmaster-General, however, allowed the companies to continue their business on condition of paying a small royalty (10%), and numerous licenses have been since granted, so that telephonic communication has been substantially left to private companies, with the result that they have absorbed an enormous business and a vast revenue which might have been gained by the people, and really belonged to them under the acts of 1868 and 1869. (27th Rep. of Eng. P. M. Gen'l, p. 5; 28th Rep., pp. 5, 6; Law Journal Reports, January, 1881.) England has shown a disposition to mend her fault by the purchase of the telephone. The telegraph act of 1882 authorized the purchase of the trunk lines and the construction by the government of a telephone network to connect the chief centres of the United Kingdom. Proposals were long pending between the government and the National Telephone Company, which has absorbed all the others, for the purchase of the trunk lines, but it seems difficult to make satisfactory arrangements for such a purchase of the arteries alone, leaving the capillaries disconnected, and the prospect is that the government will have to make the whole system public. (Hazell's Annual, 1896, p. 639.) Later information shows that the government has already constructed a system of trunk lines, a part of which was opened to the public in 1895 and has worked very satisfactorily. The London *Electrician* of June 14, 1895, said: "We may expect that as soon as the telephone trunk system of this country has passed into the charge of the able heads which direct the telegraph system of the United Kingdom, the full capacities of inter-urban telephoning will be made apparent." The *Electrical Review* also speaks of the telegraph management as vastly superior to that of the telephone.

³⁴ Report of Select Com. on Telegraphs, 1876 (Commons Session Papers, No. 357), p. III.

clearly appears in the sharp comparison stated by our Senate committee in 1874:

The 18 million messages of last year cost the public just what 9 millions would under the old system.³⁵

And to-day nearly 36 million messages are transmitted for the amount that 18 million cost in 1873,³⁶ so that \$1 will buy about four times the telegraph service in England now that it would in 1869 under private ownership, and yet telegraph labor is far better paid now than it was then. In this country \$1 will buy only a little more than twice as much telegraphing as in 1869, according to the Western Union reports, and labor gets a great deal less than it did, instead of more as in England. In Great Britain the money that would pay for a message in 1869 will pay for four messages now. In the United States the money that would pay for a message in 1869 will pay for about two messages now,³⁷ and the money that will buy one message here will buy nearly two in Great Britain, the average rate here being 31 cents and 16 cents in Great Britain. Public ownership has about doubled on "competition" in progressive economy and reduction of rates, in spite of the shrinkage of wages in this country and the contraction of the currency.

The progress of the English telegraph in respect to quality has been as marked as in respect to quantity and reduction of cost. Not only have all accusations of extortion become dim memories of the old *régime*, but its sister complaints of error, inadequacy, and delay have likewise practically ceased

³⁵ Sen. Rep. 242, 43-1, p. 9.

³⁶ See 41st Rep. of Eng. P. M. Gen'l, pp. 37, 66.

³⁷ In statements made at the time the Western Union said that its average charge per message in 1867 was 57 cents, and in 1869, 62 cents. (Report of the president of the Western Union for 1869, p. 41; Sen. Mis. 79, 42-3, p. 7; H. Rep. 114, pp. 20, 37, discussing W. U. pamphlets and reports, and pp. 125, 127, 129, President Orton's testimony.) The average cost to the company per message in 1869, according to President Orton, was 40 cents. (H. Rep. 114, Orton's testimony, p. 129.) The average charge is now reported as about 31 cents, and the average cost 23 cents.

In later statements the Western Union in tabulating its statistics from 1866 down has made the average charge 80 cents in 1869 and over \$1 in 1867-8, and the average cost to the company is stated as 54 cents in 1869. (Sen. Mis. 79, p. 7; Bingham Hearings, 1890, p. 53; and recent reports of the Western Union Company.) This ingenious improvement in book-keeping makes it appear that Western Union charges have dropped from more than \$1 to 31 cents, instead of from 57 to 31 cents as indicated by the early reports, and that the cost to the company has fallen from 54 to 23, instead of from 40 to 23. A variation of nearly 50 per cent between statements of the same fact by the same company suggests a doubt whether any statements of cost or any other statements of that company can be much relied upon.

to exist, while with us the volume of complaint on all four counts grows greater year by year.

The United States consul at Southampton writing in 1895 says :

The service is performed with the most perfect punctuality. It is calculated that the average time employed to-day in the transmission of a telegram between two commercial cities in England varies from seven to nine minutes, while in 1870 (under private ownership) two to three hours were necessary.³⁸

This shows that the managers of the postal telegraph have been alive to their duty of improving the organization of the service and adopting better methods of communication. In 1870 the telegraph sent only 75 words a minute and one message on a wire, — now it sends 500 words and more in a minute and 5 or 6 messages travel at once on a single wire.³⁹ England has adopted and put in practice inventions that the Western Union has kept out of use in America.⁴⁰ England has adopted the telephone, the multiplex and the automatic in her postal system, doing at least half her telegraphing with the latter, and the department is always pushing forward to new improvements, — the Western Union has done very little with any machine system, nothing with the multiplex, and refused the telephone entirely though it might have had it for a song. The English telegraphic engineers stand in the front rank. We have seen that the Western Union sent for one of them to come to the United States and examine its lines and instruct it what to do with them, and that he found the said lines in bad condition and told the Western Union how to doctor them.⁴¹ The English electricians have not deteriorated because of the transfer of the telegraph to the government. They are just as anxious to discover improvements as ever — more so, in fact, because they are surer of appreciation and reward, — the public service is more progressive than our private service and therefore promises more to progressive men, — England welcomes telegraphic invention because she aims at service, — the Western Union aims not

³⁸ United States Consular Reports, Vol. XLVII, No. 175, p. 564, Feb. 4, 1895.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Jour. Soc. Tel. Eng., Vol. XV, p. 231; and Sen. Doc. 291, 54-1, pp. 2, 6, Delaney's testimony.

⁴¹ Part III, two pages after Table III, Mr. Varley's verdict. Way along in the eighties we have evidence of the Western Union getting English operators to come to New York to help it establish a part of the English system in that city. See Part IV, note 35.

at service, but at money, and welcomes only such inventions as will help her make more money without sacrificing her investment, — if her capital is endangered, no matter how greatly the discovery would improve the service, she frowns upon it, boycotts and imprisons it.⁴²

In respect to adequacy the superiority of the English system is equally clear. It would not be fair to compare the number of offices or messages per square mile, for England is more thickly populated than the United States, but it is fair to compare the relation between telegraph facilities and postal facilities in the two countries. Great Britain has 20,000 post offices and 10,000 telegraph offices, less than one-fourth of which are railroad offices. The Western Union (the Mackay offices are mostly needless duplications) has 21,000 offices (about three-fourths of which are railroad offices or situated at places inconvenient or inaccessible to the general public, such as stock exchanges, policy shops, etc.), as against 70,000 post offices. The relation between telegraph and post office is therefore 1 to 2 in Great Britain and 1 to 3½ here, including the railroad offices, and 1 to 2.6 in Great Britain as compared with 1 to 10 in the United States, taking the commercial offices alone. That is, to every 14 post offices in Great Britain there are 7 efficient telegraph offices, while in this country to every 14 post offices there are not more than 4 efficient telegraph offices, and considering the commercial offices alone there are over 5 to 14 post offices over the sea, and about 1 to 14 post offices here. This comparison of offices, however, significant as it is, does not do full justice to England's superior telegraphic facilities, because every post office and every post box is a place where a telegram may be deposited to be taken by the postal carriers to a telegraph office and transmitted, so that, including the railway offices, the telegraph facilities of Great Britain are somewhat more extensive than even those accorded to the mails.⁴³

The real expansion of facilities from 1869 to 1895 is not disclosed by the figures of Table I. It appears to be five or six to a dozen fold, while in reality it is in all probability beyond fifty fold, because of the better location of offices and the utilization of the postal plant already referred to, and because the adoption of the quadruplex and multiplex and

⁴² See Part VIII.

⁴³ British Post Office Guide, Jan. 1, 1895, p. 457, § 22.

the increased rapidity of transmission have greatly multiplied the capacity of wires and instruments. One wire and one instrument to-day may be the equivalent in business capacity of 4, 6, 20, 40, or more wires and instruments in 1869.

The evidence of the success of public ownership in England is conclusive. In his report of Nov. 13, 1880, p. 42, Postmaster-General Maynard said :

During my visit to the British post office I examined with much interest the system of telegraphy for several years past connected with the postal service. This method of correspondence is thought to have made a great advance since it was changed from the management of private corporations, responsible to nobody, hardly to public opinion, and placed under the control of the government. *The business has increased many fold, the cost of sending messages has been largely reduced, and the service is performed in localities it would never have reached under the pecuniary stimulus of private enterprise.* At the same time it yields a margin of profit to the royal treasury. Is it not time for us to renew the inquiry whether it is wise for us to leave this important instrument of correspondence in charge of corporations whose primary object is gain to the managers and stockholders, and the convenience of the public secondary only?

Arnold Morley says :

The mainspring of the movement which led to the acquisition of the telegraph by the State was the public expectation that the post office would be able to provide for the benefit of the nation as a whole an improved service at a rate which would bring it within the reach of all classes of the community, and the post office can justly claim that this expectation has been fulfilled.⁴⁴

Bronson Keeler says :

The service is prompt, efficient, and accurate. There has never been even the slightest intimation that the telegraph is used for political purposes, or the slightest fear on the part of the people that their secrets are not safe with the government.⁴⁵

The only fault that even the Western Union has been able to find with the English postal telegraph is that at the start it could not handle all the business that came to it, — the reason being that the reduction of rates and extension of lines increased the business even beyond the expectations of the postal authorities so that it required a few weeks to completely adjust the system to the new conditions. The complaint when understood is really an argument for public ownership.

Summing up we find that for twenty-seven years Great Britain permitted the telegraph to remain in private hands ;

⁴⁴ 41st Rep. Eng. P. M. Gen'l, p. 33, July, 1886.

⁴⁵ *Forum*, Vol. IX, p. 457.

that the companies combined to keep the rates up and to destroy any real attempt at competition; that the tariff was exorbitant, the service very poor, the lines confined to the most populous districts, the treatment of employees such as is usually accorded them by private corporations; that a few thoughtful men called attention to the existing abuses and advocated national ownership as the remedy; that the Chambers of Commerce and the press took up the matter and with the help of a leading statesman carried the measure against the powerful opposition of the companies and the inertia of those afflicted with the heart failure of extreme conservatism and public distrust; that the immediate results were:

1. *A reduction in rates of $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$.*
2. *A vast increase of business, — the work done by the telegraph doubling in the first year after the transfer.*
3. *A great extension of lines into the less populous districts so as to give the whole people the benefit of telegraphic communication.*
4. *Large additional facilities by opening more offices, locating offices more conveniently, and making every post office and post box a place where a telegram may be deposited to be taken to the nearest telegraph office for transmission.*
5. *A considerable economy by uniting the telegraph service with the mail service under a single control, avoiding useless duplications, using the same offices, the same collecting and delivery agencies, and often the same operatives for both services.*
6. *A marked improvement in the service, throwing complaint out of the steady occupation she had had so long, — the aim of the post office being service, not dividends.*
7. *A decided gain to employees in pay, hours, tenure of office, etc.*
8. *Unprecedented advantages to the press for cheap and rapid transmission of news, at the same time freeing it from the pressure of a power that claimed the right to dictate the views and opinions it should express.*
9. *The development of business and strengthening of social ties, ties of kinship and friendship, through the growth of business and social correspondence.*
10. *The removal of a great antagonism and the cessation of the vexatious and costly conflict it had caused between the companies and the people.*

Looking at the subsequent history of the English postal telegraph we find:

1. *A further reduction of nearly one-half in the average cost of a message.*
2. *More than a tenfold increase of business in twenty-five years while population increased but one-fourth — over 1000 per cent telegraph growth to 25 per cent population increase.*

3. A sixfold extension of lines and fiftyfold increase of facilities.
4. A steady policy of expanding and improving the service, adopting new inventions, putting underground hundreds of miles of wire that formerly ran over houses and streets, etc.
5. A systematic effort to elevate labor, resulting in a progressive amelioration of the condition of employees in respect to wages, hours, tenure, promotion, privileges, and perquisites.
6. A good profit to the government (excluding interest on the water-logged capital cost) in spite of low rates, large extensions into thinly populated areas, advancing wages, heavy losses through carrying press despatches below cost, competition of telephone companies in the best-paying part of the traffic, etc.
7. Satisfaction with the telegraph service even on the part of conservatives who objected to the change before it was made.

Comparing the English situation with our own we find:

<i>In England.</i>	<i>In the United States.</i>
Low rates.	High rates (twice as high).
Good service.	Poor service.
Extension of telegraph facilities to the masses.	Facilities only for the classes.
Rapid growth, 40 times as rapid as the growth of population and 4 times as fast as the growth of the letter mail.	Slow growth, less than one-sixth of the growth of the English system.
Progressive improvement of labor. Harmonious uninterrupted operation.	Progressive maltreatment of labor. Big strikes.
Large popular use of the telegraph.	The telegraph an adjunct of speculation.
A management aiming solely at serving the people.	A management aiming solely at serving themselves.
Moderate salaries for leading officials.	Exorbitant salaries for leading officials.
No big fortunes from telegraph manipulation.	The telegraph a millionaire machine.
Universal satisfaction with the telegraph situation.	Universal discontent.
Public monopoly.	Private monopoly.

We do not need to imitate England's mistakes

in paying too much for old lines,
in serving the press below cost,
in allowing the telephone to remain so largely in private hands;

but we may well imitate her energetic adoption of a needful reform, her economies, her progressive administration, her care for the welfare of labor, her public spirit in this matter of the telegraph.

Two farmers named J. B. and Uncle S. each planted his "taters" and melons in a low-down shady spot where the soil was very moist. The plants were small, slow of growth,

stunted, altogether inferior, and the crop was bad, disagreeable to the taste, hard on the digestion, causing at times severe colic. J. B. concluded he'd leave the low, shady, watery earth and plant on higher ground, in a drier soil and in the light. So he planted his "taters" and melons and corn in the open, up on a sunny slope, and the crop has been fine ever since.

Old Uncle S.
Sez he, "I guess
I can play at that game myself," sez he.

(To be continued.)

THE RELATION OF INDUSTRIALISM TO MORALITY.

BY MRS. MARIE C. REMICK.

In his work on Ancient Law, Sir Henry Maine states: "It is most difficult for a citizen of western Europe to bring thoroughly home to himself the truth that the civilization which surrounds him is a rare exception in the history of the world." The western world ignores the fact that there is among the millions of Asia, in countries that were already hoary with age before the Roman legions penetrated the forests of Germany, an ideal of morality and of the highest good totally at variance with its own. The Asiatic ideal is ascetic and has for its keynote renunciation; it seeks to diminish desires and produces holy men, seers, and mystics, — the highest moral and spiritual development of a few individuals, — but leaves the masses of the people in direst poverty, misery, and degradation. Industrialism, the ideal of the Western world, develops the highest social level, political and religious freedom, and constant increase in material well-being.

In the World's Parliament of Religions, in the afternoon devoted to missions, Darmaphala, the Buddhist monk, said: "You must send to us men filled with unselfishness. Buddhism made Asia mild, but western civilization is undoing its work. Your missionaries wear fine clothes and live in good houses. Let them go about clothed in rags and beg their bread from door to door, and the people will hear them." Nothing could better exemplify the impassable gulf between oriental and occidental religious thought. The Western world sends its missionaries to ameliorate physical as well as spiritual conditions, and indeed considers an improvement in material well-being essential to spiritual improvement.

Christianity in becoming the religion of the Western world has never been able wholly to harmonize the ideal of asceticism, renunciation, with the spirit of development and progress which forms the basis of European civilization. Many of Christ's precepts have always been stumbling-blocks explained away by its teachers. For example, "Take no

thought for the morrow." Western civilization is based on taking thought for the morrow, and in so far as this forethought is developed is a community civilized according to the industrial standard. "Sell all that thou hast, and distribute unto the poor," "Resist not evil," are preached in Christian pulpits on Sunday, and absolutely ignored on week days. There is much truth in Herbert Spencer's sarcasm: "School discipline leads men six days of the week to take Achilles for their model, and on the seventh to admire Christ."

After the barbarians had sacked Rome, ruined the great cities of the empire, and destroyed all literature, art, and almost all civilization, all enterprise was paralyzed by the widespread belief that the world was to be destroyed in the year 1000, and asceticism held full sway. With the gradual improvement in outward condition, hope returned to the hearts of men, and after the thirteenth century a marked change took place; with the dawning of the Renaissance industrialism began to replace asceticism.

The influence of this growing industrialism upon the morals of society can be clearly traced. The forces which have worked in the development of society are complex, and it is impossible to say how much is due to one agent and how much to another; but industrialism, under which term I mean to include trade, commerce, and all applied machinery, has certainly exercised great influence. To trade is due the change of public opinion in regard to usury. In the time of Christ all payment for the use of money was considered wrong, and there was but little change until the Reformation. This condemnation was owing to false ideas in political economy. It was held that money being sterile by nature produces nothing, and that when the borrower has returned the exact sum loaned, all has been returned. The first public record of the growing change in sentiment on this question is found in a bull of Leo X, issued early in the sixteenth century, where it is stated that "a small sum exacted in return for money loaned was no usury, because it was simply a fee for the payment of officials, and not the price of the loan." Commerce was much hampered all through the Middle Ages by the difficulty and expense of borrowing money. Money-lending being condemned by public opinion, only the most unscrupulous would engage in it, and exorbitant rates of interest were demanded. The extension of commerce con-

vinced men that "money bred money," and a change in moral sentiment about usury gradually came about, but so slowly that long after the Reformation, English divines condemned the taking of interest. In 1698 Gen. Noortd, a Dutch jurist, published a treatise on usury, wherein he endeavored to prove its natural and religious lawfulness.

The spread of commercial relations has probably done more than any other single agent to prevent wars. Even Voltaire held "that he who wishes the good of his own country must inevitably wish evil to other countries;" but trade and commerce have taught the nations that their weal and woe are bound together. Every new railway, every steamship, every fresh commercial enterprise is an additional guarantee of peace. To-day commercial interests are supreme, and recent events, both in Europe and America, show that commercial interests have kept the peace of the world. The richest nations, having most to lose by war, are most anxious for peace, although at the same time strongest in war, as war has become not only a question of the strongest battalion, but of the longest purse. Industrialism produces a change in men's ideas in regard to courage, honor, and glory. The pomp and circumstance of war are less considered, and more is thought of the miseries which follow in its wake. Commerce languishes in a state of war, as do art and literature; therefore military glory has less attraction for industrial nations, and military honor, which encourages duelling, is suspended by a respect for law. Commercial nations have laughed away the duel, as Cervantes laughed away chivalry. Commerce cleared the seas of pirates, for trade must have safe highways.

Wealth, the result of industrialism, is the basis of civilization. An accumulation of more than enough for the wants of the day is the first step in social progress. Wealth gives comforts, luxury, and a higher standard of living, so that the necessities of to-day were the luxuries of the past. Love of knowledge and love of wealth have been two main factors in human progress. The desire for better physical conditions stimulates the energies of men. Rousseau's cry for a "return to nature" means a return to barbarism. We talk of the simplicity of life in Greece; but that society rested on eighty thousand freemen, where four hundred thousand slaves performed the manual labor, and created the surplus wealth necessary in a climate where nature reduces man's physical

wants to the lowest limit and, freed from "cares of bread," left the Athenian free to discourse on politics and philosophy. The development of new countries, inventions, great commercial enterprises furnish the best opportunities for the development of men and women; the great industrial organizers must have the qualities of great generals. The great maritime discoveries were due to the commercial, not the military, spirit. Vasco da Gama and Columbus sailed in search of a market and discovered new continents. The English occupancy of India began as a commercial enterprise, and commerce with its settled government, and railroads, have done more for the comfort and happiness of the millions of India than have Buddhism, Brahminism, and Mohammedism. Railways are doing more to abolish caste than all other agencies. The railway makes much higher rates for first-class carriages which carry only high-caste passengers, and it has been found that for cheapness the Brahmin will risk defilement and ride third-class with the Sudra.

The commercial and artistic spirits are apt to be considered incompatible with each other; yet the wealth acquired by trade has been used to encourage art. The merchants of Florence and Venice, as well as the Dutch burghers, were princely patrons of art. The Duomo of Florence was built by a tax levied by the wool merchants on rich woollen manufactures. The merchants of the German cities and of the republics of Italy in all the refinements of life were a century in advance of the nobles. To-day, as in the past, wealth is the foster mother of art. The generosity and public spirit of the business men of Chicago made the "White City" possible. Art and universities now look to business men for the patronage formerly given by prelate and prince.

The industrial nations of the world are the nations among whom most stress is laid upon fidelity to engagements. Truthfulness is the special virtue of a commercial people; for, notwithstanding the great temptations to deception in industrial enterprises, truthfulness is so absolutely essential to commercial success that "a man of his word" becomes among commercial people a synonym for character. There is no doubt much dishonesty in trade to-day; but Defoe's "English Tradesman" shows the improvement in honesty in England since the eighteenth century, and no modern "deal" could be sharper than that little transaction in the birthright between Jacob and Esau.

"To write a history of the inventions and discoveries of modern times would be to write a history of the human intellect." The inventions of labor-saving machinery have nearly all come into being as the needs of industrialism required, and have had enormous influence on morals. Railways have not only civilized and humanized men by contact with one another, thus removing prejudices and diminishing wars, but they have made famines impossible in Europe by reason of the facility with which the bountiful harvests of one country can be brought to supplement the scanty harvests of another. In the great famine in China, a few years ago, five million people died of starvation in the famine district, while in other portions of the empire harvests had been plentiful. The same condition of affairs prevailed in France in the last half of the eighteenth century.

This facility of distribution has cheapened food and made it various and abundant. David A. Wells, in a work entitled "Recent Economic Changes," says: "Evidence is conclusive that a varied supply of attractive and nutritious food can be furnished in the United States and Great Britain at a cost not exceeding twenty cents per day for each person." He also states that, owing to increased and cheapened production due to applied machinery, wages of all classes of labor in Great Britain have advanced in the last fifty years about one hundred per cent. Carroll D. Wright claims that money wages have advanced in the United States a hundred dollars per year for the day laborer since 1880. That the condition of mankind is better under this growing industrialism is proved by the fact that pauperism and crime have decreased during the past fifty years in Great Britain, Scotland, Prussia, France, and Italy.

Recent investigations show that the average duration of human life in Europe has increased by from seven to twelve years since the beginning of this century. This is due to improved sanitary conditions, better houses, better food, better clothing. To-day the English laborer lives in a well-built house, and has more comforts than kings enjoyed in the thirteenth century; while in non-industrial China, the Chinaman crawls into a hole and sleeps on a board. The Sudra lives in a hut without furniture. Neither has made any improvements upon the dwellings of savages.

Perhaps Mr. Edward Atkinson's statement that ten men with machinery can grow, grind, and bake the bread neces-

sary for a thousand persons for one year, will give some idea of what machinery has done to lighten the toil of men. This has a direct bearing on moral progress, for it takes fewer hours of labor to earn a livelihood, wages are higher, money has greater purchasing power, therefore the laborer can rear his children under better conditions and has more time for intellectual and moral improvement. Railways in transportation have added a force somewhat greater than that of a horse working twelve hours per day for each inhabitant of the globe. The Berlin Bureau of Statistics, 1889, estimated the power capable of being exerted by steam engines of all kinds as equivalent to two hundred million horse power, representing in men three times the population of the globe.

The minor discoveries and the introduction of products from foreign lands have done much for comfort and happiness; gas, oil, electricity have given greater possibilities to men, enabling them to add a number of working hours to their day. In New England towns in the last century candles were so dear few could use them; curfew rang at dark, and people rose at daybreak. Lighting the streets has greatly diminished crime. In London in Addison's time it was a serious and dangerous matter to go upon the streets after dark; men went in bands and armed as for a military expedition.

The introduction of hot drinks into Europe (chocolate was brought into Spain from Mexico toward the middle of the sixteenth century, and tea from China and Japan about the same period) perceptibly lessened drunkenness. D'Aussy, in "*Histoire de la vie privée des Français*," says, "The introduction of coffee into France, taking the place of strong drinks, tended to refine manners, and to bring men and women together in social meetings." Commerce brought the potato, other vegetables, and fruit into Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, changing the diet from bread, meat, and wine or beer. This change not only gave new pleasure to the palate, but according to modern scientific theories in regard to the influence of food on character, had a beneficial influence on morals, tending to refine manners and customs.

The growth of religious toleration was helped on by commerce. Contact through commerce with men of other religions helped to wear away old prejudices and to convince men that those holding other religious views were not necessarily

wholly bad. The Jews, always (at least after their dispersion) a commercial people, first profited by this change in sentiment. The merchant governments of Leghorn, Pisa, and Genoa accorded to the Jews a degree of toleration unknown elsewhere in Europe. Religious fanaticism with its inevitable persecution has in all countries been most disastrous to commercial prosperity. The financial ruin of Spain dates from the expulsion of the Moors and the Jews. The Moors made Andalusia a garden by their careful system of cultivation; the Spaniards allowed that system of irrigation to fall into decay; the olive, lemon, and orange groves have almost disappeared, and to-day much of fair Andalusia is a barren waste, with no vegetation for miles but the cacti. The Jews were able financiers; with them Spain lost her commerce. The Armada built by fanaticism, and the long war of the Netherlands, waged at the command of the Inquisition, ruined Spain, notwithstanding the gold of Peru and Mexico. The expulsion of the Huguenots from France struck a worse blow to her prosperity than did the long wars and extravagance of Louis XIV. Religious persecution under Mary seriously impaired the commercial prosperity of England, and history continually repeats the lesson that commerce fails where fanaticism rules. Buckle illustrates by the history of Glasgow the decline of the persecuting spirit brought about by the growth of industries and consequent aggregation in cities. The inhabitants of the country have always been more superstitious than are the dwellers in cities, because the agriculturist deals with unknown forces and elements beyond his control, while the manufacturer owes his success to his own skill and energy. Conditions are more under his control. To change conditions is the main element of power given to man.

The industrial spirit has been equally powerful in developing political liberty. The Wars of the Roses in England caused a great decline of industries, and there was an accompanying loss of political freedom. But with the long peace begun at the ascension of Henry VII and continued, with few foreign wars and few domestic disturbances, for one hundred and fifty years, there was great increase of popular power as well as of wealth, so that to quote Mr. Bagehot, "The slavish parliament of Henry VIII grew into the murmuring parliament of Elizabeth, the mutinous parliament

of James I, and to the rebellious parliament of Charles I." The great commercial republics of France, Venice, and Pisa were in their days of glory very jealous of their political liberty. In the days of the greatest prosperity of Florence no noble could be a member of the Seigniorship without renouncing his birth and entering a merchant guild; every citizen could cast the white or black bean, vote and be voted for. The free cities of the Hanseatic League stood staunchly for their privileges. The Dutch war for independence was a war of traders and peasants. The Dutch nobility were not steadfast to the cause of political and religious freedom, but the Dutch merchants and peasants were unfaltering in courage and devotion, and furnished material for a hundred epics. England, which Napoleon called a "nation of shopkeepers," was the only country which successfully and steadfastly resisted his aggressions.

Industrial civilization is not unsympathetic as has been charged. Charity never was so general as in this last decade of the nineteenth century; penal laws were never before so mild; prisons never before so generally managed with a view to the reformation of the criminal. Aged paupers, dependent children, the insane and defective classes were never before so wisely cared for, and never in all history has there been among the upper class of society such a feeling of responsibility toward the unfortunate, such an earnest desire to ameliorate their condition. Compare the attitude of the French nobility in the age of Louis XIV toward the suffering of the people, when a woman like Madame Sévigné, lauded by her contemporaries for her amiability, could write of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which condemned to death one million five hundred thousand people, unless they renounced their religion, which sent into exile four hundred thousand of France's best citizens and condemned thousands more to the galleys, dungeons, and the stake: "You have no doubt seen the edict by which the king revokes that of Nantes; nothing can be more beautiful than its contents, and never did a king do anything more memorable." Of the barbarities inflicted upon the Breton peasants because they had thrown stones into the garden of their duke, she writes gayly to her daughter: "They have taken sixty bourgeois and begin to hang to-morrow; this province is made a beautiful example to others to respect their governors and not throw stones in their gardens." Again she writes: "Only one

execution in eight days to maintain justice. The hanging appears to me now refreshing." Surely the Christian doctrine of the brotherhood of man has made many converts since that day. The hostility between classes is the most serious problem of to-day, but perhaps the present is the crisis of the disease, — just the turning point toward convalescence, — and the fact that the present evils of society are so clearly perceived may mean that the improvement has already begun. It may be that society to-day is suffering from a divine discontent, and that these symptoms which seem so serious are only the growing-pains of the transition period of industrialism. Even with increased wages incomes have not kept pace with the increasing standards of living. To the intelligence of the working classes is due a large part of the discontent of labor. Read Carlyle's "Past and Present" and "Sartor Resartus," and the conclusion is inevitable that the condition of the workingman to-day is that of a prince compared with the agricultural laborer of England in the eighteenth century.

It has often been said that the heroic virtues decline with advancing industrialism, that our modern life is petty and sordid, incapable of heroic deeds. It is true that to-day "the plumed knight with visor down" no longer carries all before him; there is no more riding forth to deliver "imprisoned maidens" and to "slay dragons." But heroism springs perennial in the human breast, and to-day knights just as true as any in days of old fight against worse odds and without applauding spectators. To-day heroism saves life instead of taking it. Hardly a day passes that a newspaper paragraph does not tell us of life lost or risked to save life; of an engineer who has met death at his post; a child rescued from death; nurses and physicians voluntarily going to cholera-stricken districts. In actual life we regard as quite ordinary events risks tenfold more dangerous than any of the combats of the steel-encased knights of chivalry.

Anyone who thinks heroism lost to humanity should read the history of our civil war. The North was intensely commercial; the average Northerner of that period probably would have made little claim to heroic qualities. War was eminently distasteful to him; he wished neither to kill nor to be killed; yet the first shot fired on Fort Sumter found these shopkeepers and farmers ready as one man to give their lives for their country, and throughout the villages of the North

the men fell into line, and of these commonplace men every community can relate heroic deeds fit to adorn a nation's annals.

The Copernican theory and the discovery of America gave to the sixteenth century a new heaven and a new earth; science and inventions have made as radical a change in outward conditions and intellectual conceptions in the nineteenth century. Within the past fifty years mechanical inventions without number, discoveries of new agents, forces liberated by science, steam, and electricity have made such a revolution in production, transportation, intercourse between nations, manner of living, etc., that if a person who had left this planet in 1840 could return to it to-day, he would be as amazed as the man who in Bulwer's story descended into the depths of the earth and discovered "the coming race."

In steam and electricity, science has invoked for man servants in comparison with whom the genii of the East were mere pignies. Instead of the prince and princess being wafted on the magic carpet, commonplace men and women are carried in palace cars and floating palaces over land and sea; instead of rubbing the magic lamp to summon the slave to carry messages, electricity can circle the globe with almost the swiftness of thought.

In the intellectual world evolution has altered the conception of the creation and government of the universe. No wonder there are suffering and confusion in this adjustment to totally changed conditions. The marvel is that the whole fabric of society has not been destroyed in the transition.

Before the nineteenth century man sought the Golden Age in the past; evolution bids him look for it in the future. This planet has been a fairly comfortable abiding place for the rich and the great, but the good time for the common people seems to be dawning. When the incalculable force which machinery can put at the service of mankind is fully apprehended and righteously employed, an improvement in material conditions now impossible to comprehend will take place; and if this material improvement is followed by the moral and intellectual improvement made possible by the changed conditions, the Golden Age will have dawned!

Industrialism is a history of facts and figures, and by carefully considering these facts and figures comfort may be found for to-day and hope for the future.

WILLIAM MORRIS AND SOME OF HIS LATER WORKS.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

On the third day of October, there passed from this life one of the most striking figures and one of the truest men of our time, — a genius who excelled as poet, essayist, and mystic no less than as a shrewd business man, and who in his later years towered aloft as a practical reformer; an exponent of Social Democracy who practised what he preached.

In viewing a life so versatile as that of William Morris one is at a loss to know what peculiarity of this remarkable man stands out most boldly. It is rare indeed that we find a man who is essentially a poet, artist, mystic, and a successful business man; and when with this rare combination is blended the spirit of the bold and fearless reformer, we have a character so interesting and inspiring that even those who belong to that class who love the mere literary and artistic work of "an idle singer of an empty day" cannot fail to be interested in this many-sided genius of our times.

Perhaps in approaching the life of William Morris the general reader will first be impressed with the deep, artistic and poetic impulses which ever held so large a sway over his great soul. He was a man of imagination, a man to whom color, song, and poetry were irresistible. His early work revealed the artistic and mystical bent of his mind, while in later life his soul was moved by the divine afflatus and he became one of the most aggressive and influential reformers of England. This is a reversal of the general rule. Many who are reformers and enthusiasts in youth become conventional dreamers later in life. Not so with William Morris. His "Earthly Paradise," "The Life and Death of Jason," and other poems made for him an enviable place among England's great poets of the nineteenth century, as measured by conventional critics. In all these earlier poems we find the "art for art's sake" seeming to predominate, with a clearly defined thread of mysticism running through the work. His love for art, his delight in richness of color effects are also



WILLIAM MORRIS.

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seen in his decorative designs. For in 1863 with several partners he founded a manufactory for the artistic production of stained glass, wall paper, and household decorations, which, owing to his skill in blending colors and the rich imagination with which he was endowed, no less than his business sagacity, became phenomenally successful.

In later years Morris's life underwent a transformation. Though he perhaps knew it not, he received the baptism of the spirit. In considering this wonderful change I am reminded of Victor Hugo's references to Paul's experience on his way to Damascus, in which the great Frenchman observes: "The road to Damascus is essential to the march of progress, to fall into the truth and to rise a just man — a transfiguring fall — that is sublime." And so in the later works of Morris, in which we find a lofty mysticism on the one hand and on the other the spirit of "social democracy" overmastering the popular conventional poet of other days, we are reminded of Paul's being blinded by the light, although perhaps William Morris himself did not recognize the spiritual influences which were wrought upon his humanity-loving brain.

Of his mysticism I will speak first. In his wonderful work, "The Land of the Glittering Plain," — where consciously or unconsciously (for, as has been observed, genius often yields to the type, so real is the ideal) we have a work, in my judgment, incomparably superior in many points, both in truth and fidelity of conception, to John Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," — in "The Land of the Glittering Plain; or, the Acre of the Undying," we have a fascinating story clothed in quaint, early-English verbiage, which veils a wonderful allegory of humanity's struggle in its ascent. We see the human soul with divine aspirations, (1) braving the forces of enemies far greater in number; (2) resisting the seduction of gold, power, sensuous beauty; (3) conquering adversity and tempted by ease, wealth, power, sensuous love, and glory; (4) being stricken in body and almost mentally unbalanced for refusing the temptation; (5) facing the savagery of the elements, which are finally overcome; and (6) overcoming the temptation to gain its desire through deception.

This story, as many of my readers will remember, opens with a description of Hallblithe, of the House of the Raven, a typification of humanity shrouded in the darkness of sense perceptions, well symbolized by the bird of dark plumage. But Hallblithe is not evil; **his** is the darkness of ignorance,

and, moreover, he has received a glimpse of divine truth; he has seen, even in this infant period, the glory of the Hostage (Truth or the divine afflatus), daughter of the House of the Rose, and is determined that she shall be won. Truth is always ready to be wooed by the human soul, but man can no more win and possess the divine truth of the higher spiritual life while the sense perceptions are dominant, than can an acorn become a giant oak without years of battling with storms and continuous growth. This fact is beautifully brought out in the story we are considering. After Hallblithe has encountered three men who are seeking the Acre of the Undying, desiring to live, as men to-day who are worshipping Mammon desire to live, for their own sensuous pleasure, enjoying the mere delights which may come from the gratification of the physical life, he is rudely awakened to the fact that the Hostage has been seized by some bold sea robbers and taken from him. Before he goes on that quest which humanity has been pursuing since beyond the dawn of what we call civilization and which every soul must pursue before it reaches absolute satisfaction, he meets with Puny Fox, who strongly typifies the sense perceptions, so frequently false and misleading when the animal and the intellectual are divorced from the spiritual, and allows himself to be guided by this person to the Isle of Ransom and the House of the Ravagers in quest of the divine ideal, only to meet with a series of disappointments and temptations, which, sooner or later, will come to every soul, to every civilization, which surrenders to sense perceptions. Rising superior to these disappointments, however, and lured by the hope of finding his betrothed (the divine afflatus), which haunts the soul of humanity as it has haunted the soul of all the noblest and best throughout the ages, he embarks for the Land of the Glittering Plain with an old man who seeks for naught but the shallow satisfaction of rejuvenated life on the animal plane.

Reaching the mystic isle, which typifies the ideal of the state of those who to-day set wealth, ease, luxury, and pleasure on the sensuous plane above all else, the two travellers are met by beautiful maidens. The old man is rejuvenated; in other words, he receives the satisfaction which so frequently seems to come to those who merely live a butterfly life, and upon whom the great burdens and the mighty inspiration of a higher and diviner life have no influence. Hallblithe resists all the temptations of these

beauteous maidens, which fill the measure of joy of his old seafaring companion, and is conducted to the King of the Glittering Plain. It is to be noted here that in this realm all mention of death seems to cast a gloom over the inhabitants. They would live for to-day and deceive themselves into believing that they will live always. Such indeed is the life of those who lead a merely superficial existence.

On meeting the King, Hallblithe states his mission. The King encourages him and prepares him for a supreme temptation, telling him that he is to behold her whom he should love, who turns out to be none other than the fair daughter of the King,—Princess of the realm. Here the hero is proffered beauty, power, glory, dominion, and love on the sense plane, while no hope is given him of ever finding the Hostage (the divine truth) who has fascinated him in other days.

It is not the clash of arms in open conflict which carries half so much of danger for a civilization, for a nation, or for an individual, as do those insidious temptations which offer wealth, ease, glory, and the gratification of all that is sensuous in man. Great is the spiritual supremacy when these temptations can be successfully resisted,—doubly great, when in the case of an individual the temptations are accompanied with the displeasure of a power which the intuitions of the tempted fully understand means revenge. In the case of Hallblithe, one is reminded of the banishment of Epictetus, the practical driving of the Puritans to the bleak shores of New England, the enforced exile of Roger Williams, and numerous other similar instances which might be cited; for it will be remembered that, after the Son of the Raven leaves the uttermost house which marks the boundary of the Land of the Glittering Plain, he is stricken and his food is spoiled. The subtle curse of power is upon him, but he struggles on until at last the three men whom we find in the beginning of the volume seeking the Glittering Plain, come upon him, and, remembering his hospitality and kindness in other days, they nourish him. He in return pilots them to the country of their desire, little recking what may befall him. For their sake he again enters the Land of the Glittering Plain and guides them to the boundary of the woods, where is the King's pavilion. He then wanders to the sea and dwells for a time amid the wood, and becomes loved of all he meets, and is known as the "wood lover."

Just here it is well to remember that at various times Hallblithe received visions, and, like so many of the psychical experiences of our present time and like so many dreams which impress themselves upon the soul of man, some are strangely true and some are strangely deceptive in character. But while dwelling in this simple manner he receives a vision which gives him an inspiration. He builds a boat and sails out on the vast sea. At length he reaches the Isle of the Ransom, the home of the Ravagers. Here again he is met by Puny Fox, who, as I have stated before, represents so markedly sense perception,—a perception which under the dominion of the low elements is cunning, treacherous, false, but under the dominion of the spiritual may be transformed until it no more resembles its former self than do the barbarians in the early stages of human history resemble that lofty phase of civilization which marked the founding of our own great republic. Against his own will and desire, guided by subtle force, but not surrendering his ideal, he lands in the harbor from which he sailed to the Glittering Plain. And here it is he comes face to face with his old-time deceiver, Puny Fox, who becomes his friend. In the house of the Ravagers he meets Puny Fox in battle, but his opponent does not attempt to hurt the Son of the Raven, it being understood that the victor shall be the slave of the other, and Puny Fox desires to turn from his old life and to go to the land of Hallblithe and become one of his people. After Puny Fox is overthrown Hallblithe refuses to accept victory in the garb of deceit; and though he is surrounded by enemies and though he knows his confession will probably mean his death, he declares that the result of the victory was a subterfuge. His high-mindedness wins. Instead of repulsing the Ravagers, his nobleness of soul enforces respect even from the most animal natures, and he is given back the Hostage and immediately returns to his own land with her for whom he has undergone at the hand of man all temptations of nature, through force and the more dangerous seductions of beauty, power, fame, and glory, together with misery, and for a time the blighting curse following upon his refusal to yield his higher nature to his lower nature, as well as a battle with the elements.

There are in this wonderful story many points which might be dwelt upon at length, many of which I think it is possible escaped the perception even of the author, who,

like all real geniuses, yielded, at times unconsciously, to the ideal, and like the Athenians of old, who erected a temple to the unknown God, wrote a beautiful and quaint tale which told a wonderful story of the ascent of the human race and of the soul of man from the darkness to the light. It is not necessary for a man to profess a dogma to be profoundly religious. Even Jesus was dismissed by the conventional religionists of his day as "a winebibber and a friend of publicans and sinners." It is not necessary for a genius to conceive the full import of what he writes, but it is necessary for a man to be willing to make sacrifices for his conviction, and this William Morris evinced after his mind had become illumined with a higher thought than that which ruled his brain in earlier days.

His later literary works, among the most prominent of which are "News from Nowhere," "The Vision of John Ball," "Signs of Change," and "Poems by the Way," no less than his own life, reveal a new man. William Morris was the leader of a band who strove for "social democracy." He was wealthy and gave liberally for the support of the little group of poor men with whom he mingled. He was a man who believed in practising what he preached, and he never shrank, in season or out, from delivering lectures among the poor of the poorest part of London, or in fulfilling any other duties assigned him by the members of his organization.

He worked on designs for stained glass and various other kinds of decoration the greater part of the week, he wrote a portion of the time, and devoted a part of each week to the cause of Social Democracy. How heavily the weight of the world's misery weighed upon him and how clearly he saw what might be, are revealed in such utterances as the following :

"The world has always had a sense of its injustice. For century after century, while society has strenuously bolstered up this injustice forcibly and artificially, it has professed belief in philosophies, codes of ethics, and religions which have inculcated justice and fair dealing between men : nay, some of them have gone so far as to bear one another's burdens, and have put before men the duty, and in the long run the pleasure, of the strong working for the weak, the wise for the foolish, the helpful for the helpless ; and yet these precepts of morality have been set aside in practice as per-

sistently as they have been pushed in theory ; and naturally so, since they attack the very basis of class society.

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"Society is now divided between two classes, — those who monopolize all the means of the production of wealth save one, and those who possess nothing except that one, the Power of Labor. That power of labor is useless to its possessors, and cannot be exercised without the help of the other means of production ; but those who have nothing but labor power, *i. e.*, who have no means of making others work for them, must work for themselves in order to live ; and they must, therefore, apply to the owners of the means of fructifying labor, *i. e.*, the land, machinery, etc., for leave to work that they may live. The possessing class (as for short we will call them) are quite prepared to grant this leave, and indeed they must grant it if they are to use the labor power of the non-possessing class for their own advantage, which is their special privilege. But that privilege enables them to *compel* the non-possessing class to sell them their labor power on terms which insure the continuance of their monopoly.

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"Now I think, and some who read this will agree with me, that we are now living in one of these times of conscious change ; we not only are, but we also feel ourselves to be, living between the old and the new ; we are expecting something to happen, as the phrase goes : at such times it behooves us to understand what is the old which is dying, what is the new which is coming into existence. That is a question practically important to us all, since these periods of conscious change are also, in one way or other, times of serious combat, and each of us, if he does not look to it and learn to understand what is going on, may find himself fighting on the wrong side, the side with which he really does not sympathize.

"What is the combat we are now entering upon — who is it to be fought between ? Absolutism and Democracy, perhaps some will answer. Not quite, I think. . . . *The two foes are now Mastership and Fellowship. This is a far more serious quarrel than the old one, and involves a much completer revolution.*"

The intensity of Morris's feeling for the poor and for the essential injustice of granting special privileges to a few are

dwelt upon at length in "Signs of Change." In one outburst in which he writes of the "parasites of property" and a "privileged class" he says :

"And all these we must remember have, as a rule, one aim in view : not the production of utilities, but the gaining of a position either for themselves or their children in which they will not have to work at all."

At another time his deep feeling for the wealth-creators and his love of justice for *all* finds expression in these striking words :

"It is right and necessary that all men should have work to do which shall be worth doing, and be of itself pleasant to do : and which should be done under such conditions as would make it neither over-wearisome nor over-anxious."

"Turn that claim about as I may, think of it as long as I can, I cannot find that it is an exorbitant claim ; yet again I say if society would or could admit it, the face of the world would be changed ; discontent and strife and dishonesty would be ended. To feel that we were doing work useful to others and pleasant to ourselves, and that such work and its due reward *could* not fail us ! What serious harm could happen to us then ?"

In these lines from "The Voice of Toil" we find the bitterness of the soul of the great humanitarian when confronted by an ocean of misery, the result so largely of injustice and ignorance :

I heard men saying, Leave hope and praying,
All days shall be as all have been ;
To-day and to-morrow bring fear and sorrow
The never-ending toil between.

When Earth was younger mid toil and hunger,
In hope we strove, and our hands were strong ;
Then great men led us, with words they fed us,
And bade us right the earthly wrong.

Go read in story their deeds and glory,
Their names amidst the nameless dead ;
Turn then from lying to us slow-dying
In that good world to which they led ;

Where fast and faster our iron master,
The thing we made, forever drives,
Bids us grind treasure and fashion pleasure
For other hopes and other lives ;

Where home is a hovel and dull we grovel,
Forgetting that the world is fair ;
Where no babe we cherish, lest its very soul perish.
Where our mirth is crime, our love a snare.

Who now shall lead us, what god shall heed us
 As we lie in the hell our hands have won?
 For us are no rulers but fools and befoolers,
 The great are fallen, the wise men gone.

* * * * *

Come, shoulder to shoulder ere the world grows older!
 Help lies in naught but thee and me;
 Hope is before us, the long years that bore us
 Bore leaders more than men may be.

Let dead hearts tarry and trade and marry,
 And trembling nurse their dreams of mirth,
 While we the living our lives are giving
 To bring the bright new world to birth.

Come, shoulder to shoulder ere earth grows older!
 The Cause spreads over land and sea;
 Now the world shaketh, and fear awaketh,
 And joy at last for thee and me.

Also we see how deeply Morris's soul was stirred by the prophetic and mystic spirit, in the following stanzas from "All for the Cause":

Hear a word, a word in season, for the day is drawing nigh
 When the Cause shall call upon us, some to live, and some to die!

He that dies shall not die lonely, many a one hath gone before,
 He that lives shall bear no burden heavier than the life they bore.

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Some shall pause awhile and ponder on the bitter days of old,
 Ere the toil of strife and battle overthrew the curse of gold.

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There amidst the world new-built shall our earthly deeds abide,
 Though our names be all forgotten, and the tale of how we died.

Life or death then, who shall heed it, what we gain or what we lose?
 Fair flies life amid the struggle, and the Cause for each shall choose.

Hear a word, a word in season, for the day is drawing nigh
 When the Cause shall call upon us, some to live and some to die!

There is something of the old bard and prophet in the spirit of several lines of "The March of the Workers," of which the following are examples:

What is this, the sound and rumor? What is this that all men hear,
 Like the wind in hollow valleys when the storm is drawing near,
 Like the rolling on of ocean in the eventide of fear?
 'Tis the people marching on.

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Forth they come from grief and torment; on they wend toward health
 and mirth,

All the wide world is their dwelling, every corner of the earth.
 Buy them, sell them for thy service! Try the bargain what 'tis worth,
 For the days are marching on.

* * * * *

Many a hundred years, passed over, have they labored deaf and blind;

Never tidings reached their sorrow, never hope their toil might find.
 Now at last they've heard and hear it, and the cry comes down the wind,
 And their feet are marching on.

From the above selections it must not be inferred that William Morris was a pessimist. Indeed, nothing is more common than the inference of shallow conventionalism that the real reformers are pessimists. As a matter of fact, they are the true optimists, and it is because they feel that better, juster, and happier conditions can be brought about that they speak out fearlessly. William Morris's sturdy optimism is strikingly set forth in his famous poem, "The Day is Coming," from which I select the following characteristic stanzas:

Come hither lads, and hearken, for a tale there is to tell,
 Of the wonderful days a-coming when all shall be better than well.

And the tale shall be told of a country, a land in the midst of the sea,
 And folk shall call it England in the days that are going to be.

There more than one in a thousand in the days that are yet to come
 Shall have some hope of the morrow, some joy of the ancient home.

For then — laugh not, but listen to this strange tale of mine —
 All folk that are in England shall be better lodged than swine.

Then a man shall work and bethink him, and rejoice in the deeds of his
 hand,
 Nor yet come home in the even too faint and weary to stand.

Men in that time a-coming shall work and have no fear
 For to-morrow's lack of earning and the hunger-wolf aunar.

I tell you this for a wonder, that no man then shall be glad
 Of his fellow's fall and mishap to snatch at the work he had.

For that which the worker winneth shall then be his indeed,
 Nor shall half be reaped for nothing by him that sowed no seed.

O strange new wonderful justice! But for whom shall we gather the
 gain?
 For ourselves and for each of our fellows, and no hand shall labor in
 vain.

Then all *mine* and all *thine* shall be *ours*, and no more shall any man
 crave
 For riches that serve for nothing but to fetter a friend for a slave.

* * * * *

O why and for what are we waiting? while our brothers droop and
 die,
 And on every wind of the heavens a wasted life goes by.

How long shall they reproach us where crowd on crowd they dwell,
 Poor ghosts of the wicked city, the gold-crushed hungry hell?

* * * * *

It is we must answer and hasten, and open wide the door
 For the rich man's hurrying terror, and the slow-foot hope of the poor.

Yea, the voiceless wrath of the wretched, and their unlearned discontent,
We must give it voice and wisdom till the waiting-tide be spent.

Come, then, since all things call us, the living and the dead,
And o'er the weltering tangle a glimmering light is shed.

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Come, join in the only battle wherein no man can fall,
Where whoso fadeth and dieth, yet his deed shall still prevail.

A few years since Morris's friend, Mr. William Clarke, in writing for the *New England Magazine*, thus depicted the personal appearance of the poet and reformer:

"Morris's figure is the most picturesque in prosaic England. A stout, sturdy, stalwart man, with ruddy face, who looks frankly out upon the world with bright blue eyes. His grand, massive head is covered with a shock of gray hair, tumbled about in wild disorder, while upper lip (which is short) and chin are covered with gray mustache and beard."

He has left us for a brighter realm than the "Land of the Glittering Plain." For he who so unselfishly and fearlessly labored for justice and the happiness of the oppressed, has nothing to fear where justice reigns supreme and love illuminates all. He has gone, but his work remains. The seeds he has sown will never die; the inspiration he has shed abroad will touch, light, and fire other brains, and the cause of justice, progress, and fraternity will be carried on with far greater courage than if he had not lived, wrought, and written with soul aflame with enthusiasm for humanity.

THE LIFE OF THE SPIRIT.

BY LILIAN WHITING.

'Tis little I could care for pearls,
Who own the ample sea;
Or brooches, when the Emperor
With rubies pelteth me.

Emily Dickinson.

The life of the spirit is not to be considered as merely identical with devotional attitudes or with religious exercises. It is a life and not a litany; a conviction deeper even than a creed. If the life of the spirit could only be lived during stated periods of worship, or specific acts of charity or self-sacrifice, it would be inevitably a thing apart from the daily, hourly life of the world of busy and burdened men and women. But it is the life that is possible in every pursuit, every storm and stress, in every situation. It is the life that is still richer and more abundant in the press of daily demands, for there is the very theatre of its action, the very fibre of its reality. A religious recluse may find his personal luxury in giving himself up to personal devotion, to religious ecstasies; but the teacher in a school beset with exacting demands; the lawyer in his office, with crime, with injustice, with tissues of falsehood confronting him in the difficult problems of his work; the superintendent of organized labor with unreasonable demands or complaints ringing in the air about him; the laborer himself, suffering from defective conditions, from rank injustice, tortured by the privations and suffering of those dearer to him than himself; the saleswoman at the counter, facing again a long day's task made unduly hard by the thoughtlessness and selfishness of many of her customers, — how shall they live this life of the spirit? What is the life of the spirit? It is joy, peace, and love. Can the man or woman in hard, sad, and exacting conditions live the life of joy, peace, and love? Here we face our problem.

If the life of the spirit is simply a devotional luxury, possible only to the life of leisure or to the life of a voluntary recluse, then it is not feasible for the average life. We find ourselves here in a world whose demands tax every energy;

the spirit is housed in a physical body which must be duly cared for in order that it serve well as the instrument through which to work: and in the struggle for the primary needs of food, shelter, and clothing many of us are submerged; again, there is the struggle to carry on large enterprises, or to effect great achievements: and again the demands of the visible, the tangible, engulf the worker. How is he to lift up his heart and live the life of the spirit?

First, it may be by a clear and definite realization as to the nature and purposes of that life. It is not an exotic life. It is not a life to be anticipated in some indefinite future. It is the immediate concern of the hour. It is the key to all this problem of conflict, of limitations, of denials, of defeats. It is the clue that faithfully followed leads directly to successful achievement, to peace, to love, to joy in the Holy Spirit. Right thinking makes right living, and a true conception of the nature and purposes of existence determines the processes of thought.

The first truth to realize is that we are, here and now, spiritual beings inhabiting a spiritual world governed by spiritual laws. Man is primarily a spiritual being, and only secondarily a physical being. That is merely the incidental, the temporary condition by means of which he is enabled to bring his spiritual energies into direct relation with physical objects. Indeed, all that we call the physical world is rather a manifestation of the spiritual world than it is a different kind of world of its own. As the click of the telegraph that conveys the message is a manifestation of electricity rather than any specific power of its own, so the building of a railroad across the continent, the carrying of the cable under three thousand miles of ocean, the marvellous feats of civil engineering that bridge rivers and construct the appliances of a higher civilization, the work of a great manufactory, the organization or the individual work in any scope or direction, whether it be art or architecture, ministry or manufacturers, charity or commerce,—all are simply the manifestations, on the physical and visible plane, of the spiritual energies of the spiritual beings who, clothed in temporary physical bodies, inhabit this world for a limited period of time. The life of the spirit is as truly the life for the busy worker, in the conflict of exacting demands, as it is for priest, prelate, or poet.

Now when one stands off a little, so to speak, and considers

this panorama of the world we are in as something apart from his real self, as the merchant may survey his store, or the writer his manuscript; when one can attain that angle of vision by means of which he clearly perceives that his real self dwells in an unseen world and is allied to its forces: that this real self is in close and direct relation to the divine life of which it can receive to the utmost degree of its own capacity for reception, and that increasing the receptivity to this divine life it increases its power over circumstances and moves on from higher to higher conditions, — once realizing this, all the panorama of life assumes an entirely different aspect. The man feels something like a prince in disguise encountering temporary hardship, trial, or misunderstanding, that in no way affect his real identity or his subsequent dominion over temporary trial. The very moment that man recognizes and asserts his divine birthright he assumes a new attitude in the changing world of appearances — the “flowing conditions of life,” as Emerson well phrases them. A moment’s reflection will reveal to anyone the vivid truth of this characterization. Five years ago on Oct. 14 of 1891, Rev. Dr. Phillips Brooks was consecrated Bishop of Massachusetts. Apparently, here were settled conditions for perhaps a quarter of a century to come, for the diocese of which he was the spiritual head, and that larger realm in which he was recognized as a great spiritual teacher and leader. Yet in fifteen months this majestic figure, standing for all that makes for righteousness, for divine love and illumination, was withdrawn into the unseen world. A few months more and the places that had known him were filled by others, — by men true and wise, but whose taking up of the work of the parish and the episcopate, the two fields in which Dr. Brooks had consecutively worked, inevitably brought a new aspect into those “flowing conditions of life.” Nothing here is permanent. The worker manifests himself in some phase and passes on into that other condition unseen to mortal eyes.

The inevitable inference of reason, as well as the revelation of faith, is this: that the limited term of years on this plane of consciousness is an experimental phase; that in the life just beyond this — which is probably limited and proceeds to the next stage by an event as determining as is death in this life — that in this life just beyond, events and affairs and experiences become still more vivid, more important, more deeply significant than they are here, as the expe-

riences of mature life are more vivid and more significant than those of childhood. To be fitted for entering this life beyond requires all kinds of discipline, and it is the end, not the means, which is to be considered. If a man is selfish, shall he not be grateful and glad for that discipline, however severe and torturing at the moment, that shall kill selfishness in him? For until this is done, a barrier which he cannot pass interposes between him and that life of the spirit which is peace and joy. If a man is proud and harsh, because his outlook is too narrow for him to realize his relation to the universe, his pride must be transmuted into the divine grace of humility, his harshness must be transformed, by spiritual alchemy, into sweetness of spirit before he can live in joy and peace. Should not these transforming processes be welcomed, even as the patient welcomes the dentist's chair, the surgeon's knife, as the means to a desired result?

It is not the place here to revert to social economics. I do not refer to the limitations, the privations, the tortures of the ignorant, the helpless, the underpaid, as presenting a direct instance of divine discipline. I know too well how profound a truth is expressed by Rev. George D. Herron, D. D., when he says in that marvellous sermon of his on "Unconsecrated Service:"

Much of what we call Christianity is no less than an aristocratic and shameless pauperism, thriving on the wealth of sacrifice inherited from the past, resting in high-priced pews and fashionable residences, cunningly squeezing a luxurious living out of humanity, and superciliously labelling as charity the appeals made to serve the humanity that supports it.

One does not say that the prince has achieved a character which renders comforts and pleasures its just reward, and that the pauper requires cold, hunger, suffering of every form in order to evolve and develop higher qualities. Such views would be as idiotic as they are ignominious.

Our standards of value are somewhat wrong. The one supreme purpose of the soul's sojourn in this world is to develop its spiritual powers in this complex plane of manifestation. Whatever circumstances and conditions conduce to this end are fortunate circumstances and conditions, no matter how difficult or how uncomfortable they are. Whatever circumstances hinder this development are unfortunate ones, no matter how alluring they may appear to the senses.

Let us suppose two youths sent to Paris for special study,

and that on achieving a perfect mastery of the subject pursued, very definite and desirable positions await both. The one pursues his work. He may go to his daily lessons through storms and cold, perhaps insufficiently clad, perhaps hungry; he may pursue his object under the most painful and adverse conditions; nevertheless he acquires the knowledge, and returns well fitted to assume and carry on an important, an interesting, and an enjoyable work. He enters now on the more real phase of his life. Associations widen and friends and interests multiply. One stage leads naturally to another, and he finds life full of increasing satisfactions. The other youth has simply enjoyed himself. He has lived luxuriously and given his time to amusements and entertainments. He returns, not better instructed than when he left, not more fit to engage in the specific work. Which, then, has had the fortunate life abroad — the one who returns enriched and prepared to enter into high achievements, or the one who has given his time to mere luxury and pleasure and returns as barren as he set forth?

The analogy may not be wholly untrue to that of the soul's period in this world which should be the time for development and for achieving those qualities which are fitted to enter into the higher experience of the life to come. These qualities are those of zeal, patience, persistence, of intellectual grasp, of moral balance, of spiritual aspiration. They are the culture of sweetness of spirit, of sympathy, of untiring helpfulness and unselfish interests. The culture of these qualities is that which promotes the life of the spirit. It is, therefore, the life that may be lived here and now.

There can be little question that the higher self, one's real self, dwells perpetually in the unseen and in a more direct communion with the divine forces. To the degree in which we can realize this higher self, establish an identity with it, to that degree can it manifest its powers on this physical plane of life. This is what is sometimes called the subliminal self, whose powers, when unlocked by the hypnotic trance or by some sudden and supreme occurrence, reveal so marvellous and unsuspected a store of energy or of knowledge or power. To live constantly the life of the spirit instead of the life of the senses is to live in receptivity to this higher self and its remarkable powers. It is to so live that one may avail himself to an increasing extent of this illumination and force.

So to live is richness of life ; so to live is to find perpetual joy, peace, and love ; it is to radiate happiness. One may miss pleasures — and pleasure ; but happiness is the divine atmosphere, and we may live in it if we will. Pleasure appeals to the senses alone ; but happiness appeals to the spirit. Those who own the ample sea do not set undue value on pearls ; those who live in a shower of rubies do not lament because a single one has missed their grasp.

Between the two worlds of the Seen and the Unseen, there may be perpetual telepathic communion. Telepathy is the language of the spirit, but its purpose is not restricted to the life after death. Spirit to spirit approaches here, whether in or out of the physical body, and he who now lives the life of the spirit, in its radiant energy, its peace, joy, and love, shall find himself privileged with direct and conscious communion with his friends in the unseen world. He will find himself in the current of achievement, in the midst of constantly enlarging opportunities for usefulness ; and so shall life overcome the fret and jar of transient anxieties and live on the divine plane even while here. As Emerson truly says : " Our painful labors are unnecessary ; there is a better way." To this better way is all humanity moving, and there is approaching a new life of finer achievement, of exaltation, and of gladness. Happiness is the normal state of the spirit as health is the normal state of the body. The life of the spirit is love and peace — the life of radiant energy and abounding joy.

AN INHERITANCE FOR THE WAIFS.

BY C. F. TAYLOR, M. D.

When an owner of property dies the property that formerly belonged to him is distributed to his children or his nearest kin, or according to his will, if he has left a will. We are so accustomed to this that we think heirs of the blood have a "natural" right to claim the property that belonged to their kinsman now dead, or that a possessor of property has a "natural" right to direct by will what shall be done with his property after he is dead. Instead of being natural rights these rights are entirely artificial. Being created by law they can be unmade by the same power that made the law.

As a brief inquiry into what is "natural" in these respects let us take a peep into the animal world. Who ever heard of a bird building nests to leave to its grown-up descendants? The following would be a very ludicrous picture: An old and prosperous bird dies. He leaves a row of nests to be rented out to other birds for the benefit of his fortunate family. The rental price is a nice fat worm of certain dimensions every morning and evening for each nest. Let us imagine one of the heir-birds suffering from indigestion and headache. The doctor is sent for, and being of a sensible and independent sort, says plainly, "You need exercise." The indolent heir-bird does not like the idea of "hustling" out upon the wing, so sends for a very fashionable quack doctor, who praises, flatters, and indulges, and her birdship spends a life of indolent, miserable ease, and the unfortunate "renters" spend lives of anxious, overworked hardship.

An equally ludicrous picture could be drawn from any sphere of the animal kingdom. And it does not take us long to see that the *natural* method is as follows:

Parents give protection and sustenance to their offspring until adolescence; then comes a brief period of training and partial sustenance, which soon terminates in the young adult animal being left to depend upon his own exertions.

Now let us look into the community life of the savage. Possessions other than distinctly personal objects are usually in common. Both individual and tribal existence is depen-

dent upon the protection for which the tribe was originally formed; and this fact is worth taking into account: possessions at death revert to the tribe or to the head of the tribe, to be used for the general good. To this day the sheik of a bedouin tribe possesses all the property of the tribe, not for himself but for the tribe; he is manager for the tribe. For example, the guides at the pyramids turn their earnings over to the sheik. At the death of the sheik, the property descends to the succeeding head of the tribe, as guardian rather than possessor, and always for the general use of the tribe.

As we approach civilized life, we note the individual ownership of property. Out of this grew the laws of individual inheritance. There are those who claim that all the glories of civilization, the discoveries of science, the perfection of art, the exalted hopes and aspirations of the race grew out of the defining of individual property rights and the protection thereof. And there are those who believe that the crime, the corruption, the misery and woe, the want and destitution, selfishness and greed, and all the misshapen children of these black and hideous monsters, all the unnatural and loathsome sins of body and soul, all of which are confined chiefly to so-called civilized society, are due primarily to the individual ownership of property.

Perhaps a brief consideration of how property comes into existence will throw some light upon the right of individual ownership and transmission and the limits thereof.

Robinson Crusoe did not become wealthy. By his unaided efforts he could not create much wealth. The power to create wealth is vastly increased by tools, division of labor, machinery, inventions, etc., and manifestly these are due to society. These agencies have wonderfully increased man's efficiency in creating wealth; and by means of these agencies civilized society has become extremely wealthy in every material comfort, convenience, and luxury.

The supreme question which is forcing itself to the front and will soon demand a solution, is, To whom do these comforts and luxuries, these many forms of wealth created by society, rightfully belong?

While giving individual initiative and enterprise every rightful credit, yet these alone would be futile. However industrious and enterprising Robinson Crusoe might have been, he could never have had the comforts that the humblest laboring man in civilized society enjoys. Give Crusoe the

choicest tools and he would be poor. Place on his island the most advanced machinery of modern times and teach him all the arts of the skilled machinist and leave him alone again, and he would still be poor. He must have the co-operation of his fellows before his position would be substantially improved.

Given all these conditions, and we find that, while the masses labor from morn till night year after year and get only a small portion of the product of labor, a few get much more than their just share, have servants, go abroad to live, leave vast estates, etc. If the workingmen are indebted to the advantages of society for the improvement of their condition over that of Crusoe, how much more is the man who has accumulated (not created) wealth indebted to society! For example, in the midst of our great fortunes of to-day, the following calculation will be interesting: It will be readily granted that a workingman who saves one dollar per day above living expenses, every working day, and who has the opportunity of doing this continuously month after month and year after year, is very fortunate. But let us suppose that a workingman began working and saving at this rate at the beginning of the Christian era, and that his life had been miraculously prolonged through all these centuries, how many millions (barring interest) would he be worth to-day? You will be surprised to hear that his first million would be only a little more than half earned. Then what shall we say of those who *get* not only one million but many millions during the brief time of the efficient portion of a human life? Certainly millionnaires get more than the advantage of tools, machinery, and co-operation in the ordinary sense. It is only by special privileges of some sort that the accumulation of so much as a million dollars is possible. And the "accumulation" is not the process of earning, but of in some way inducing the forces of civilized society to contribute to individual coffers instead of to the general good.

Our laws give protection in the possession of these unearned and unnaturally large fortunes; not only protection in their possession, but the right to transmit the same at the death of the owner according to his will, or in the absence of a will the property goes to the descendants of the owner. Let us notice that society, the forces of which much more than the industry of the individual created the fortune, makes no claims as an heir to the fortune; or, to put it in

another way, the State, by means of whose institutions and fostering protection the accumulation and retention of a large fortune become possible, makes no claims as an heir at the death of the owner. There are two reasons why society or the State should be an heir in these cases. The first is, if the forces of society rather than the forces of the individual created the fortune, society should have a right to the possession of at least a part of the fortune, if not at the time of the accumulation, certainly after the accumulator is dead.

Second, the State has many wards growing up in vice and ignorance, and it *needs* its rightful resources to give healthful and moral surroundings and needful educational advantages to those who without such aid will become criminals and paupers instead of useful citizens.

We have seen that in the animal world the "natural" inheritance of the offspring is sustenance during the period of incapacity, and training during the period of adolescence. It is seldom, and only through accident, that the young animal fails to receive this natural inheritance. When adult life is reached further inheritance invariably ceases. Should not society, or as some would prefer to express it, the State, insure to its needy young this "natural" inheritance, particularly when it has so good a claim as an heir to these large unearned fortunes? Those who inherit by descent or will these immense fortunes (only by grace of the law) get a superabundant and undeserved inheritance, while the waifs of society do not even get their natural right of sustenance and training.

My proposition is to take a portion from the excessively large inheritances and with this portion restore the natural and rightful inheritance to the waifs.

The abstracting of a part of an inheritance is usually called an inheritance tax; but I protest against this theory. An estate whose former owner is dead belongs to no one except by the grace and consent of the State. Ex-Premier Rosebery says that the dead hand has no rights. The will that the hand now dead has executed is also dead, except as the State brings it to life. The descendants of the former owner did not earn the wealth, hence it is not theirs except as the State may permit. There is abundant legal authority for this position.

I contend that the State should be a first and preferred heir to a portion of every excessively large estate; after

which the remainder may be divided as at present. The State's inheritance should not be put into the general fund for ordinary expenses, but be devoted to the establishment of institutions for the sustenance and training of children from the slums of the cities whose natural protectors have either died or are incompetent.

The principle of inheritance taxation is well established all over the civilized world. England gets twelve per cent of her total revenue (about \$55,000,000) from this source, and some countries get as high as twenty per cent. France taxes gifts during life, as well as property transmitted at the death of the owner. The experience of the world shows that this kind of a tax is collected easily and without much expense; and it is a burden to no one, for nothing is taken from anyone, — the dead have no needs and the survivors get what they did not formerly have. As a tax and a source of income it is ideal and certain. It has long been a source of income in a number of our states, as Pennsylvania, New York, and some others, and the number of such states has recently increased to about fourteen. These taxes are laid upon the portion going to each individual and are complicated by "direct" and "collateral" considerations. I contend that these complications are unnecessary, and that the State take a portion of the estate first, and afterward the remainder be divided according to will or laws of descent; and also that this be not construed as a tax, but as a national inheritance; and also that whatever the different states may do in this matter, the nation be the first and preferred heir, and that the proceeds be not put into the general fund, but be devoted to the sustenance and training of the nation's needy little ones.

Last winter I prepared a bill that I called a "National Heritage Law," and had it introduced into Congress. It provided that the nation should inherit a portion of all estates above a million dollars in valuation according to the following scale: All estates up to a million dollars not affected; but of all fortunes above a million dollars and less than two millions, at the death of the owner the nation shall inherit 1% of the excess above one million; if above two millions, the nation shall inherit 2% of all in excess of one million; if above three millions, the nation shall inherit 3% of all in excess of one million, and so on up to 50%.

This I know is only a millionaire affair, but it is so intended at first until the principle shall be established; then

to clear the slums of their miserable and hopeless young, and remove from the streets children selling papers and blacking shoes, and children workers from factories and sweat-shops, and do our duty by them by making them comfortable and giving them training and education as they deserve.

My proposed National Heritage Law, introduced in Congress last winter, was "smothered" in committee. Let us endeavor to elect a large number of liberal and progressive congressmen next November, and have the Committee on Ways and Means made up of that kind of men. I will then prepare a bill embracing the principles advocated in this paper, and let us all use our influence to get it through Congress. When this is done we shall be on the right track. Then justice and law will systematically and thoroughly do the important duty now left to the spasmodic and inefficient efforts of charity.

PRACTICAL CHRISTIANITY AS I CONCEIVE IT—A SYMPOSIUM.

I.

There is not a sect in Christendom that may not claim to be developing "practical Christianity." Why then this revolt and this modern emphasis on the word "practical"? If all denominations are trying to make mankind better, it would seem as if our definition might be found in the ordinary terms of the average theologies and creeds.

But time produces different motor-centres in religion. The Calvinist in his day was able to coerce human nature toward goodness by fear and by warning concerning future penalties. Calvinism is dead. Its legacy of true doctrine (the sifted seed-corn of truth) has been bequeathed to a more reasonable view of divine government.

To-day, for thoughtful people, there is a revision of reason; that is to say, Christianity is operative, if at all, from other sources than the five points of Calvinism.

I suppose in the popular mind "practical Christianity" stands contrasted with doctrinal Christianity. This discrimination is not correct. No movement, religious or other, can gain momentum except from the motor-centre of ideas. The power of a liberal, humanitarian religion to uplift men must first start from certain clear truths. The higher the source, the greater the power. To say that we will benefit mankind is a noble resolve; but the extent of our strength and helpfulness will depend on the intensity of our convictions. Those convictions in my case are as follows:

I conceive Christianity to be a working force for the transformation of humanity. Cleared of all contemporary errors, the "gospel" of Jesus is a call to kingdom-making. His phrase was, "The kingdom of God," or "of heaven," synonymous terms in his mind. He proclaimed freedom for the individual, — character the test, brotherhood the tie, aspiration the spirit.

Practical Christianity, from my point of view and work, is one of the mighty agencies provided by the evolution of his-

tory for our use in civilizing the world. It is a product of Hebrew rootage, now adapted to the wants of the Anglo-Saxon race. Freed from misconceptions it will take a commanding place in the reform and progress of the twentieth century. Science is not hostile to this position. Science is resolutely opposed to certain theological dogmas once supposed to be inherently identified with the Christian scheme of renovation. Two talented authors have done much to present this truth, yes, three—Dr. Draper, Prof. John Fiske, and Hon. Andrew D. White, with a glorious company of associate teachers.

It is true that Col. Robert G. Ingersoll on the basis of agnosticism has preached an inspiring message. This would seem to refute my argument, that certain ideas or truths must be the source of a successful working force for humanity's welfare. Not so. Faith in something is the only main-spring adequate to move the pointer of progress. Col. Ingersoll has faith in the essential value of sincerity, kindness, sacrifice, and justice. His enthusiasm flames high as he studies life here—life unfolding in happier homes, juster laws, freer minds, and sunnier hearts. There may be a God, there may be personal immortality, there may be this or that abstractly considered; I know not, he says, but this I do know: 'Tis well, 'tis best to improve the material, political, and social conditions of *this* life. His look forward is to the coming generations, not to a future heaven or hell.

Practical Christianity obtains its enthusiasm by adding faith in truths which partly assume and partly explain the order of things. It affirms a belief in one Supreme Power of perfect goodness and justice; in a deathless destiny for the individual; in the continuous growth of man under divine education; in the naturalness of religion; in the dignity and worth of the soul viewed in the light of its origin. It does not hesitate to use terms which refer to an immanent God, to a higher law, to a spiritual responsibility. Then, backed up by this army of convictions, it wages a campaign of reconstruction among the pursuits, standards, and motives of men.

"By its fruits" ye shall know this type of religion. The uplift of mankind is the cardinal law. By making the narrow, exclusive, pharisaical church broad, inclusive, ever-active. By setting the pursuit of truth above all limiting results of dogmatic finalities. By calling together the lovers

of mankind, of all sects, into coöperating ranks, ready to fight the battles of righteousness, at the polls, in society, and on ecclesiastical fields. By putting in the place of future salvation the thought of present service. By training the young in ethical and unselfish ideals. By diminishing the wastes and burdens of theological tyranny and bigotry. By impressing the idea of stewardship and trust on the consciences of the rich, the talented, and the favored. By sharing in the reforms of each era, and not, as of old, waiting for the "outside world" to lead and denounce. By lighting up the Bible with modern knowledge, and freeing its oracles from superstitions and ignorant interpretation.

Practical Christianity is not only a worker in the "slums," it seeks to purify the high places of wealth, luxury, and power. Once lodged in the zeal of leading spirits of all denominations its career will broaden. The need now is for an uprising in behalf of oppressed humanity. Burdens of a grievous kind are laid upon us because of the partisanship and blindness of sectarian methods. Money is squandered, animosities fostered, energies scattered, progress held back, because the prosperity of a sect is placed above the welfare of the community. I have hope of better things. Slowly, but surely, the Christianity of the Sermon on the Mount begins to dawn. It differs somewhat from Paul's, from Augustine's, from Calvin's, but it is the Christianity of Jesus, from whom Paul, Augustine, and Calvin imperfectly, though honestly, took their watchwords.

EDWARD A. HORTON.

II.

My conception of practical Christianity would be of little value if it were not based upon some knowledge of the methods of the founder of Christianity, and any theory which I might hold would count for little if it had not been tested by experience. The record of what Christ did is as emphatic as the report of what He said, and one of His most striking utterances upon eschatology is the threatened punishment, not for refusal to believe, but for failure to act.

In the early Christian church the spirit of ministration was prominently set forth, and the first disturbance in the church is thus stated: "In those days, when the number of the disciples was multiplied, there arose a murmuring of the Grecians

against the Hebrews because their widows were neglected in the daily ministration," and the outcome of this dispute was the choice of seven men "of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom," whom the Apostles appointed over this business. In the history of the church subsequently there are epochs when ministration is made prominent: *e. g.*, in 1540 was instituted the Brothers of Charity, a lay order in the Roman Catholic Church, founded in Portugal, by John of God, for the care of the sick and fallen; and in 1580, when the first Separatist Church was formed in England, by Robert Browne, the constitution of the church was evidently based upon that of the primitive church, for, after naming the pastor and teacher of the church and defining their duties, provision is made for one or more deacons or deaconesses to care for the secular matters of the church, to visit the sick and afflicted, and to relieve the wants of the poor. The so-called Institutional Church of to-day has been thus defined: "At its best it is dominated by the spirit of Christ, and it does as far as possible what He would do were He living and laboring among men to-day. It strives to meet every contingency, and is organized to do extraordinary rather than ordinary things. It does not move mechanically, but magnifies the personal element." As yet, however, very few churches have attained to this ideal.

The "greatest thing in the world" might still be styled charity, if the meaning of the word were not somewhat degraded. What better proof of this than in the epithet "objects of charity"? And do we not invariably associate the word with mendicancy, although its root meaning is "dear, costly, loved"? One of the *fin de siècle* movements is designed to restore the word to its former position. As Prof. Ely remarks: "We are beginning to hear of the science of charity, and it is surely needed, for old-fashioned almsgiving is a curse."

It is assumed for the sake of argument that practical Christianity is best developed and practised by and through the Church. The theologian, Paul, was liberal enough to say: "As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men, especially unto them who are of the household of faith." It would seem at this late day as if those in the bonds of Christian fellowship would be mutually helpful. In the chapter from which are taken the words above quoted, the Apostle says to the Galatians, "Bear ye one another's

burdens, and thus fulfil the law of Christ." This is not the place to discuss the duty of the Church toward its indigent members. The subject demands that we go beyond this limitation and take up the command, "as we have opportunity let us do good unto *all* men," which clearly proves the duty of the Church to those beyond its fellowship.

We may step over another boundary line, that which includes the members of the congregation as distinct from those of the church, and look out upon the broader parish as the spirit of the Master demands. Why are there so many unchurched people to-day? Largely because so many professed Christians take no vital interest in the non-church-going element in the community. And yet what is the material that every band of Christians under their Leader is to move upon? "They that are well need not a physician, but they that are sick," and the Church owes a duty to the body politic greater than that which is due to its own membership. The analogy of the physician in his daily rounds is neither fanciful nor forced. A portion of the community have learned and practise the laws of health and in a natural way communicate this knowledge to others. But these do not demand that the physician make systematic visits to them, to the neglect of the sick and suffering. His duty is along the line of professional calls, and pastoral theology ought to emphasize the duty of the minister to make his calls of a professional rather than of a social nature, and to give his attention more largely to those outside the church for the purpose of bringing them under right influences, than to his own peculiar flock.

A writer tells how a little child once preached a sermon to him :

"Is your father at home?" I asked a small child on our village doctor's doorstep.

"No," he said, "he's away."

"Where do you think I could find him?"

"Well," he said, with a considering air, "you've got to look for some place where people are sick or hurt, or something like that. I don't know where he is, but he's helping somewhere."

The complaint of church members in prosperity and health because of the failure of the minister to make social calls is to their shame and discredit.

It is not meant by this that the servant of Christ is to set traps and snares, but he is to use material means for spiritual ends, though of course there are many instances where com-

mon humanity will prompt him to render service even to the ungrateful. If practical Christian work were always done in the name of Christ ingratitude and deception would cut a very small figure. If Christ was willing to heal ten lepers knowing that only one would return to give thanks, our consciences should be satisfied with our faithfulness rather than our success. The criticism and the censure of others should not deter us from going straight forward. The very sneer of men may become the praise of Christ.

Sympathetic charity is preëminently the work of practical Christianity. This is the sort that "suffereth long and is kind." Its field is the world. It makes no distinction of creed or race. While it believes that man's greatest possession is "the pearl of great price," and that his greatest need is of the Saviour of mankind, it recognizes that the physical demands must be first met before the man can be elevated spiritually. Practical Christianity is showing also that social redemption is involved in moral redemption, and that the short cut to the latter is by taking hold of the power of God. Leaving theorizing now, some concrete cases will illustrate what I think practical Christianity ought to be and is :

A man came to my office from Deer Island with a letter from one of our church members who, "having fallen from grace," was paying the penalty of his transgression. The messenger tried hard to "work" me, but with poor success. His failure to accomplish his purpose raised me in his esteem, and after leading the life of a tramp for a while he came again, with less of malice prepense. But he was too much in the toils of sin to break away easily, and it was only when in the hospital, apparently near his end, that he succeeded. The physician in his morning rounds intimated to the patient that his family had better be notified, when he was startled by the proposition, "Doctor, I'll bet you the only dollar I have that I'll get well!" But a few hours later on his return he found the patient improved and ordered alcoholic stimulants to be given him. This time he was equally surprised at the refusal of the man to take his prescription. The patient persisted, and to-day is in good health, occupying a responsible position, and he is a Christian, as he says, not for anything that was said to him but for what practical Christianity did for him.

Here is a neighborhood by no means unique. A number

of men are employed hereabouts, and in some cases their duties keep them out of doors most of the time. When the days are bitter cold the saloon is very attractive. To offset this, a coffee lunch is served at noon regularly. It may not be immodest to say that toilet privileges were furnished for these men, when we found that such was the last bond that drew them to the saloon. Tentatively during the heated season a barrel of ice-water was kept on tap during the day. Later a large tank was substituted and kept in operation day and night. The office of the church became the centre for practical Christian work. Hither people flocked with their various needs. A consumptive is refused admission to the hospitals because his case is hopeless; we find a place where he can be cared for during his remaining days on earth. An order of eviction is served upon a woman upon her sick bed; it completely prostrates her; an attendant reports the case to us, and we serve notice upon the landlord that she must remain until her physician decides it advisable for her to be removed. This man wants to sign the pledge; he is under the influence of liquor, and, perhaps to be rid of him, we humor him, but he comes again, this time sober, and to-day is leading a consistent Christian life. Helpful advice is freely given, and the work is increased tenfold because of the ability to coöperate with the established charitable and philanthropic organizations and other institutions. A pensioner squanders his money for drink, and when, for his own good, aid is refused, his request is granted that he may have a guardian appointed who will make his pension money last the whole of the quarter instead of a few days. Scores of people come for material assistance who are shown the way to help themselves; and it has been one of the surprises in practical Christian work to find how many have certain rights, which, if secured to them, would make them independent. A woman strays in, under the influence of liquor; she says afterwards that she started for a house of ill-fame, and cannot explain why she brought up at the church office. Once she would have been handed over to the police, but we have learned a better way, and, on finding she has a son, we divide the care of these two with another branch of Christians.

A volume would not suffice to show by facts what is the right conception of practical Christianity, but the limits of this article forbid the mention of more than a few. I know

a worthy woman whose husband was injured by a brewery wagon. By the accident, not only was the family deprived of the earnings of its head but the hands of the mother were now tied, and her contribution to the weekly income was cut off. A suit was instituted, but lawyers and doctors played into the hands of the enemy. It required only a few days to put the case into competent and honest hands, though it has taken months to secure a favorable verdict. In the mean time the family has been cared for and the burdens of the over-worked mother have been removed.

I cannot forbear to give another example : An infidel, a man of learning and ability, one whose character had been above reproach, committed a crime in order to provide food for his family. His Christian wife presented the case to us, and the husband was saved before the law could touch him. This single act wrought upon him far more effectively than any didactic volume of Christian evidences.

It may be allowable to say in closing that practical Christian work should centre in the church and radiate from it as a centre. All honor to those churches that have grasped the full meaning of their mission! But the so-called Institutional Church is still on trial, and will continue to be until needless obstructions are removed. It will succeed when, in the spirit of the Master, it employs the most improved modern methods based upon primitive Christian principles.

REV. RUFUS B. TOBEY.

III.

When we speak of religion, what do we mean? If we are speaking of the Christian religion, the Jewish religion, or the Mohammedan religion, we mean the doctrines formulated and expounded in books which contain the creed of the Christian, the Jew, or the Mohammedan. We also speak of religion in another and very different sense. As man has an intellectual side and a social side, so has he a religious side, which distinguishes him from the animal, and which makes it as natural for him to feel reverence toward the power above him as it is for him to think or to speak. The Greek word for man, *anthropos*, means "he who looks upward." "And certain it is," says Müller, "that what makes man to be man, is that he alone turns his face heavenward and yearns for something which neither sense nor rea-

son can supply." This yearning we call the religious instinct, and it is natural to man.

What now is the Christian religion? It has been the custom of its advocates to unduly depreciate all other religions, and to claim that until its advent the world was without a knowledge of God or a revelation of His will. They have assumed that countless millions of human beings, in an imperfect stage of development, in earlier ages of the world have been left at the mercy of false religions, which rendered their worship profanation, made of their lives a cruel farce, and utterly destroyed their chance of salvation after death.

"There is no religion without some grain of truth," said Saint Augustine. Every religion has always been the best possible at the time. It has expressed the highest thoughts and sentiments of the generation accepting it, and its intention has always been toward a nobler ideal of perfection than had existed before. Each has prepared the way for something better. And through them all the race has been steadily climbing higher for tens of thousands of years, as it has advanced in civilization and grown more intellectual and more ethical, until the Christian religion has been evolved with its simple, universal, and eternal truths.

Nor can Christianity be judged by its counterfeits, its excrescences, and the transient falsities which become attached to it in its progress. No religion must be judged by the errors and blunders of its advocates, by the crudeness of their comprehension, their ignorant misstatements of what it teaches, nor yet by the immorality of their lives. We must not follow the methods of Ingersoll, who judges Christianity by its misconceptions, and its degeneration by its distortions and the semi-paganism which overlies it. Do we judge art by the ugly and clumsy statues of our parks and the glaring and gaudy pictures which lumber our galleries?

When we judge a religion we must study it as it was promulgated by its founder. If we want to know what Platonism is, we go back to Plato himself and learn from his teachings. We do not go to the unwisdom or immorality of his followers or to the corruptions of Platonism which were taught centuries later. So with Christianity. We must go back to Jesus Christ, its author, and learn what he thought. And he summed up all religion as love to God and love to man. "*Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy mind, and all thy soul, and thy neighbor as thyself.*" These two

elements are the constituents and essentials of the Christian religion, and they form a perfect religion. The religion of Jesus is taught in the beatitudes, in the Lord's prayer and the golden rule, and runs through all his public utterances.

The golden rule is as fundamental to all right relations in the world of duty and happiness as is Newton's law of gravitation in the world of matter. Applied to the adjustment of the serious problems of America it would settle them promptly and with perfect satisfaction. This divine law had long sought expression before the advent of Jesus. Confucius taught it as a negation: "You must not do to others what you would not they should do to you." Plato uttered it as a prayer: "May I, being of sound mind, do to others as I would they should do to me." Jesus gave it as a law of life to be observed every day, in every place, under all circumstances, by every human being, and then he lived what he taught by a life of wonderful import, and died a martyr to his marvellous doctrines.

The Christian religion has incorporated itself in creeds and churches and forms of worship, but the time has not yet come when communities and nations are moulded by it. It is yet to conquer the realm of civil government, and to readjust all the relations of nations one with another. It is to dominate the business world, the departments of trade and commerce, domestic life, and society in all its manifold relations. It proclaims the duty of strength to assist weakness, that wealth should lend a hand to the helping of poverty, that prosperity should take care of misfortune.

It urges that the disputes of nations shall be settled by international courts of arbitration, and not by a resort to war. It condemns the insane and vulgar greed for riches that actuates monopolies, corporations, and other similar organizations, whose tendency is to make the rich richer, and the poor poorer. It is diametrically opposed to the gigantic liquor interest, which is the prolific cause of crime, suicide, insanity, poverty, disease, and wretchedness; and it arraigns the government for its nefarious partnership in the sinful business by which it adds hundreds of millions of dollars to its treasury annually. In short, whatever in human institutions or human life antagonizes the golden rule or the Sermon on the Mount is at variance with the Christian religion as taught, expounded, and lived by its great founder, Jesus Christ.

MARY A. LIVERMORE.

IV.

When President Garfield lay prostrate at the hand of Guiteau, he had every attention that tenderness and skill could give save one: the fatal bullet was not removed, and the consequence was death, in spite of nurses and physicians. So, to-day, the Christianity of our civilization lies dying. We have churches, schools, orphanages, hospitals. We carry flowers to the sick, food to the hungry, clothes to the naked. Church wealth accumulates, numbers increase, popularity extends, and power wanes.¹ The reason is, we do not probe wisely for the bullet, the centre of poison, the agent of death.

To me, practical Christianity means the removal of the causes of evil, the destruction of the motives for wrong, the creation of an atmosphere of purity, truth and love. Concerning loving ministrations, it is enough to say: "These ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone." The omission of loving justice, the failure to demand laws consistent with changed conditions is the sin of the church of to-day.

The parable of the lost sheep needs a new interpretation. It means that God will not be satisfied until his lost child has a fair chance in the rivalry of life. It is not sufficient to say that the majority are well enough off, that all except a few have a fair chance; God will never rest content with any people, any nation, any civilization that does not give the lost one a fair chance to climb the highest heights of worldly and spiritual good. This is the Christianity of Christ as distinguished from the Christianity of the church.

There is enough in the world for all, and yet, as Massey says:

We hear the cry for bread, with plenty smiling all around,
Hill and valley in their bounty blush for man with fruitage crowned;
What a merry world it might be, opulent for all and aye,
With its lands that ask for labor, and its wealth that wastes away.
This world is full of beauty as other worlds above,
And, if we did our duty, it might be full of love.

If we did our duty there is no reason why not only the hungry body but also the hungry soul should not be fed with all the good it craves. There is no reason why women should starve for want of the beautiful, nor why man

¹ The fact that the liquor saloon still reigns is sufficient evidence that the Christian influence of the Church does not keep pace with its material growth.

should long in vain for those things which God has designed to sustain the soul.

The trouble is, we do not do our duty. Whenever a great crisis arises in human affairs, a crisis which means the welfare of millions, the church as represented by the clergy is never ready for it. At this writing a great crisis is upon the American people. A movement for a new social order is astir; a very few clergymen comprehend it, a very few are even interested in it. In fact, the ignorance displayed by a majority of those preachers who have spoken on the money question in New York and New England is equalled only by the indifference of the larger number who have remained silent; and the general ignorance of the Church on great social problems, it would be impossible to exaggerate. Men cry for justice, and we fling them an alms and talk to them about heaven. We do not even know what their cry for justice means, and perhaps blame them for uttering it.

The religion of Jesus is a religion of deep, universal, and eternal principles. It means the regeneration not only of the heart of man but of the heart of society. It means a new civilization whenever the old fails in its mission,—and its mission fails whenever justice fails. No institution of man is essentially sacred or divine. Humanity alone is God's great care, and for its sake He has incarnated himself in it. As Herron says: "God is human, man is divine." Whatever institution gets in the way of human progress must perish. However venerable, however seemingly sacred, the "strong one in his wrath" will eventually smite every "godless shrine." The first duty of a practical Christianity may sometimes be to destroy the Church itself. Though the Church die, Christ will still live, will still be heard, and will build something better in the place of that which is overthrown.

Even to-day there is outside the Church an intense demand for the more perfect application of Christian principles to society, to government, and to life. It is a demand which must be heeded. It is the incarnate Christ-voice calling for judgment, mercy, and faith, a voice pronouncing the sentence of death to man's greed and lust for power.

The traditions of the Church forbid the active participation of the clergy in any movement which requires political action. They must stick to the creed and preach that which nobody will dispute. If, perchance, they break from tradition and touch upon politics, they are more than likely to be

upon the wrong side. The Church, as an organization, in its general assemblies spends its time in electing officers, discussing methods for its own enlargement, tinkering its discipline, and passing stale or worthless resolutions. Really vital interests it ignores until pushed to their consideration by forces from the outside.

I would not have the Church dictate political creeds, nor enter into a scramble for spoils, but I would have it search out principles and pronounce upon them with no uncertain sound. I would have it show the way of life to earth's toiling millions without waiting for a future heaven. When great crises arise I would have it first in the field with its declarations of righteousness and truth. I would have it show their duty to men of wealth, and be first in its demand for a just and, if necessary, new civilization. Practical Christianity means sacrifice, sometimes of property, often of numbers, and these are too often the last things the Church is willing to give. Because it feels itself more divine than humanity, its mission is a partial failure. When it finds itself willing to fail for Christ's sake, the true practical Christianity will once more revive.

REV. ROBERT E. BISBEE.

V.

To the Editor of THE ARENA :

MY DEAR SIR, — Last night I heard our friend Mr. James Rhodes of the Prospect Union speak on the eternal principles on which the coöperative movements in England are based. I could not but think of your articles, with such a good illustration of practical Christianity.

Whenever you meet an enthusiastic temperance man, who has studied the subject of personal purity with real enthusiasm and from the spiritual point of view, not from the point of view of the Philistine, you have the same feeling: you say, "This man understands practical Christianity." Whenever you meet with a person who is interested in prisons, and acquaints himself with the needs of men who are awaiting trial or who have been tried, using his knowledge for the benefit of those men, or men like them, you say again, "Here is a piece of practical Christianity."

It is certainly very curious, it is very melancholy, that ninety-nine hundredths of the books which have been written

about Christianity in the last nineteen centuries make no reference to such practical matters. Generally speaking, they are useless discussions on sin and the nature of sin. Sometimes they mount so high as to give some good advice to some one individual how he shall save his own soul. But the definite business of enlarging life, of making the world a stronger and wiser and better world, is passed by in such literature as if it were a business with which men have as little to do as butterflies seem to have.

This having been the direction which the authorized Christian teachers have chosen to take, it becomes more necessary for men and women in our age to try to show that there is no Christianity unless it acts. The illustrations in the life of Jesus Christ are curiously apt in this regard. Perhaps the noblest description ever made of him is that "He made himself of no reputation, and took upon himself the form of a servant." That is, he was ready to be of use to other people. And another description like this says that "He went about doing good." For any person to stay in the house year in and out, not doing good, and still call himself a Christian, is a most lamentable misuse of language.

In what we call the "Four Mottoes" of the Lend a Hand Clubs, the first is, "Look up and not down." This is the nineteenth century rendering of the appeal for faith in God. The second is "Look forward and not back," which is our rendering of the appeal for hope, by which Paul meant man's outlook into the infinite world. So much for faith and hope, the first two of what Paul names as the Three Eternities. They are much more than graces; they are the foundations on which life stands. Greater than these, according to Paul's statement and according to the eternal truth of things, is love; and the third of our mottoes, "Look out and not in," represents in the language of the nineteenth century what Paul meant by love. It is what some people like to call altruism now. But it is not enough that love should be represented by the desire to "look out"; a man may look out as Rebecca looked out of the tower window. It is the man who is striking blows, or fighting the fight, or building a house, or pouring in oil and wine, who lives the life of love. And it is for this reason that to our motto "Look out and not in" we add the motto "Lend a hand." We do this for the purpose of showing that the expression of love is nothing until a man carry it into action.

I see, as you do, with great satisfaction that churches, societies, guilds, orders, nowadays are not satisfied with mulling over the theories of people on the improvement of the world, but address themselves directly to practical action in that way. I am myself convinced that a great deal more can be done than has generally been done in showing children what public spirit is and how they can live for others. If you can make four or five boys who have joined together in a Lend a Hand Club teach a lame boy who is shut up for the winter how to use a jigsaw,—that is to say, if you can organize them as a society for the help of others, instead of that very questionable organization, a Mutual Improvement Society,—you have taken a definite step in practical Christianity.

EDWARD E. HALE.

THE CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH.

BY ELTWEED POMEROY.

Many persons commonly considered wealthy are in reality no more wealthy than the locks of their own strong boxes are; they being inherently and eternally incapable of wealth; and operating for the nation, in an economical point of view, either as pools of dead water and eddies in a stream (which, so long as the stream flows, are useless or serve only to drown people, but may become of importance in a state of stagnation should the stream dry); or else as dams in a river of which the ultimate service depends not on the dam but the miller; or else, as mere accidental stays and "impedimenta" acting, not as wealth, but (for we ought to have a correspondent term) as "illth" causing various devastations and trouble around them in all directions; or lastly acting not at all but as mere animated conditions of delay (no use being possible of anything they have until they are dead), in which last condition they are nevertheless often useful as delays and "impedimenta" if a nation is apt to move too fast. — *Ruskin*.

In the July, 1895, number of *The American Federationist* I gave some facts relative to the concentration of wealth in the United States and an argument for one of the remedies for it, a progressive inheritance charge. Since then, more statistics supporting the facts then given and the conclusions arrived at have come under my notice. I propose to give an opening view of the problem, a brief *résumé* of these facts with diagrams, state my conclusions, and briefly the remedies.

THE LUST FOR POWER.

The world moves in cycles. Its general progress is upward, but it is not a steady upward movement. It seems to go in spirals, a rapid advance under the impetus of some new force. That power spends itself and old and evil forces recur which drag civilization back into the depression of the spiral until some new inspiration starts the upward movement again. The force of a lust for power, which has shown itself in past ages in the institutions of slavery, ecclesiastical machine domination, serfdom, imperialism, aristocracy and class rule, is to-day reappearing in a new guise, in a new slavery, in a new serfdom, in a new imperialism, in a new aristocracy, in a new class rule. The old forms of domination are being superseded by the new form of a concentration of wealth in a few hands, of a concentration of the ownership of the earth and the fulness thereof. Those who do not own are as truly slaves now as under any of the old

forms of domination. How rapidly this is progressing, the facts that follow show. Few appreciate the imminence of the peril.

OUR PRESENT IMPETUS.

The discovery of the new world four centuries ago gave an impetus to progress which is not fully spent. We are still on the rise of the spiral. Will this evil force of a lust for power through the ownership of vast wealth drag us down into the fall of the spiral, there to wait in the misery of the masses and the opulence of the classes for a new redeemer, a new inspiring force? Or will the crude democracy, which is apparently now the world's inevitable governing power, inspired by universal education, see the impending evil, see the remedies and apply them? Let us hope the latter.

A STRONG DOMINATION.

Yet the new domination by the ownership, not of men but of wealth, is more insidious, more subtle, more strong than any other domination. Other dominations cared for the lives and health of the slaves because they were property and any injury to them was an injury to the property of their owners. The domination by the ownership of wealth cares naught for the lives and health of the nominally free white slaves: they are not property; nature will replace them when worn out or injured. It is true she will replace them with a lower grade of men and woman, physically, mentally and morally. But what cares Concentrated Wealth; it will be able to carry out its plans the more securely. A common humanity may prompt some ameliorations, but Concentrated Wealth says: "The public be damned!" And the further this concentration continues, the stronger it becomes. Can it be thrown off?

THE QUESTION.

This power enters into our life not by setting up an open standard like the domination of a king or an aristocracy which can be openly attacked. It entrenches itself behind the respectabilities and legalities of civilized life. With its corrupting grasp it permeates and controls the government and the institutions for civilizing. It dangles before the ambitious young man its glittering prizes and debauches him

into a gambler, to be either flung aside, squeezed dry, or, satiated with opulence, made rotten through and through. It is the most insidious, secret and subtle of dominations. The facts show how far it has gone. They are startling. Can an intelligent application of remedies still preserve us on the upward course, or will this civilization perish of inherent rottenness, and only form the soil for some new civilization to arise ages hence?

THE METHOD USED.

When the tax assessor makes his valuation of property for taxation the owner will lie to escape part of it. It is a game of wits between the man who knows all about the property and an outsider, and the owner wins. Such a method of getting at the distribution of wealth is very faulty. The same is true in a slightly less degree of the census returns of the ownership of wealth; and these are often taken with haste and carelessness. They do not furnish the best statistics to define and state this concentration of wealth. But rich and poor die, and neither can take his property with him. It must be left in the charge of the state till distributed among the heirs. The records of the estates of dead men are a very accurate gauge of the distribution of wealth among all the people. The man who knows most about each estate and who could most skilfully undervalue it, its former owner, is dead. It goes into the hands of strangers to it, the executors, who are under strict government supervision. There is no incentive to undervalue. In fact, each one of the heirs will insist on an accurate and honest valuation. The only element of uncertainty in these statistics is the fact that the well-to-do, as insurance statistics show, live longer than the poor, so that, in proportion to the population, fewer of them die than of the poor. Hence these statistics underestimate the concentration of wealth. Nevertheless they furnish the most accurate method we have. The figures following are derived from these statistics of dead persons' estates.

CONCENTRATION IN ENGLAND.

Although the domination of wealth has perhaps grown more rapidly and flaunted its viler features more openly in the United States than elsewhere, it is not confined to our country, but is a world movement. England is a notable

example. One of her recent blue books presents a series of facts which are as startling as they are accurate.

For over half a century England has had a progressive inheritance charge which is now firmly rooted as one of the large sources of public revenue. It has been in operation for so long that the machinery for gathering it and the facts relating to it are in almost perfect condition, and the facts thus gathered can be relied on for showing the truth.

According to the Statesman's Year Book for 1896, an acknowledged authority, the total number of deaths in Great Britain (this covers Ireland, Scotland and Wales as well as England) in the five years, 1890-1894, was 3,595,447. According to William Farr's Vital Statistics, 54 per cent of the deaths in Great Britain are of persons under 25 years old. Therefore, I deduct 54 per cent, or 1,941,541, from this amount, leaving 1,653,906 deaths of persons old enough to take care of themselves and to own property. I would have preferred to have had the percentage for under 18 or 20 years old instead of under 25 years old, as that is the time of majority, but it could not easily be found. So, by subtracting those dying under 25 years old, my estimates of the concentration of wealth are underestimated again.

There are in Great Britain, according to my first authority, 51 per cent of women to 49 per cent of men. Hence I next deduct 51 per cent, or 843,492, from the deaths 25 years old and over. This leaves 810,414, or the total number of men dying 25 years old and over. Many women are amply capable of earning their living, and do, and hold property. So that by deducting all the women, I err on the side of understating the concentration of wealth a third time.

The rest of my facts are taken from the Thirty-seventh Report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue for Her Majesty Queen Victoria. In the appendix is a table covering the five years 1890 through 1894. This gives the number of persons dying with property and the valuation of their estates classified into thirteen classes. For instance, the first is of those not over one hundred pounds in value; the thirteenth is of those between two and three million pounds in value. These are condensed into seven classes and, with the percentages, are shown in the following table and diagrams. In this table the value of an English pound is reckoned at \$5, although it is really a little less:

Class	Average Wealth.	Num- ber.	Population Percent- age.	Aggregate Wealth.	Wealth Percent- age.
No. 1. Property nothing	.....	458,684	56.723	.....	.....
No. 2. Under \$500	\$ 279.50	93,369	11.521	\$ 26,090,000	.617
No. 3. Under \$1,500	964.00	91,175	11.250	87,990,000	2.077
No. 4. \$500 to \$5,000	2,461.00	87,836	10.852	216,400,000	5.113
No. 5. \$5,000 to \$50,000	16,251.50	64,307	7.935	1,045,070,000	24.693
No. 6. \$50,000 to \$1,250,000	167,433.50	13,706	1.691	2,294,845,000	54.223
No. 7. Over \$1,250,000	2,475,727.00	227	.028	561,980,000	13.277
Totals and Averages....	\$ 5,222.50	810,414	100.000	\$4,232,295,000	100.000

What is to be specially noticed about this table is not, either the number of people who have died in this period nor their aggregate wealth, but the percentages. These percentages clearly show the distribution of wealth in England. This table extends over a period of five years, so that local variations, like the death of one person of towering fortune, are almost entirely eliminated. It is official, and the facts were gathered for an entirely different purpose, so that the statistics have not been doctored, as is sometimes charged in this country. In my opinion, it is an underestimate of the concentration of wealth in Great Britain; and yet the facts are startling. Over 56 per cent own nothing; and if we add the three first classes together, we have nearly 80 per cent owning less than 3 per cent, and then a little over 20 per cent owning over 97 per cent; if we add the first four classes together, we have over 90 per cent of the people owning less than 8 per cent of the wealth of the country, and under 10 per cent owning 92 per cent; and if we take the last two classes, we find that less than one-fiftieth of the people own over two-thirds of the wealth; and then look at that last class of millionnaires, numbering less than three one-hundredths of one per cent, and yet owning over 13 per cent of the wealth! The danger in Great Britain is imminent.

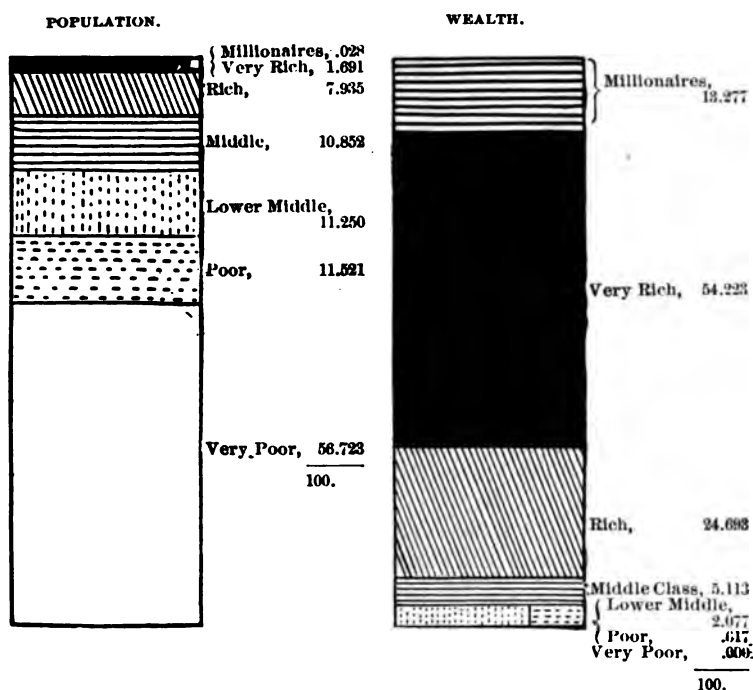
The diagrams on next page show graphically these facts.

CONCENTRATION IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The second group of facts is taken from the Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics and from the Registration Reports of the same state. The Commissioner of Labor has carefully collated the Probate Office returns, which give the facts regarding the property left by deceased persons in Massachusetts for the census

years 1830, 1860, 1880 and 1890, and for one year on each side, making four groups of three years each. He took a census year, so that the figures might be compared with the United States census statistics, and he added the year on each side, so as to eliminate any accidental variations in one year. By thus making the base of the figures more broad, he has made them more accurate.

DIAGRAMS SHOWING BY PERCENTAGES THE POPULATION AND WEALTH DISTRIBUTION IN GREAT BRITAIN BY THE PROBATE RECORDS FOR 1880-1884.



He took 1830 as the first period, as it was before our present factory and industrial system had made progress enough to change conditions. It is also at the beginning of the emigration. Eighteen hundred and sixty was taken next, as it was before the War of the Rebellion, whose mighty influence in destroying old conditions and preparing the way for our factory industrialism we are just beginning to appreciate. Eighteen hundred and eighty was then taken, because it was

far enough off from the war period not to be directly affected by the war's great destruction of wealth, and the last period, 1890, brought the figures down as near to date as possible.

But I have dropped out of consideration this last group, 1889 to 1891, because I think the figures inaccurate from a change in the circumstances. In Massachusetts it is not obligatory that an inventory be filed of dead persons' estates. There are certain advantages why it is better that an inventory be filed, but it is not necessary. Accordingly we find that in 1829-1831, 10 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent of the estates filed no inventory, in 1859-1861, 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent filed no inventory, in 1879-1881, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent filed no inventory, and in 1889-1891, over 42 per cent filed no inventory. The first three of these percentages are small and do not radically affect the total result. But the percentage for 1889-1891 is very large. We are only certain of little more than half of the results. The other percentages show this. There is a certain regular progression in the first three groups of figures, but the fourth group is irregular, it does not carry out this progression. Nothing can be deduced from this fourth group. Its percentages are contradictory and confusing. The reason for it is probably that in 1891 or 1892 a law was passed placing a tax on certain estates and the considerable agitation before the law was passed, and the law itself, probably induced many executors not to file inventories lest in some way the estate might be taxed.

But the probate records only give the number of dead persons with estates. In order to get an idea of the concentration of wealth, we must have the total number of deaths of persons who should have estates. To get this I have taken from the Registration Reports of Massachusetts the number of males who died in 1859 to 1861 and in 1879 to 1881. These reports tell me that for 1879 to 1881, 66.89 per cent died over 20 years old, and so I deduct one-third as the number who died under 20 years old, and who were therefore minors and not likely to hold property. From this I subtract the percentage of the total probates of the males dying for whose estate no inventory was filed; this is done because it is presumed that there will be the same percentage of different-sized estates among those who do not file an inventory as among those who do; but usually the estates filing no inventory are either large ones, whose executors fear to show the size, or very small ones, where it is not thought worth

while. To this figure I add the number of estates left by females making inventory, and thus I get the total number of deaths of persons who should leave some estate if there were an equitable distribution of wealth. This is an underestimate rather than an overestimate.

In making up the figures for 1829-1831 I have to pursue a somewhat different method, as there are no registration reports for those years. The census figures for 1830, of 610,408 persons in Massachusetts, are taken as a basis. It is there shown that in 1851-1855 the average yearly death-rate was 1.86 per 100, hence for three years it would be 5.58 per 100, or 33,821 for the years 1829-1831. I find that the male deaths for a period of years were 49 $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent; hence I take 49 $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent of 33,821, which gives me 16,065, or the deaths of males for the three years, and then I proceed the same as with the other two periods.

These tables are then condensed from thirteen to seven divisions, with the following results :

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH IN MASSACHUSETTS IN 1829-1831 AS SHOWN BY PROBATE OFFICE RETURNS.

Class.	Average Wealth.	Num-ber.	Population Percent- age.	Aggregate Wealth.	Wealth Percent- age.
No. 1. Property nothing	.....	5,957	61.81		
No. 2. Under \$1,000	\$ 319	1,894	19.61	\$ 604,552	4.17
No. 3. \$1,000 to \$5,000	2,372	1,274	13.20	3,022,264	20.85
No. 4. \$5,000 to \$25,000	8,806	452	4.68	4,432,297	30.58
No. 5. \$25,000 to \$100,000	49,347	67	.689	3,306,279	22.81
No. 6. \$100,000 to \$500,000	206,768	9	.009	1,860,898	12.84
No. 7. Over \$500,000	633,909	2	.002	1,267,817	8.75
Totals	\$ 1,501	9,655	100.000	\$14,494,107	100.00

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH IN MASSACHUSETTS IN 1850-1861 AS SHOWN BY PROBATE OFFICE RETURNS.

Class.	Average Wealth.	Num-ber.	Population Percent- age.	Aggregate Wealth.	Wealth Percent- age.
No. 1. Property nothing	.....	13,433	66.00		
No. 2. Under \$1,000	\$ 467	2,445	12.02	\$ 1,043,782	1.96
No. 3. \$1,000 to \$5,000	2,403	2,827	13.89	6,701,881	12.75
No. 4. \$5,000 to \$25,000	10,195	1,304	6.40	13,294,300	24.97
No. 5. \$25,000 to \$100,000	47,112	260	1.27	12,249,179	23.00
No. 6. \$100,000 to \$500,000	184,862	80	.39	14,789,000	27.76
No. 7. Over \$500,000	848,109	6	.03	5,088,652	9.56
Totals	\$ 2,616	20,355	100.00	\$53,256,794	100.00

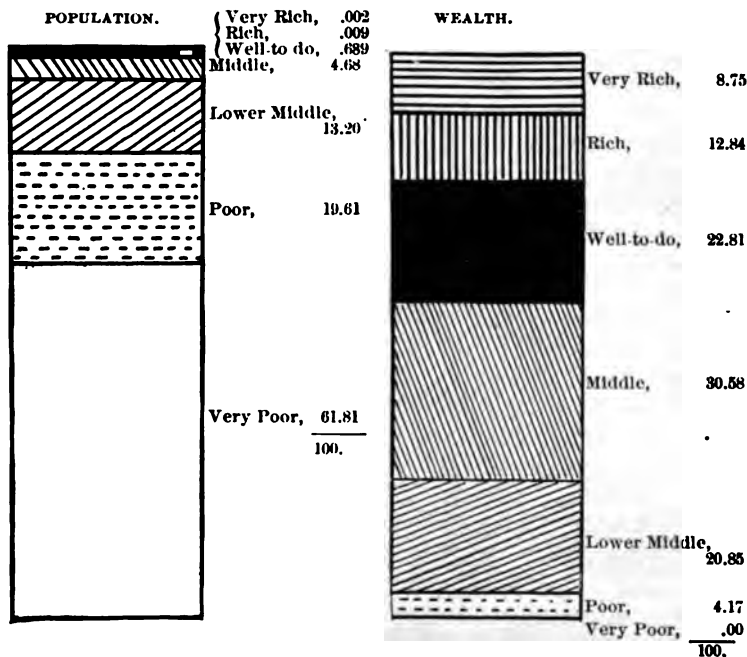
**DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH IN MASSACHUSETTS IN 1879-1881 AS SHOWN
BY PROBATE OFFICE RETURNS.**

Class.	Average Wealth.	Num- ber.	Population Percent- age.	Aggregate Wealth.	Wealth Percent- age.
No. 1. Property nothing	.....	24,799	69.00	.....	.....
No. 2. Under \$1,000	\$ 457	3,273	9.12	\$ 1,494,522	1.08
No. 3. \$1,000 to \$5,000	2,458	4,588	12.76	11,275,295	8.21
No. 4. \$5,000 to \$25,000	10,326	2,444	6.80	25,728,472	18.73
No. 5. \$25,000 to \$100,000	46,661	628	1.74	29,302,842	21.33
No. 6. \$100,000 to \$500,000	202,085	180	.50	30,375,247	26.48
No. 7. Over \$500,000	1,144,758	29	.08	33,197,981	24.17
Totals	\$ 3,822	35,941	100.00	\$137,374,259	100.00

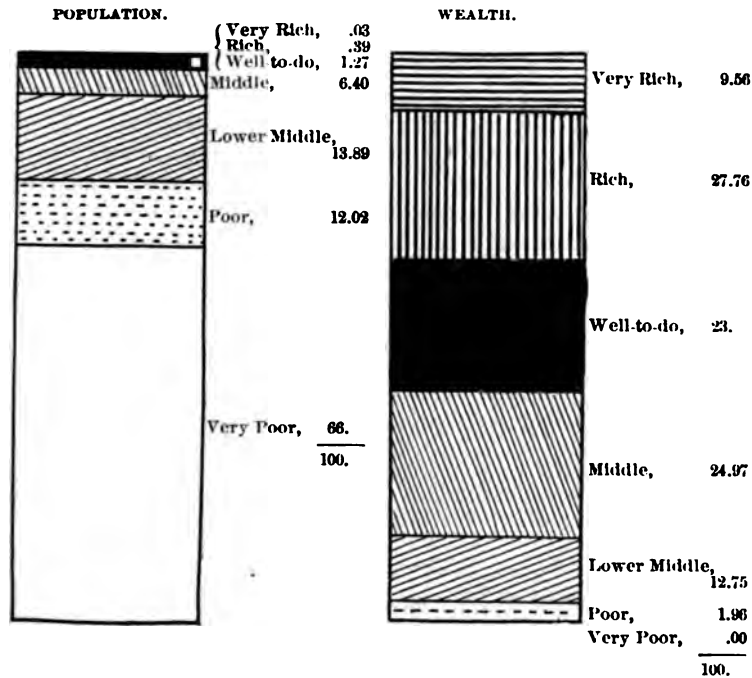
The special thing to be noticed about these tables is not the number of persons who have died, nor their aggregate wealth, but the percentages which clearly show the distribution of wealth in Massachusetts for these three periods. In my opinion, these percentages are roughly accurate for the whole country; also, they are, if anything, an underestimate.

The diagrams graphically show these facts:

**DIAGRAMS SHOWING BY PERCENTAGES THE POPULATION AND
WEALTH DISTRIBUTION IN MASSACHUSETTS IN 1829-31
BY PROBATE OFFICE RETURNS.**



DIAGRAMS SHOWING BY PERCENTAGES THE POPULATION AND
WEALTH DISTRIBUTION IN MASSACHUSETTS IN 1859-61
BY THE PROBATE OFFICE RETURNS.



WHAT DO THEY SHOW ?

What do these tables show us? First, they show that the class with nothing have increased from under 62 per cent to 66 per cent and 69 per cent. If this goes on, in the year 1900 they will be over 72 per cent.

Second. The millionaires have increased from .002 per cent with 8½ per cent of the wealth to .03 per cent with 9½ per cent of the wealth, and to .08 per cent with 24 per cent of the wealth. If this goes on, in the year 1900 they will number about .15 per cent and own about 31 per cent of the wealth.

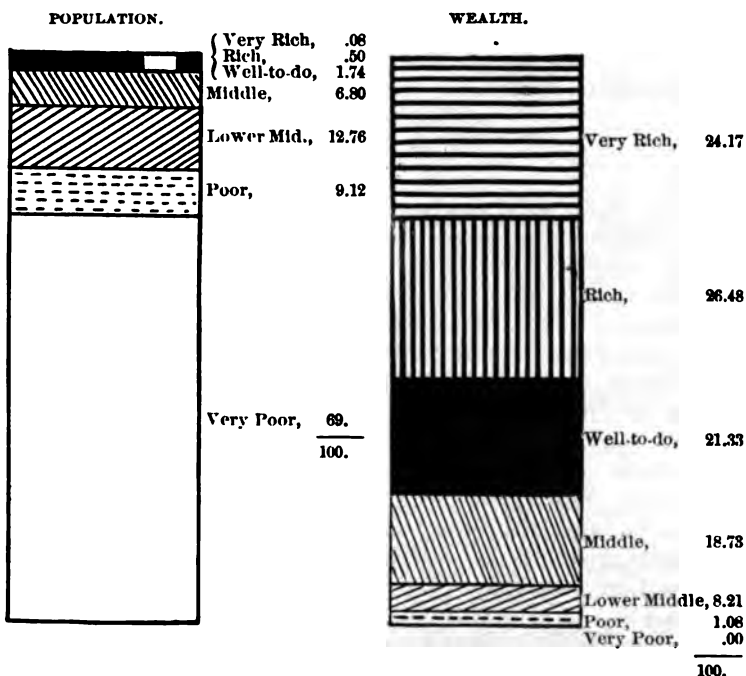
Third. The number of small property owners worth less than a thousand have decreased from under 20 per cent to 12 per cent and 9 per cent, and their property has decreased from a little over 4 per cent to under 2 per cent, and to just above 1 per cent. If this goes on, in the year 1900 they will be entirely crowded into the class owning nothing, and

their places will be filled from the grades above them, so that they will number about $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and own about three-fourths per cent of the wealth.

Fourth. The rich men worth between \$100,000 and \$500,000 have increased from .009 per cent to .39 per cent and to .50 per cent, and their wealth has increased from nearly 13 per cent to $27\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and then decreased to $26\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. If this goes on, it means that in the year 1900 a goodly number of these men will rise into the class above, some few fall, and that their percentages will probably remain about the same.

Fifth. The moderately well-off, worth from \$1,000 to \$5,000, have remained nearly the same in percentage of population, around 13 per cent, but their wealth has decreased from nearly 21 per cent to $12\frac{3}{4}$, to $8\frac{1}{4}$. In the year 1900 many of them will have sunk into the lower classes and their places will be filled from the upper classes, so that their number

DIAGRAMS SHOWING BY PERCENTAGES THE POPULATION AND WEALTH DISTRIBUTION IN MASSACHUSETTS IN 1879-81
BY THE PROBATE OFFICE RETURNS.



will be about 12 per cent of the total, but their percentage of wealth will have shrunk to 5 per cent or 6 per cent.

Sixth. The moderately wealthy, worth from \$25,000 to \$100,000, have increased in percentage from $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent to $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent, to $1\frac{3}{4}$ per cent, and their percentage of wealth has remained nearly stationary between the first two periods, and shown a slight fall at the third period. In the year 1900 they will probably occupy the same relative position in the population, numbering about 2 per cent, but their wealth will be about 20 per cent.

Seventh. The exactly middle class have increased from $4\frac{2}{3}$ per cent to $6\frac{2}{3}$ per cent, to $6\frac{4}{5}$ per cent, and their wealth has decreased from $30\frac{1}{2}$ per cent to 25 per cent, to $18\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. In the year 1900 they will probably number the same percentage of the population, but their wealth will have decreased to 15 per cent.

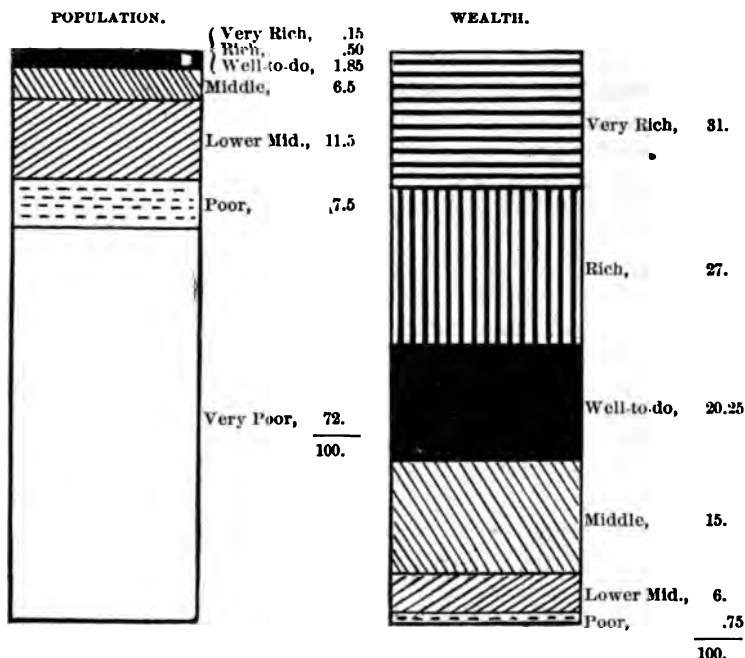
Hence we see a progressive increase in the classes without wealth or with very small average wealth and a decrease in their possessions, accompanied by a small increase in the classes with great wealth and a great increase in their possessions, while the middle classes suffer both in population ratio and in wealth ratio. How long can this continue?

Using the figures above, I have made up diagrams of the estimated wealth and population distributed in the year 1900. (See next page.)

CORROBORATING FACTS.

There are some other facts which these Massachusetts figures show which corroborate my conclusions. In the total probates the percentage of women increased from 16.4 per cent in 1829-1831 to $27\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in 1859-1861, to 38 per cent in 1879-1881, to 44.6 per cent in 1889-1891. Also the average estate of the females was about a third of that of the males in 1829-1831 and it had increased in 1889-1891 to about one-half. These two groups of facts show two things: First, the growing importance of women in our civilization. Second, that, as wealthy women as a class are not producers, workers and managers of their wealth, that wealth is going into the hands of those who do not operate it. This is an evil tendency. And as the flow is far more rapid than, in my opinion, the increased importance of women would warrant, the evil, it seems to me, more than balances the good.

DIAGRAMS SHOWING BY PERCENTAGES THE ESTIMATED POPULATION AND WEALTH DISTRIBUTION IN THE YEAR 1900.



CONCENTRATION IN MARYLAND.

These facts are corroborated by the report of the Maryland Labor Bureau for 1895, which has been investigating the distribution of personal property as shown by the probate records in Baltimore. This investigation covers two periods of six years each, and *The Outlook* says of it:

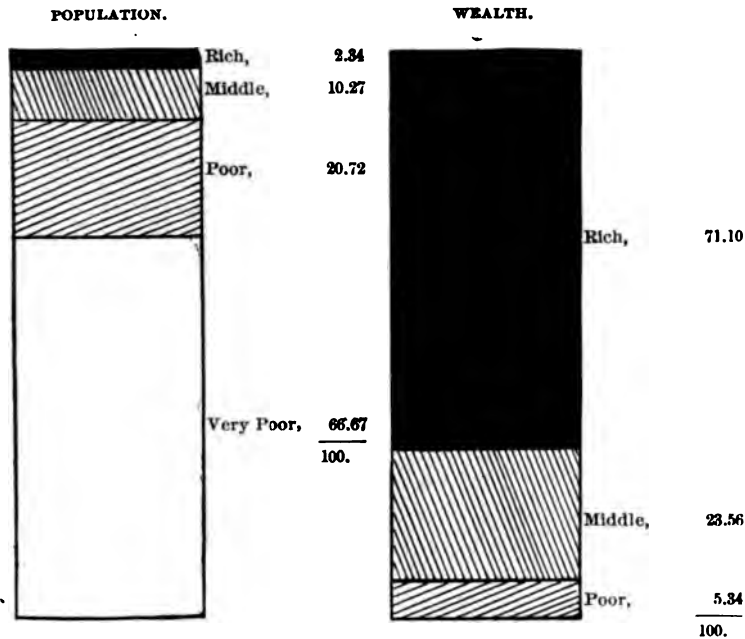
In Baltimore about one person in ten who dies leaves an estate. 'This means that about one-third of the families own some personal property besides their household furniture.' Among this property-owning class the distribution of personality during the six years ending in 1893 was as follows:¹

Class.	Average Wealth.	Num-ber.	Population Percent-age.	Aggregate Wealth.	Wealth Percent-age.
Property nothing.		11,828	66.67		
Under \$2,500	\$ 858	3,675	20.72	\$ 3,154,957	5.34
From \$2,500 to \$25,000.	7,634	1,822	10.27	13,910,486	23.56
Over \$25,000.	100,700	417	2.34	41,990,125	71.10
Totals	\$ 3,310	17,842	100.00	\$59,055,568	100.00

¹ How strikingly this corroborates the Massachusetts figures.

² Note: I have added to this table the non-property-owning class, the average wealth, and the percentages, and have made up the diagrams which follow it.

DIAGRAMS SHOWING BY PERCENTAGES THE POPULATION AND
WEALTH DISTRIBUTION IN MARYLAND ACCORDING TO
THE PROBATE RETURNS FOR 1888-1889.



In other words, about two-thirds of the property owners held 6 per cent of the property, while a small fraction of the property owners held twice as much as all the remainder.

DOES IT MEAN DESPOTISM?

Can this continue and the Republic live? No; either the propertyless masses will rise in bloody revolution and snatch from the wealthy some part of their ill-gotten gains, while destroying the rest in anarchy and war, or else a despotism of wealth more corrupting and subtly poisonous than that of church, king or aristocrat will fasten its slimy grip upon the throat of our civilization, and, while all is splendid on the surface, will drain its lifeblood, till naught but a lifeless corpse remains to topple over at a touch from the barbarians it itself has created.

CAUSES AND REMEDIES.

Its causes are class legislation, inequitable taxation, monopolies, and commercial fraud. Its remedies lie in a complete

control over legislation by the whole people through the initiative and the referendum, a juster administration of our tax systems, and the introduction of rapid progression into all our forms of taxation, but in particular into the inheritance tax, the income tax and the land tax, the taking over by the government of all monopolies, that they may be run in the interests of the people instead of the interests of a few. This does not mean a vast concentration of government by the national government operating all these monopolies, but whenever the monopoly is local only the local government should have control of it. When it is a state monopoly the state government should control it. And only when it is national in its scope and operation should the national government control it. And, lastly, by more drastic legal restrictions, by a more efficient administration of the laws we have, by a higher public opinion, and by a growth of the spirit of brotherhood should commercial fraud be hedged closer and closer. To be fully understood these remedies should be expanded into a book instead of condensed into a paragraph.

I began with a quotation from Ruskin, and I cannot do better than to close with one from the same source :

The levy of blackmail in old times was by force and is now by cozening. One comes as an open robber, the other as a cheating pedlar, but the result to the injured person's pocket is absolutely the same. There is also a confused notion in the minds of many persons that the gathering of the property of the poor into the hands of the rich does no ultimate harm; since in whosoever hands it may be, it must be spent at last and thus, they think, return again to the poor. This fallacy has been again and again exposed; but grant the plea true, and the same apology may, of course, be made for blackmail, or any other form of robbery.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

BY E. P. POWELL.

International arbitration is not a new idea, but it has gained extraordinary headway during the past year. More accurately, it should be said that a very universal sentiment in favor of peaceable arbitration of national difficulties has been brought to the surface. During 1840 a volume of prize essays was published on the subject of An International Congress of Arbitration. The general trend of opinion is now in favor of such a court, with constitutional powers granted it by the nations concerned. The congress held in Washington on April 22 and 23 considered it advisable to attempt at present only the establishment of such a court between England and America. This would practically include all English-speaking nations, since Australia, Canada, and South African states and integral parts of Great Britain would come under the proposed arrangement.

The supposed possibility of conflict between the countries over the Venezuelan boundary was the stimulating element. The newspapers of America showed a good deal of jingo spirit, but the people, the more they thought it over, felt it to be a heathenish outrage to rush into war. Congress danced a war dance like Mohawks; but the English government kept its temper, and Mr. Balfour made a generous speech showing that the unity of the two peoples as factors of modern civilization must not be broken. The Peace Societies which exist in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, as well as London, sent out an appeal in February for a general expression of public opinion. The movement caught at once. Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, New Orleans, Boston, Cincinnati appointed committees to arrange for a national conference to be held at Washington. The British movement was full of enthusiasm. Over one hundred members of Parliament, over one hundred mayors of cities, with most of the leading clergy, signed a call for a meeting which was held March 3 in London.

This English conference was presided over by Sir James

Stansfield in the largest auditorium of the metropolis, which was crowded. The hall was decorated with American and British flags. The chairman opened the meeting by arguing that the time was ripe for permanently establishing arbitration as a part of the governmental programme of English-speaking people. "The hour and the moment have come through the Venezuela crisis, which has been a blessing in disguise." It was enthusiastically resolved, on motion of Hon. G. Shaw Lefevre, that the chairman be instructed to sign on their behalf the following memorial :

We, the undersigned, desire to express our deep conviction that whatever may be the difference between the governments, in the present or the future, all English-speaking peoples, united by race, language, and religion, should regard war as the one absolutely intolerable mode of settling the domestic differences of the Anglo-American family.

Right Hon. A. J. Mundella, M. P., moved that :

This meeting hails with satisfaction the prospect of the establishment of an Anglo-American organization for the promotion of all that makes for the friendly union of the two nations in the common cause of civilization, peace and progress, and requests the committee which has summoned this meeting to reconstitute itself on a broad national basis with a view to coöperation with any similar body which may emanate from the forthcoming mentioned conference at Washington.

Responses of endorsement came from Balfour, Rosebery, Gladstone, Morley, Bryce, Herbert Spencer, Cardinal Vaughn and others of equal note. Spencer wrote that he believed that in the future :

Social progress is to be achieved not by systems of education, not by the preaching of a religion, but only by cessation from antagonisms; that advance to higher forms of man and society depends on the decline of militancy and the growth of industrialism.

Gladstone wrote that every year added to his conviction of the monstrous character of militarism. Lord Rosebery said :

I heartily hope it may be found practicable to devise some method of arbitration to which the differences between ourselves and our kinsmen may be referred.

The desire for a congress at Washington was a spontaneity. A half dozen independent movements for arbitration culminated and coalesced in this one. A meeting in New York resolved :

Whereas, the true grandeur of nations means the acts of civilization and justice secured by statute, and magnanimity inspired by good will;

Whereas, the United States and Great Britain, akin in language, jurisprudence, legal methods, and essential love of right, are already accustomed to arbitrate their disagreements, and have emphatically declared themselves in favor of such arbitration : Congress, by the action

of both Houses in 1890, and the House of Commons by its vote in 1893; therefore,

Resolved, that we earnestly desire such action by our national legislature and the executive as shall make permanent provision for some method of arbitration between the two countries — it being our hope that such a step will ultimately lead to international arbitration throughout the civilized world.

These resolutions were signed by Judge Wm. Q. Strong, Reuben H. Bristow, Seth Low, Wm. E. Dodge, Carl Schurz, Rabbi Gottheil, Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, Jos. H. Choate, and many more. On Washington's Birthday a meeting was held in Independence Hall, Philadelphia. Chicago sent a memorial of correspondence signed by forty of its leading men. Boston followed in the wake with enthusiasm. The Philadelphia meeting resolved:

That the common sense and Christian conscience of America and England agree that the time has come to abolish war between these two nations which are really one people. We invite both governments to adopt a permanent system of judicial arbitration.

These preliminary steps led to the great gathering at Washington April 22 and 23. This was specifically summoned by the call of Chief Justice Melville W. Fuller, Gen. Nelson A. Miles, Hon. John W. Foster, Gardiner H. Hubbard of Washington; ex-Mayor Abram S. Hewitt, Dorman B. Eaton of New York; Col. George Leighton, Hon. J. A. Broadhead, and Judge Henry Hitchcock of St. Louis; President Charles W. Eliot, ex-Governor William E. Russell, and Charles Francis Adams of Boston; Hon. Hiram Davis and I. W. Hellman of San Francisco; Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore; President Dwight of Yale University; Charles Dudley Warner of Hartford, Conn., and others of equal influence and greatness of character. They issued invitations to several hundred to meet in Washington "to express the general conviction that a permanent system of arbitration should be speedily provided for by the proper authorities, and with the most comprehensive application practicable." Hundreds of responses came in, almost without exception favorable, from governors, judges, bishops, college presidents, and men of business as well as men of letters. It would be superfluous to give these names, since we shall show the highly representative character of the gathering when we record the doings of the sessions.

The first session was opened April 22, at three o'clock, by Hon. John W. Foster, and ex-Senator Edmunds of Vermont was chosen permanent president. In the evening addresses were

delivered by President James B. Angell of the University of Michigan, Mr. Edward Atkinson, and Hon. Carl Schurz. President Edmunds said :

This assemblage, representing the largest civilized body of men and women in the world, is extraordinary. The United States is the strongest nation in the world, and has the least reason to wish for arbitration on its own account. It is, however, our very strength that should make us wish for peace.

Carl Schurz argued that he solemnly believed there were no bulwarks for a nation like those of justice and honor, no armament so effective as the weapons of peace. He opposed the creation of a large navy as he would oppose a standing army. "I am confident," he said, "that our strongest, most effective, most trustworthy and infinitely the cheapest coast defence is Fort Justice, Fort Good Sense, Fort Self-Respect, Fort Goodwill and Fort Arbitration."

For this reason, it appears to me this Republic is the natural champion of the great peace measure for the furtherance of which we have met. The permanent establishment of a general court of arbitration to be composed of representative jurists of the principal states and to take cognizance of all international disputes that can not be settled by diplomatic negotiation is no doubt the ideal to be aimed at. If this can not be reached at once, the conclusion of an arbitration treaty between the United States and Great Britain may be regarded as a great step in that direction. I doubt not that the patriotic citizens assembled here may be confident of having the warm sympathy of the American people behind them, when they knock at the door of the President of the United States, and say to him, in the name of all good Americans, we commend this cause to your care. If carried to a successful issue it will hold up this Republic to its noblest ideals. It will illuminate with fresh lustre the close of this great century. It will write the name of the American people foremost upon the roll of the champions of the world's peace and true civilization.

Hon. Edward Atkinson said :

The power of nations in these modern days to supply themselves with food in which they are deficient rests only with those great manufacturing and commercial states within whose area the power of production of other goods and wares has been augmented by the application of science and invention; by the exchange of which products they procure food. . . . The European states which come within this category are only five, — the kingdom of Great Britain, France, Germany, Holland, and Belgium. Our own huge and increasing exports during the last ten years have consisted, to the extent of eighty per cent, of the excess of food and fibre which we could not consume at home. Sixty per cent of these exports have been bought of us by Great Britain and her colonies, twenty-three per cent by France, Germany, Holland, and Belgium; these being the several countries whose power of purchase has been augmented by science and invention; only seventeen per cent of our exports having passed to all other lands; less than four per cent of all to South America. These prosperous conditions of our agriculture are due to the interdependence of nations and to the maintenance of peaceful commerce upon the high seas; yet under this pressure of jingolism, and in pursuance of a policy

of aggression and warfare, this country has wasted seven millions or more in the construction of two basely named commerce-destroyers. These ships are fit for nothing except to plunder and destroy the vessels by which our own abundance is distributed; on which the whole prosperity of this country rests. There is no shipping of any moment at the present time upon the high seas to be destroyed except that of our most valuable customers. Could anything be more grotesque than such power? Yet there are men occupying high positions who would carry that waste and aggressive violence to a yet greater and greater extent. How few there are who can even imagine the huge advantage which this country enjoys in contrast to those army-and-debt-burdened nations of Europe, who must feed their armies, though the infants die and the women starve.

President Angell said:

Permanent arbitration is opposed on the ground that it cannot be enforced. As between two nations there is the same means of enforcing it as there is of enforcing a treaty. We may feel a reasonable assurance that the finding of any court properly constituted will always be respected by these two nations, Great Britain and America.

He quoted Grant's words:

Though I have been trained as a soldier, and have participated in many battles, there never was a time when, in my opinion, some way could not have been found of preventing the drawing of the sword. I look forward to an epoch when a court recognized by all nations will settle international differences, instead of keeping standing armies, as they do in Europe.

During the morning session of the second day, Prof. John Bassett Moore of Columbia College discussed the objections which had been urged against arbitration. He held that a permanent system being established would not only lead to avoiding disputes but it would prevent popular excitement, which has so often been the cause of groundless conflict among nations. In the third place, a permanent system would quell such an excitement if, by chance, it had gained control of the people. The greatest war of modern times was declared on the strength of a rumor which a delay of twenty-four hours would have shown to be inaccurate.

Dr. Merrill E. Gates, president of Amherst College, quoted Kant, whose essay for perpetual peace was prophetic of all human progress since made, and, we may hope, of that which is to be made. Kant affirms that this problem of the institution of the state, however hard it may appear, would not be improbable even for a race of devils, assuming only that they had intelligence. What individual citizens had learned to do against the strong impulse of selfish desire, organized bodies of intelligent citizens, that is state and nation, may learn to do if they are reasonable. Deprecating the prevalence of war, Kant wrote that the Great Powers are

never put to shame before the judgment of the common people, as they are only concerned about one another. But it is the people on whom the cost falls ; and when the decision of the question of war falls to the people, neither the desire of aggrandizement nor mere verbal injuries will be likely to induce them to declare war. This essay of Kant was published one hundred years ago, just after the Peace of Basle had recognized the French Republic. It gave to the world the first clear adumbration of the great doctrines of federation and universal rights, which are now stirring the hearts of the peoples.

Our demand for the establishment of a permanent tribunal between nations, and our confidence that it will command the allegiance of states, rest on our belief in the permanency of justice, on our faith in the growing morality and conscientiousness of states as persons in the moral world. Such a state as Great Britain, the United States, or Germany is, in a high sense, a personality ; it is something more than the sum of its citizens, it is an organism ; the spirit of the nation, the vital force of the nation, cannot be fully accounted for by summing the series of the vital force and the spirit of its individual citizens. As a personality, it is its appointed and its chosen destiny to be controlled more and more fully by principles, by ideas, by moral law. Why is a permanent system of arbitration especially desirable ? England and the United States have inherited the same system of common law, and a great wealth of ethical conviction and jurial principles in common ; and each nation wishes to promote the civilization of the world and the maintenance of liberty. And we Anglo-Saxons love a liberty not fluent in phrases, but established in permanent institutions under the sway of law.

During the debate, Carl Schurz said :

The great naval powers of the world are now engaged in one of the most gigantic experiments of all ages. By the expense of untold millions of money, by the exertion of an immeasurable working power, they have built up machines of which nobody knows what they will do, when they come into actual use. The principal experience so far is, that when two of those battle ships, belonging to the same navy, touch one another, one goes down. Will it not be wise, at least for the present, to withhold the millions until we know whether the ships will be good for anything ? When a battle ship is launched, and is left five years, it is obsolete and has to be withdrawn as an old hulk. Is it wise for this nation to spend its money and its working forces in experiments which are certainly not in its line ? I too wish to show the flag of the United States in all parts of the globe. But I would show that flag as the flag of the commercial navy of the United States. I want it to carry our products. I want it to carry our ideas and our civilization, and then I do not care whether it carries our guns or not.

Gen. Howard added :

I think our friend means when he speaks of the flag going to all parts of the world that he wants to have our old vessels on the seas and in every part of the world, not naval vessels alone, for we do not want any more navy proportionately than we have army.

It might be added to the remarks of these gentlemen that our present commercial marine is only one-half of what it was in 1796. Would not the zeal that is building up a navy upon a war footing be better expended in building up a marine for commercial purposes on a peace footing?

The committee on resolutions reported :

This national conference of American citizens, assembled at Washington, April 22, 1896, to promote international arbitration, profoundly convinced that experience has shown that war as a method of determining disputes between nations is oppressive in its operation, uncertain and unequal in its results, and productive of immense evils, and that the spirit and humanity of the age, as well as the precepts of religion, require the adoption of every practicable means for the establishment of reason and justice between nations; and considering that the people of the United States and the people of Great Britain, bound together by ties of a common language and literature, of like political and legal institutions, and of many mutual interests, and animated by a spirit of devotion to law and justice, have on many occasions, by recourse to peaceful and friendly arbitration, manifested their just desire to substitute reason for force in the settlement of their differences, and to establish a reign of peace among nations; that the common sense and enlightened public opinion of both nations is utterly averse to any further war between them; and that the same good sense reinforced by common principles of humanity, religion, and justice requires the adoption of a permanent method for the peaceful adjustment of international controversies, which method shall not only provide for the uniform application of principles of law and justice in the settlement of their own differences, but shall also, by its example and its results, promote the peace and progress of all peoples, does hereby adopt the following resolutions :

First. That in the judgment of this conference, religion, humanity, and justice, as well as the material interests of civilized society, demand the immediate establishment between the United States and Great Britain of a permanent system of arbitration; and the earliest possible extension of the system, so as to embrace the whole civilized world.

Second. That it is earnestly recommended to our government, as soon as it is assured of a corresponding disposition on the part of the British government, to negotiate a treaty providing for the widest practicable application of the method of arbitration to international controversies.

Third. That a committee of this conference be appointed to prepare and present to the President of the United States a memorial respectfully urging the taking of such steps on the part of the United States as will best conduce to the end in view.

These resolutions were adopted enthusiastically after a spirited discussion.

At the closing session Hon. J. Randolph Tucker of the University of Virginia asked :

What, then, may be hoped for in the relations between Great Britain and the United States? Both nations agree substantially that there is a *jus inter gentes* in the form of an international code. This is a point still denied by some, but the denial rests upon a confusion of ideas. Because there is for nations no common law, no common judge, no common executive, some have said that there is no law of nations. There is indeed no *lex*, but there is indeed a *jus*. *Jus* is the objective right as God sees it;

lex is subjective right as man sees it. *Jus* is the law of God, of which *lex* is the human expression. *Jus* is *jus*, right is right, though no legislation recognize it and nations defy it; it is binding upon all nations, though not made *lex* by them. "The *jus inter gentes* is the law of God, independent of positive compact or convention," says Lord Stowell. "Reason and justice," says Chief Justice Marshall, "which constitute the primary law of nations, are made fixed and stable by judicial decisions." "There is also a conventional law of nations," says the same great judge. Thus Stowell and Marshall, stars of the first magnitude in the firmament of Anglo-American jurisprudence, give full jural force to the *jus inter gentes*, as founded primarily on the law of God, and by consequence on equity and right reason, and fixed and made stable by the convention and judicial expositions of courts, which administer universally, not locally, as international, not local, courts. This *jus inter gentes* is not only a part of the law of the land, but is made so by the Constitution of the United States, and was so recognized in a late law of Congress, prescribing for our government an international duty, which the Supreme Court upheld as constitutional and in accord with the law of nations, in the United States *vs.* R. Jonah. With this clear recognition of the abstract *jus inter gentes*, what hinders a treaty between the nations of Christendom by which the vague and indefinite principles of international law shall be fixed and made certain in an international code, by which the *jus inter gentes* shall find expression in a *lex inter gentes*? Why not confirm the consensus of public opinion of Christendom and civilization? why not submit questions of international right arisen under such code to the adjudication of tribunals of arbitration by which the brutal decisions of wars shall be forever superseded by the judgment of an international authority?

President Eliot of Harvard University said :

Harvard University knows by its observation, by its experience, that heroic virtue may be plucked by noble souls from all the desolation and carnage and agony of war. We know, too, that even from unjust war, like the Mexican war, a nation may win undeserved advantages. Therefore, when we plead for arbitration we do not necessarily deny that war has its greatness, and that out of it may come permanent good for the great forces of human society. But we also know that to produce war, with a belligerent public policy deliberately to produce war, can only be compared to deliberately and by intention introducing a pestilence into the population, in order forsooth that thousands of victims should have the opportunity of dying bravely and with resignation, and that some noble souls—nurses, doctors, mothers—should have the opportunity to develop and display heroic qualities. One process is just as reasonable as the other. Never, never let us hear it maintained in our country that war should be deliberately advocated and produced in order that we may exhibit, in a few souls, great qualities in resistance to hideous evil!

Why had we come together at this time? It was, we believed, because we, like other thoughtful American citizens, had been surprised and astonished at the risk of war which we had lately incurred.

Only four months ago a message of the President of the United States seemed, to thousands of men in this and other countries, a grave threat of the execution, through our public forces and by all means at our disposal, of a compulsory arbitration to be entered into by two other nations. We learned with astonishment, shortly after, that months before, the minister of foreign affairs, as he would be called in other

countries, — the secretary of state, — had issued papers from this capital of most threatening tenor, which, in contests between individuals, would perhaps have been fairly called exasperating. Between gentlemen, what is the nature of the statement, from the stronger man, My fiat shall be law between us? These sentiments, conveyed in public documents, took thousands of thoughtful Americans by surprise. That surprise, that shock, was, I dare say, unintended, but it was inevitable from the tone of the papers. And then we had another surprise. We thought that the separation of the executive and legislative functions in our country had one great advantage on which we could rely, namely, that when executive propositions of a grave and serious nature were laid before the legislative branches, the legislative branch might be depended upon to give consideration and procure delay. We have been painfully surprised to learn, by the actual fact, that that reliance is not well founded. Moreover, we have seen a new phenomenon in our country, and perhaps in the world, namely, the greatly increased inflammability of a multitudinous population in consequence of the development of telegraph, telephone, and daily press. I think that fairly describes the phenomenon of four months ago — greatly increased inflammability, in consequence of these applications on a new and broader scale of inventions quite within this century.

Besides these revelations of the last four months, there was another reason why thoughtful Americans were giving themselves great concern about the means of interposing obstacles in the way of sudden movement toward war.

We have seen, during the last eight or ten years in both political parties, and perhaps as much in one as the other, the importation from Europe of an idea, a policy, absolutely new among us, absolutely repugnant to all American public experience, — an importation from the aristocratic and military nations of Europe. I refer, of course, to this modern American notion called "jingoism," — a detestable word, gentlemen, used in naming a detestable thing! The term is of English origin, and not from the best side of English politics, but from the worst, — from the politics of Palmerston and Disraeli, and not of Gladstone. It is the most abject copy conceivable of a pernicious foreign ideal, and yet some of my friends endeavor to pass it off upon the American people as patriotic Americanism. A more complete delusion, a more complete misrepresentation, cannot be imagined. The whole history of the American people is averse to this European notion. This people has always advocated the rights of neutrals, arbitration, peaceful settlement. It has always contributed more than any other nation to the development of the methods of arbitration. It has contributed more than any other nation to the promotion of peace among the nations of the earth. What other nation has gone without a standing army? What other nation has had a perfectly insignificant fleet? What great Christian nation, I mean, has exhibited this reliance upon the strength of peace? Can anything be more offensive to the sober-minded, industrious, laborious classes of American society than this doctrine of "jingoism," this chip-on-the-shoulder attitude, this attitude of a ruffian and a bully? That is just what jingoism means, coupled with a brutal and despotic militarism which naturally exists in countries where the government has been despotic or aristocratic, and where there has always been an enormous military class, but which is absolutely foreign to American society. The teaching of this doctrine by our press and some of our public men is one of the reasons why this conference has gathered now. We want to teach just the other doctrine. We want to set forth, in the daily and the periodical press by publications of our own, by the representations of a

standing committee, what is the true American doctrine on this subject. We want to have the children of this country, the young men rising up into places of authority and influence, taught what the true American doctrine of peace has been, what the true reliance of a strong, free nation should be,—not on force of arms, but on the force of righteousness.

I naturally think of the educational object of this meeting. I trust that in all our colleges and universities and through all our public schools the principles which I have just stated may be taught—indeed, have been taught, are taught—as the true American doctrine on this subject. One speaker this afternoon mentioned one particular detail in which he thought instruction should be given throughout our land. He said: “We have been taught in our schools about the battles of our nation; we have not been taught about the arbitrations of our nation.” Let us teach to the children the rational, sober-minded, righteous mode of settling international difficulties. Let us teach them, that war often does not settle them, that arbitration always does. Let us teach them what is rational, reasonable, righteous between nation and nation.

Bishop Keane of the Catholic University of Washington said:

Our country is giving the keynote of the future; everywhere the cry is for the federation of the nations, the brotherhood of mankind. The demand, the movement, is irresistible, and with the insane spirit of narrow nationalism, militarism must go. It has been upheld by the very spirit which has impelled men to hate one another; and, alas! with shame and sorrow we have to acknowledge that men of hate have been cunning in using every motive, even the purest and noblest and holiest, as the incentives to the spirit of faction and sect, as incentives to make men suspect and ostracize, and hate and kill one another, for the love of country, forsooth, — yea, for the love of God!

We look to the higher ideal, to Him who was foretold as the Prince of Peace, to Him at whose birth the angels proclaimed, “Peace on earth to men of good will,” to Him whose salutation was ever, “Peace be with you,” to Him whose legacy was, “Peace I leave with you, my peace I give you,” to Him who said, “By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if you love one another.” This is the spirit of Christian civilization, for nations as for individuals. The world is meant to be governed, and, assuredly must yet be governed, not by hatred and violence and might, but by love and justice and right. Nothing else can be lasting and permanently successful. Justice alone is mighty, love alone is everlasting, truth alone can ultimately prevail; for these are the spirit of the eternal God. What is propped by the cannon and bayonets must topple over at last; only truth and justice are immovable and remain forever.

Among the passages delivered at the conference that were most stirring was this of Carl Schurz:

I have seen war; I have seen it with its glories and its horrors; with its noble emotions and its bestialities; with its exaltations and its triumphs and its unspeakable miseries and baneful corruptions, and I say to you I feel my blood tingle with indignation when I hear the flip-pant talk of war, as if it were only a holiday pastime or an athletic sport. We are often told that there are worse things than war. Yes, but not many. He deserves the curse of mankind who in the exercise of power forgets that war should be only the very last resort even in contending for a just and beneficent end, after all the resources of peaceful methods are thoroughly exhausted.

Is arbitration a novelty? Very few are cognizant of the fact that the United States as long ago as 1789 projected the idea of arbitration in its dealings with foreign nations. Jefferson when Secretary of State for President Washington drew up rules that forecast all that has since been accomplished. This master mind stamped our history with the conception that peace can only be sustained by offering a peace front to the nations, and keeping up a peace and not a war organization. All our early treaties involved arbitration of disputed questions. The Treaty of Ghent fixed our disputed boundaries by this method. In 1853 an Arbitration convention settled several matters touching our rights. Especially difficult were controversies growing out of the Civil War and the Northeastern fisheries, but arbitration avoided conflict. The first great conference eventuated in four more. The Geneva Conference was the most famous in history, awarding fifteen millions damages to the United States, owing to the acts of confederate cruisers fitted out in England. In 1892 Great Britain and the United States submitted arbitration questions arising out of the fur-seal captures. We have also in numerous cases arbitrated with Mexico, Spain, and France. With Mexico we have a treaty obligation not to refer disputed questions hereafter to war :

If unhappily any disagreement should arise between the two Republics, the governments do promise to each other that they will endeavor in the most sincere manner to settle the differences so arising. And if they should not be enabled to come to an agreement, a resort shall not, on this account, be had to reprisals, aggression or hostility of any kind. And shall such course (arbitration) be proposed by either party, it shall be acceded by the other, unless deemed altogether incompatible with the nature of the difference or the circumstances of the case.

While not compulsory arbitration, this greatly reduces the chances of war, and is quite out of key with the course pursued by the United States in 1849. Many other cases not mentioned have occurred wherein we have engaged in arbitrating our difficulties — and always successfully. Indeed, a history of the wars we have avoided by arbitrations would constitute as legitimate a part of the history of the United States as the history of the wars we have fought. These cases number nearly or quite fifty.

In February of 1851 Mr. Foot reported to the senate from the Foreign Relations Committee :

Whereas, appeals to the sword for the determination of national controversies are always productive of immense evils; and

Whereas, the spirit and enterprises of the age, but more especially the genius of our own government, the habits of our people, and the highest permanent prosperity of our Republic, as well as the claims of humanity, the dictates of enlightened reason, and the precepts of our holy religion, all require the adoption of every feasible measure consistent with the national honor and the security of our rights, to prevent, as far as possible, the recurrence of war hereafter. Therefore,

Resolved, that in the judgment of this body, it would be proper and desirable for the government of these United States, whenever practicable, to secure in its treaties with other nations a provision for referring to the decision of umpires all future misunderstandings that cannot be satisfactorily adjusted by amicable negotiation, in the first instance, before a resort to hostilities shall be had.

On June 13, 1888, Mr. Sherman, also from the Committee on Foreign Relations, reported to the senate a concurrent resolution requesting the President —

To invite, from time to time, as fit occasions may arise, negotiations with any government with which the United States has or may have diplomatic relations, to the end that any differences or disputes arising between the two governments which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agency may be referred to arbitration, and be peaceably adjusted by such means.

This resolution was adopted by the Senate Feb. 14, 1890, and by the House of Representatives April 3, 1890. On June 16, 1893, the British House of Commons adopted a reciprocal resolution, expressing the hope that Her Majesty's government would coöperate with the government of the United States to the desired end.

In 1890 an arbitration treaty was formulated by the International American Conference.

This treaty, both in its declaration of principles and in the precise and positive character of its stipulations, constitutes such a conspicuous and comprehensive acceptance of arbitration that its essential provisions should be quoted. They are as follows :

Believing that war is the most cruel, the most fruitless, and the most dangerous expedient for the settlement of international differences ;

Recognizing that the growth of moral principles which govern political societies has created an earnest desire in favor of the amicable adjustment of such differences ;

Animated by the conviction of the great moral and material benefits that peace offers to mankind, and trusting that the existing conditions of the respective nations are especially propitious for the adoption of arbitration as a substitute for armed struggles ;

Convinced, by reason of their friendly and cordial meeting in the present conference, that the American Republics, controlled alike by the principles, duties, and responsibilities of popular government, and bound together by vast and increasing mutual interests, can, within the sphere of their own action, maintain the peace of the continent, and the good will of all its inhabitants ;

And considering it their duty to lend their assent to the lofty principles of peace which the most enlightened public sentiment of the world approves:

ARTICLE I.

The Republics of North, Central, and South America hereby adopt arbitration as a principle of American international law for the settlement of the differences, disputes, or controversies that may arise between two or more of them.

ARTICLE II.

Arbitration shall be obligatory in all controversies concerning diplomatic and consular privileges, boundaries, indemnities, the right of navigation, and the validity, construction and enforcement of treaties.

ARTICLE III.

Arbitration shall be equally obligatory in all cases other than those mentioned in the foregoing article, whatever may be their origin, nature, or object, with the single exception mentioned in the next following article:

ARTICLE IV.

The sole questions excepted from the provisions of the preceding articles are those which in the judgment of any one of the nations involved in the controversy may imperil its independence. In which case, for such nation arbitration shall be optional; but it shall be obligatory upon the adversary power.

Nor shall we forget the words of the profound jurist and wise statesman of Italy, the late Mr. Mancini, who not only carried in the parliament of his country a resolution in favor of arbitration, but who also, as minister of foreign affairs, himself negotiated many treaties containing an arbitral stipulation.

It is the fashion of those who cavil at arbitration to argue that the variety of questions to which it may be applied is small. While we might refute this objection by recurring to the arbitrations of the United States, it is interesting to quote the words of President Grant, who said:

Though I have been trained as a soldier and have participated in many battles, there never was a time when, in my opinion, some way could not have been found of preventing the drawing of the sword. I look forward to an epoch when a court, recognized by all nations, will settle international differences instead of keeping large standing armies, as they do in Europe.

Testing these words of a great soldier by the history of wars, we may appreciate the force of the following declaration of Lord Hobhouse:

The more I have studied history, the stronger has my conviction become that many wars are caused by the stupidity or ambition of a few persons, many by a false sense of honor, many by misunderstanding of fact.

Summing up American history, Professor Moore says :

Is the method of arbitration efficacious? The best answer we can make to that inquiry is to ask the objector to point to a single instance in which two nations, after having agreed to arbitrate a difference, have gone to war about it. Arbitration has brought peace, and "peace with honor." It is a rude and savage notion that nations when they feel themselves aggrieved must, instead of discussing and reasoning about their differences in a spirit of patience and forbearance, seek to avenge their wrongs by summary and violent measures. Among an enlightened and Christian people the spirit of revenge, discarded as it is in laws for the government of men in their private relations, can still less be adopted as a principle of public conduct.

Senator Hoar on Forefathers' Day reviewed this subject most eloquently. He said :

We are essentially English. Although our stock is mixed, it is an admixture chiefly from those northern races of which England herself was composed. In spite of past conflicts and present rivalry, England is the nation closest to us in affection and sympathy. The English language is ours. English literature is, perhaps, more familiar to the bulk of our people than to Englishmen themselves. The English Bible is still our standard of speech, our inspiration, our rule of faith and practice. We look to English authority in the administration of our system of law and equity. English aptness for command, habit of success, indomitable courage, unconquerable perseverance have been and are to remain the American qualities. The men of other blood who come here acquire and are penetrated with the English, or perhaps, without boasting or vanity, we may say, the American spirit. The great bulk of our people are of English blood. But by the spirit, which has its own pedigree, its own ancestry, its own law of descent and of inheritance, we are English even more than by any tie of physical kinship. It is of this pedigree of the spirit, governed by forces of which science has as yet given us no account, that we are taking account to-day. It is by virtue of its laws that John Winthrop counts George Washington among his posterity, James Otis transmits his quality to Charles Sumner. Emerson may well be reckoned the spiritual child of Bradford, Channing the spiritual child of John Robinson, and Miles Standish the progenitor of Grant. . . . When the boys who went out from a New England dwelling to meet death at Gettysburg or Antietam with no motive but the love of country and the sense of duty shall meet, where they are gone, the men who fought the livelong day with Wellington or obeyed Nelson's immortal signal, they shall —

Claim kindred there and have the claim allowed.

* * * * *

If a war should break out between this country and Great Britain it would be carried on not by land but on the sea, and with the inadequate navy which we now possess there can be no doubt that the principal seat of war would be the cities along our seacoast. These cities are practically defenceless against the attack of a strong naval force. Such a war might, and probably would, result in the annexation of Canada, and in the paralysis or destruction of British commerce, but, on the other hand, it would involve an enormous destruction of property along the seacoast, and perhaps in the destruction of New York, Boston, Baltimore and Philadelphia, in the loss of our foreign markets, and an incalculable injury to every branch of industry and commerce. Let us take a further step and consider the effect of such a war on the future of the civil-

ized world. This country would have nothing to gain from it, but Great Britain would, besides injury to her commerce, suffer perhaps the loss of her colonial empires in the different sections of the globe. England's difficulty would be Russia's opportunity, and we might confidently expect a war between this country and Great Britain to be the signal for the outbreak of that general European conflict which has been pending for a generation. With her naval forces divided, the final outcome, it seems to me, could not be doubtful; the British empire would be destroyed, and the ascendancy of the English-speaking races would be forever ended. The final result would be the end of English civilization as the controlling factor in the progress of the world. That such a war with all its consequences should be precipitated by the United States of America, a country that above all others owes its success and power to the peaceful prosecution of industry and trade, is a thought that should cause every true American to pause before he advocates or talks of war, and it should cause every representative of the American people in the federal administration or in the federal Congress to proceed with prudence and deliberation before committing the country to a conflict certain to end in disaster on all sides, and likely to lead to the complete transfer of the commercial supremacy of the world from the English-speaking races to the Frenchman, the German, and the Slav.

The idea of an International State has been shaping itself steadily since our constitution makers devised the idea of a federal union of states. Even before that Kant said soundly :

I trust to a theory which is based upon the principle of right as determining what the relation between men and states ought to be; and which lays down to these earthly gods the maxim that they ought so to proceed in their disputes that such a universal international state may be introduced, and to assume it therefore as not only possible in practice but such as may yet be presented in reality.

So far as Great Britain and the United States are concerned, John Bright said in 1887 :

As you advance in the second century of your national life may we not ask that our two nations may become one people?

Sir Henry Parkes said to the legislature of New South Wales in the same year :

I firmly believe it is within the range of human probability that the great groups of free communities connected with England will in separate federations be united to the mother country . . . and I also believe that the United States will be connected with this great English-speaking congeries of free governments.

International arbitration in the minds of advanced thinkers points to a completer Internationalism — organic and fraternal. It is for this reason that there is so determined opposition to the drift to reconstitute our American political state on the war footing of Europe.

THE LAST YEAR OF GAIL HAMILTON'S LIFE,

WITH EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS WRITTEN BY HER
DURING THAT TIME.

BY MAX BENNETT THRASHER.

Early in May of last year the telegraph flashed the news that Gail Hamilton had died suddenly in the Blaine mansion in Washington. Before this statement could be contradicted half the papers in the country had published elaborate obituary notices, the reading of many of which to her, afterwards, afforded the liveliest satisfaction to their distinguished subject.

A little later the world knew that the sudden attack had not proved fatal, and that Miss Dodge had been conveyed to her old home in Hamilton, Mass.

Months passed with no further word from the famous writer, except an occasional note as to her physical condition, when one Monday one of the papers published as an item of news that on the day previous the pastor of the Congregational Church in Hamilton had read, in place of his usual sermon, a paper written by Gail Hamilton, giving an account of her mental, or perhaps it would be more correct to say spiritual, experiences while she lay unconscious in Washington.

Impressed with the value which such an article would have, both from its nature, and as the first return of Gail Hamilton's pen to public work since her illness, I went at once to Hamilton to try and arrange with the writer for its publication.

I found Miss Dodge entirely disinclined to do this. "The paper," she said, "had been written as a private, personal message to her old friends and neighbors, whom she was not strong enough to see, but to whom she wished to communicate her own experiences, that they might know that death was something not to be feared, but 'indeed a blessed thing.'" Dictated to her sister, a sentence at a time, often with days between, it was not in form to be printed, nor had she the physical strength to give it the revision which would be necessary.

My request, however, proved to be only the first of many, and before a week had passed the writer of the paper had been besieged, both in person and by letter, by the representatives of various publications all over the country, asking for the article.

In writing to me some time afterwards, Gail Hamilton referred to this in these words :

Aren't you newspapers a funny folk? When I wrote my church letter, and took every precaution to keep it private, the horizon was clouded with reporters clutching for it.

The ultimate result of the "clutching" was that Miss Dodge finally yielded. After she became stronger the article was revised, under her supervision, made more complete, and published in the *Independent*.

During the ensuing months Miss Dodge gained greatly in strength. She was able to take long drives about the country, and to walk short distances into the village. Under date of June 27 of this year came the last letter from her which I received, and this shows how much better she was, and the pleasure which she was taking in the free, out-door, country life. Two days before she had sent me a copy of "X Rays," the little book which was her last work, and the first copies of which had just then come to her. In reply to my letter of thanks and inquiry as to how she then was, she writes :

How am I? Why, I have just sent you a whole bookful to let you know. . . . Thursday I drove to Ipswich (five miles) and returned the same afternoon, with pleasure and profit. We have three kittens, and fourteen chickens, diminuendo, and are greatly enjoying the summer.

She was never, however, sufficiently recovered to write for any length of time, and all the literary work which she did during this last year of her life, was dictated to her sister, Miss H. A. Dodge, who proved the most patient, as she was the most willing, of amanuenses. Physical weakness, though, could not wholly restrain the woman who, through a long lifetime, had been invariably the champion of the oppressed, and at times, as when she sent forth her "Holy War," and later an appeal for the Armenians, and another for Mrs. Maybrick, the martial spirit of the writer whose pen gained its first power in the abolition cause asserted itself.

Writing me a day or two after the Venezuela proclamation had been issued, and evidently while her spirit was still stirred by this, she says :

I suppose I ought to be willing to drift with the current, like the battered hulk I am, but I fear I cannot.

Following this, in a few days came the remarkable article beginning, "The Lord is a man of war. He is none the less a man of war, whether Moses or Herbert Spencer wrote the Pentateuch," for which she afterwards wrote this beautiful and no less remarkable introduction:

While I was yet lying enthralled by weakness, deeply interested in affairs but unable to lend a hand to their solution, free therefore to make delightful excursions down the possible paths of the kingdom of heaven, and seeing new, broad, brilliant horizons at every outlook where my unilluminated eye had before seen only a blur of meaningless light — suddenly a still small voice of divine right and human sympathy smote the air and the whole country rose and rang out prompt response.

This article, like the preceding, was dictated, a scrap at a time, as her strength allowed; and with it came this note which I give, both because it shows the instant recognition which she always hastened to render to every one who was of service to her, and the constant vein of quaint humor which sparkled through all her conversation, and made her one of the most delightful, as she was one of the most brilliant women I have ever known:

I send you with this the most beautiful looking manuscript in the world because it represents the affection and devotion of my sister and my nurse. If, however, your pampered typewriter-spoiled end-of-the-century eye cannot adventure its intricacies, will you not kindly consign it to a trustworthy typewriter?

The only other reference which I ever knew her to make to the putting aside of her life work, and one which has seemed strikingly pathetic, was when she wrote:

My two hands were eager to lighten the burden-bearing of a burdened world — but the brush fell from my hand.

Now I can only sit in a nook of November sunshine playing with two little black and white kittens. Well, I never before had time to play with kittens as much as I wished, and when I come outdoors and see them bounding towards me in long, light leaps, I am glad that they leap towards me and not away from me, little soft fierce sparks of infinite energy holding a mystery of their own as inscrutable as life. And I remember that, with all our high-art, the common daily sun searches a man for one revealing moment, and makes a truer portrait than the most laborious painter. The divine face of our Saviour, reflected in the pure and noble traits of humanity, will not fail from the earth because my hand has failed in cunning.

Gail Hamilton's home at Hamilton was a big roomy house standing well back from the main road, nearly a mile below the Hamilton and Wenham railway station. Hamilton is about twenty miles east of Boston, near the north shore.

The town is one of the most beautiful, as it is one of the most exclusive of the summer residential suburbs of Boston, with magnificent summer residences on almost every available site.

The Dodges were among the first settlers of the town, and several generations have lived upon the same ground where their descendants reside to-day. The house now standing was built by Gail Hamilton's father. He had a liking for capacious brick fireplaces, and incorporated a number of them into the house. These have never been disturbed, and form a refreshing contrast to many of the flimsy make-believes put in by architects to-day.

Mary Abby Dodge was the youngest of seven children; from her earliest years she gave evidence of the ability and strength of character which were to so distinguish her. After a short time spent in teaching she soon was fairly launched on her life work as a writer. Once having decided upon her career she chose for herself, as the name by which the public should know her, and the only one with which it should be allowed to make free, "Gail Hamilton."

There has been a very generally received impression that her name was Mary Abigail Dodge, and that she took the last part of her middle name and the name of her native town for a *nom de plume*; but I have the authority of her sister for saying that this is incorrect, and that the name "Abigail," so persistently hurled at her sister, was always distasteful to her. In her home and among her townspeople she was "Miss Abby." The familiar name indicates something of the affection which all who knew her at all well came to have for her—an affection which had its origin in, and was fostered by, her unfailing desire to help others.

In writing to me in December of 1895 of a common friend who was cast down in spirit she says :

— is discouraged, because he is young and strong and feels that the world is on his shoulders. When he is old and weak he will feel that he is responsible only for what he can do. All else is God's work for which — is not answerable.

At the same time she was one of the keenest, if the kindest, of critics. I carried her at one time some short sketches of both New England and Old England life, for she was untiring in her efforts to help a younger writer along the road the whole of which she herself had conquered. I remember that at the time I told her it was with some hesi-

tation that I included the English article, knowing, as I did, her strong dislike for many things English.

Writing me of these, later, she says frankly of the first and with a sly hit back about the second :

I think there are some places where you have exaggerated the ungrammatical expressions. A woman who in her girlhood had been to an excellent New England seminary may be careless in her expressions, but she would not dig out a hole to stand in with her grammar, and if *she* did I forbid *you* to stand in it. The English sketch is one of the best. Thank you! See how free I am from prejudice.

At another time, in reply to a letter in which I had tried at some length to explain a certain matter and had closed by saying I hoped she would understand me, she says, with delicious irony :

I do not understand it a bit, but as it is all a part of the original construction of the universe, I cannot delay action until I understand it. Your premises are correctly stated in the universal affirmative, and then your syllogism stands on its head and waves a universal negative, which is conclusive though not logical.

Later, in discussing more seriously the pros and cons of literary work, she said :

One ought not to *write* for money, but I consider it a first duty after one has written to exact the highest possible price. It is not a matter which concerns only the writer, but all writers.

During the late spring and early summer of this year Gail Hamilton had interested herself in bringing together the work of the preceding twelve months, beginning with the church letter of which I have written. These she published in a little book which she called "X Rays," and she was busily engaged in sending out the first copies of this which had come from the press, when the blow came which removed her from life.

A note of explanation sent out with this book, not as an integral part of it but printed on a slip of paper and laid between the leaves, explained the reasons why and how it existed, with a unique directness of which no one but Gail Hamilton could have been equal. The book, it should be remembered, was printed by the author privately. The note referred to read :

I have not offered this book to the publishers, because it is too slight a handling of too great a theme to lay claim to literature, and I do not wish it pushed by advertisement or other extraneous methods upon an unwitting and necessarily indifferent public. I have published it myself because I have found that there was much interest in the topic, especially on the part of those who mourn their dead.

The great joy of my own experience I desire to share as widely as possible, and because it is experience I am not without hope that it may attract the attention of science and help in solving the problem of life.

I have manufactured the book as cheaply as is consistent with the least expense to eyesight, and have made a veritable *édition de pauvreté*, but I have paid all its cost and shall not be embarrassed if not a copy is sold. I hope therefore that none will buy it except from interest in the natural and cosmic, as well as in the personal and religious relations between this world and the next.

The dedication to her sister, who had penned the contents from dictation, was no less characteristic, and was planned as an affectionate surprise. This page Gail Hamilton dictated to her nurse and her sister knew nothing about it until the first copy of the book was put into her hands. At the top of the first page following the title page were these words :

To her without whose efficient devotion even this slight record could not have been made, to my sister, I dedicate its full assurance of hope, in the full assurance of faith.

Following this were these lines from the pen of Harriet Prescott Spofford :

Your life and mine, O constant heart, have glided
Like two streams into one,
We flow along, and now our way is guided
In shade, and now in sun.

A gracious stream, whose banks are set with blessing,
And into calms of golden sunset pressing,
Or shall it be,

A river rushing between mighty mountains
We burst upon the sea?

The hoary and illimitable ocean
That darkly to and fro
Rocks the vast volumes of its central motion
Where no wind dares to blow!

O life my own, let not that awful swinging
Sunder us far apart,
But the eternities confess our clinging,
And pulse us heart to heart!

It seems that Gail Hamilton had for some time been interested in the question if there might not be some spiritual connection between this world and the next. Of this she writes :

A new page in the book of life was opened to me. At first the question arose, Why has God given us such an eagerness to know, yet withheld all knowledge. Then has He? Has He so withheld knowledge? Has He not rather in this, as in all other matters, given us hints and helps, but left it to human help to use them?

The first part of the paper which is called "The Valley of the Shadow of Death," is devoted to bringing together and

commenting upon the records of the experiences of other people, which she had collected before her own illness. Then comes a break, and she writes :

So far had I written when it befell me to be tented in that valley of shadows. My experience there, dear neighbors and all friends will be glad to learn, chiefly because it was experience, a little also perhaps because it was mine.

It was early morning, but so swiftly the darkness fell that I have always thought of it as evening.

I was standing by a lounge in my room when I felt myself sinking. There was no pain, no alarm, no fear, no feeling.

Much of the time immediately succeeding, I was in a passageway between two rooms. The room on one side was this world, on the other, the next world. The doors of both were closed. So many friends were around me who had gone out of this world, that it suddenly occurred to me to ask whether I myself might not be already gone, and I was about to ask, "Am I dead or alive?" But I thought that if it should turn out that I was still alive, the question might seem rather brusque and harsh, and I deliberately softened it to "Am I supposed to be living still?" The friends around me intermingled freely and naturally with the ghosts—so naturally that I had a distinct feeling of disappointment, fearing the next world was rather commonplace after all. I saw the inconsistency of entering the other world while still a denizen of this, but I thought the pleasantries rather realistic.

To myself it seemed, and it seems still, as if my spirit were partially detached from my body,—not absolutely freed from it, but floating about, receiving impressions with great readiness, but not with entire accuracy, as if the spirit were made to receive impressions through the bodily organs, and without them could not rely implicitly upon its own observations.

Much of my experience is perhaps trivial and possibly insignificant, but it does show that not only the mind but the habit of mind in life outlasts the shadow of death. May we not, then, approximately infer that it outlasts death and gives to life its supreme importance?

In all these cases alike word comes, not indeed from beyond the gates—is therefore not final—but it comes in all cases from those who have pressed as near the gates as any could go and turn back. It is therefore approximately testimony.

Beloved, you, if any such there be, who through fear of death have been all your lifetime subject to bondage—be of good cheer. For seven weeks I lay encamped on the further if not the furthest side of the valley of the shadow of death, and it was a pleasant valley.

Gail Hamilton died Aug. 17, 1896. She was stricken down suddenly, again, and although life lingered for some hours she never recovered consciousness. Her funeral was a fitting close to the life of one to whom death had never seemed a harsh or gloomy thing. The day was one of the most beautiful of the summer; sunlight, fresh air, and flowers were everywhere.

The grounds which surround the Dodge house are spacious, stretching back to fields of grass and corn. Huge old apple trees are scattered about, and to the east of the house is a clump of pines beneath which had been Gail Hamilton's favor-

ite place to sit. Here the last services over her body were held, in the shadow of the softly murmuring pine branches, and with the sunlit hills of Essex County stretched around. In the company gathered here were men and women whose names are known around the world, plain farmers and their wives, neighbors and townspeople, bringing tribute to native kindness of heart as well as strength of mind.

THE STATE FEDERATIONS OF THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS.

BY ELLEN M. HENROTIN,

PRESIDENT GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS.

Six years ago, when the General Federation of Women's Clubs was organized, about fifty clubs joined as members. The original conception of the General Federation was a federation of literary clubs to compare methods of work, prepare programmes and, as far as possible, establish a high standard of literary work for the women's clubs.

The clubs responded to the invitation to join the Federation in far greater numbers than at first was anticipated. Over two hundred clubs sent delegates to the first biennial meeting, held in Chicago in 1892, the Women's Club of that city being hostess. All sections of the country, north, south, east and west, were represented and a large number of club women of Chicago and suburbs were present. The greatest interest was evinced in the proceedings. Every meeting that was held in Central Music Hall was crowded and the occasion was signalized by many social functions. From that time on the usefulness of the Federation was an established fact.

Mrs. Charlotte Emerson Brown, the first president of the Federation, was reëlected and served as president until 1894.

During the Columbian Exposition the General Federation held a meeting under the auspices of the Congress Auxiliary in the congress of representative women. The hall was crowded, and no meeting held during that session attracted more attention than this meeting of the Federation.

At the biennial held in Philadelphia in 1894, Mrs. Charlotte Emerson Brown, who had so ably and so faithfully served the organization, retired, as she was no longer eligible for reëlection, the constitution prescribing two terms as the limit of service of each general officer in the same capacity. Mrs. Brown died in the following February and her death was a great loss to the Federation.

At the Philadelphia biennial the department clubs appeared

paramount in interest. These great department clubs, which reported their work under the six departments of home, philosophy and science, art and literature, philanthropy, civics, and education, were a proof of how rapidly the women's clubs were passing away from the purely social and literary aspect into a great working force.

The number of clubs reported by the corresponding secretary at the Philadelphia biennial as having joined the Federation was three hundred and fifty-five. The unique feature of this biennial was the report of four states having formed State Federations of clubs. These states were Maine, Iowa, Massachusetts, and the Social Science Federation of Kansas.

The State Federations reported that the interest in the first biennial meeting, held in Chicago, was so great and the number of delegates from each state was so small, it had been decided wise to form a State Federation and thus extend the benefits of organization to a larger number, and, by the payment of small annual dues, draw into the State Federation the small literary clubs and study classes which were forming all over the country. The meetings of the biennials are naturally held at a great distance from most of the clubs, as it is the policy of the Federation to hold the biennials in different sections of the country, and thus a great outlay of money and time was necessary for the delegates who attended, while an annual meeting of the State Federations overcame this difficulty.

The movement of the State Federations progressed with great rapidity, and at the biennial in Louisville held in May, 1894, the following states reported having formed State Federations: New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, Kansas, Colorado, Missouri, Utah, Nebraska, and the District of Columbia. One State Federation was organized during the month of September, that of far-away Washington, and two were organized in October, viz., Wisconsin and Georgia.

The membership of the State Federations has grown with the same rapidity as that of the General Federation. Ohio has one hundred and thirty-five club memberships; New York, according to last report, one hundred and sixteen; Illinois, one hundred and twenty-five; Massachusetts, nearly one hundred; Pennsylvania, thirty-three, with a total membership of over six thousand women; New Jersey has sixty-two; New Hamp-

shire, twenty-eight ; Nebraska, seventy-five ; Minnesota, fifty-four ; and new clubs are being organized all over the country and joining the State Federations. It is estimated that the General Federation has about five hundred clubs in membership, and the State Federations about one thousand.

The interesting features of the meetings of the State Federations have been, the enthusiasm which has characterized these meetings, and the social atmosphere and perfect good breeding of the delegates in attendance. It is invidious to mention one where all have reached such a high standard, but having recently returned from the Minnesota State Federation, I must speak of that programme as it embodies several interesting features. First, the report of the town and country clubs. These clubs are formed in the towns for the benefit of country women. The Northfield Town and Country Club has sixty members, forty from the country and twenty in the town. A room was secured as a rest room for the women who came in to do their shopping; arrangements were made to have a custodian in charge who would serve tea, and the visitors were at liberty to bring their own luncheon, every facility being provided to render it a pleasant meal. The country members pay twenty-five cents a year. This club was formed through the exertions of a small committee of town women who visited the different stores, physicians, and druggists, and ascertained the addresses of about eighty country women within an easy driving distance of the town of Northfield. They addressed letters to these ladies, asking them if they would be interested in forming such a club. They received about fifty answers, and the singular part of it is that each woman answered that she would greatly enjoy the literary part, but felt that that was all that was necessary to her as she had a sister or some relative in town where she usually went for lunch. The ladies, however, engaged their quarters, hired the custodian, opened the club and sent out notices with fear and trembling for their new departure. They had over thirty visitors the first day, and in the year since the club was first formed, they have moved three times, each time into larger quarters. A literary meeting is held once a month regularly, summer and winter, and on other occasions. A book was selected (the first one being Reade's "Put Yourself in His Place") and at the next meeting the book was discussed, some lady being the leader. This plan was pursued for the

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first year with the best results. The club bought inexpensive copies of the book and placed them on sale with the leading booksellers. All the copies were bought, and at the end of the year not only had each member her delightful experience, but her family had twelve good books that she had read, heard discussed, and was able to interest them in.

Northfield itself is a most interesting community; Carlton College, a coeducational institution, is situated in the town, with about five hundred pupils in attendance. The presiding genius of the town is Miss Margaret J. Evans, president of the Minnesota State Federation. She is the inspiration of much of the club work and of the Village Improvement Associations, which are being organized in Minnesota, and of which Northfield is so beautiful an example. A very valuable paper was read on the forests of Minnesota, and a description given of how much one club had accomplished toward preserving the forests and also by planting trees.

The Ohio State Federation met in Cleveland, and most interesting reports were given on the public libraries which are being fostered by the clubs and on travelling libraries. A bill to provide for these libraries has just passed the Ohio legislature, fostered by the Ohio Federation of Women's Clubs and the powerful coöperation of Governor Bushnell.

The Illinois State Federation, which met at Springfield in the capitol by the invitation of Governor Altgeld, was a notable gathering. The subject of many of the papers and discussions was state education, and the part which the women's clubs could take in fostering a high standard of education and providing ways and means to meet the growing demands of the primary, as well as the higher education. The Women's Club of Chicago has taken the initiative in organized charity, civics, and all the grave social questions which naturally come to the front in a metropolis. The West End Club of Chicago has been greatly interested in the subject of wage-earners, while the South Side clubs and the Woodlawn Club have been most sympathetic and energetic in dealing with the sweat-shop system and in studying social problems.

The report of the great department clubs presented at the Illinois State Federation was an inspiration to all the delegates in attendance. One of the model clubs of the state was the hostess of the occasion — the Springfield Women's Club. This club was organized not more than a year ago and already has a membership of three hundred, and is a

power in the community. The Peoria Women's Club was the first hostess of the Illinois State Federation. This club was organized by Mrs. Clara P. Baldwin, who is still the president of the club, and is unique in that it owns its own club house, a most beautiful building and most successfully managed. The Iowa Federation meets biennially, alternating with the General Federation. This Federation has established a reciprocity bureau and has arranged among the clubs a system of exchange of papers, lectures, readings, concerts and manuscripts. The literary committee has encouraged the establishing and maintenance of public libraries.

To quote from the address of the president of the Iowa State Federation, Mrs. Anna B. Howe:

In some towns were found small circulating libraries, badly cared for, and these served as a nucleus for something of greater excellence. Both subscription and club libraries have been commenced. Several cities through the influence of the hard work of club women voted the municipal tax necessary to support free public libraries. It was due to this committee that the Travelling Library Bill which goes into effect July 1 in Iowa became a law.

The next meeting of the Iowa Federation will be held at Dubuque in May, 1897.

The Colorado State Federation was organized in April of 1895, and the report of the president, Mrs. Susan R. Ashley of the Colorado Federation, was received with the greatest enthusiasm at the biennial. She says:

Colorado club women have a vigorous way of taking up any work that recommends itself to their judgment as good for the club or the community. Thus Pingree potato gardening, free baths for poor children, the furnishing of respectable and pleasant lodgings for girls out of work and out of money until such can find employment, sewing schools, night schools, city-improvement societies, evening social and literary clubs for our sisters who can give only evenings to such entertainments owe their existence to our clubs, while a dinner or an outing for poor children, the social entertainment of visitors distinguished for educational, scientific, or philanthropic work always find some women's club ready to appoint a committee with funds at command to properly care for the emergency.

The president continues:

With the full rights of citizenship has come to us a much keener sense of responsibility for existing conditions and we consider that every intelligent woman in Colorado should understand the duties pertaining to each office to be filled in city and state. We find Colorado laws exceptionally just to women — Colorado men are exceptionally just — and the few statutes that were considered unfair, at the first subsequent session of the legislature, were amended. A paper given in the club on the need of state intervention and care of neglected children, resulted in legislation establishing state supervision for this class of our future citizens.

The president closes by saying :

The force of club organization is so clearly recognized in Colorado that all civic and ethical movements are referred to the clubs for consideration and discussion.

The Kentucky State Federation reports that the number of clubs has doubled in the last two years ; that the line of work is literary ; that much good literary work is being done, and that the line of work is in the interest of education, especially the forming of public libraries.

The Maine State Federation reports seventy-four clubs in membership. The Standing Educational Committee writes that the president, Mrs. Belle G. Dowst of Bangor, has done valiant work throughout the state, interesting club women in the study of the science of education, and to investigate the conditions and needs of the public schools. At the annual meeting of 1894, an educational symposium was arranged on kindergartens, manual training, and woman on the school boards.

Many of the Maine clubs are composed almost entirely of farmers' wives, and the president quotes from a letter received from one of them :

We farmers' wives live at great distances apart, but we read about clubs and want to keep up with the times if we only know how.

The writer then asks for advice and information, and adds :

Now, I have an idea that all these clubs are doing interesting and instructive work and we want to do the same.

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, president of the Massachusetts State Federation, writes that their federation meets quarterly and the meetings are largely attended and greatly enjoyed. The last meeting of the Massachusetts Federation was devoted to the consideration of civics and municipal government and one thousand and five hundred women were in attendance, the railroads all over the state making special rates.

During the month of November, Michigan and New York will hold their annual meetings, and the programmes of both these federations will deal largely with the condition of education in the respective states.

I have mentioned these state federations in detail that the reader may realize the influence which these great gatherings of women must exert on the literary education and social aspects of American life. The members of the women's

clubs represent the intelligent and thoughtful average woman interested not alone in her own education, but in the community of which she is a member. The name adopted by the larger number of clubs forming is that of the locality, as the Cincinnati Women's Club, the Detroit Women's Club, the Peoria Women's Club, the Club of Central Kentucky, and thereby the club woman stands pledged to her community and recognizes her responsibility for its intellectual and moral advancement.

These State Federations mean also the broadening of the social life of thousands of women and the solidarity which comes from a knowledge that the clubs are all working in the cause of the advancement of community life. The Town and Village Improvement Association, the Library Committees, the Committees on Public Education, on Associated Charities, which are formed in the clubs, exemplify the growing feeling of the responsibility of woman outside her own four walls. She is now, not only the home mother, but the city mother, and knows that the interdependence of modern life is so great, that if a child in the alley is neglected, her own children are in turn exposed to the same dangers, the same temptations, and must war against lawlessness and ignorance, if she does not fulfill her duty to the neglected one.

The philosophy underlying the Women's Clubs and the State Federation and the General Federation is simply that of reciprocity; life in its fulness is the state of the soul, which in turn must give and receive from the larger world. The woman in her Club represents the individual; in the State Federation, she is the citizen; in the General Federation, she comes into touch with the nation. These patient, silent forces at work through all the ramifications of our great country, must surely bring about that republic of ethics toward which the club women aspire.

SOME NEWSPAPER WOMEN.

BY HELEN M. WINSLOW.

There is a story of a certain editor who was asked to define the difference between a "newspaper man" and a "journalist." He replied that a newspaper man was one who had worked for years on the press, writing editorials, criticisms, literary articles, and everything else that goes to make up a great paper; while a journalist was a young man fresh from college, with no experience of his own and usually too conceited to profit by that of others. After he has worked a few years, gets some of this self-esteem rubbed off, and learns to estimate himself at something like his true value, he becomes a plain, ordinary newspaper man.

The same definition will apply to women with equal force. It is the young girl fresh from school who insists upon her title of journalist; the woman who has labored side by side with men for years and whose work will stand the strain of comparison is content to be a "newspaper woman." All of which must stand as an apology for the absence of the more pretentious word in the above title.

The newspaper woman is not entirely a modern innovation. She was a distinctive and recognized, if not a numerous order of the human species in the last generation, when the names of Mary Clemmer Ames and "Grace Greenwood" were among the best-known correspondents of their day, and "Bessie Beech" and "Fannie Fern" and "Jennie June," as well as a variety of other less widely known *noms de plume*, were signed to contributions on all sorts of interesting and timely topics.

The evolution of the woman journalist, pure and simple, was left for this age — women regularly on a daily newspaper; women to take editorial and reportorial positions and stand side by side with the men with whom they compete. But that they do write on all topics of interest — politics, finance, and even baseball (O crucial test!), as well as literature, art, and so-called woman's interests — and that they

draw equal pay for the same quality of work with men, are established facts.

"Jennie June," better known nowadays perhaps as Mrs. Jennie C. Croly, was the first woman to enter the treadmill of daily journalism — that "endless walk" which seems ever to be putting behind one an overwhelming amount of work, with a prospect of arriving somewhere in the near future, but a task never ended so long as the worker wields a ready pen and the dear public cries constantly for more.

Mrs. Croly began as Jennie Cunningham over forty years ago. She was the originator of the "syndicate system," which has since grown to enormous proportions. In other words, she was the first to conceive and put into practice the scheme of publishing the same article in several Western papers on the same date. By sending duplicates of her New York letters to different papers, selecting of course those whose circulation was confined to different districts, she found she could afford to sell them to each for a lower price and that the aggregate amount from all paid her very handsomely, — a discovery which has made several men rich since that day. It was from this starting point that the modern enormous newspaper-syndicate business has grown.

Jennie Cunningham did not work very long in the daily newspaper field before she met and married Mr. David G. Croly, a gentleman long known as one of New York's foremost editors. Soon after they went to Illinois and started a paper; but the climate disagreed with them, and, coming back to New York, they entered on a long period of service together on the *New York World*, where each became famous in their respective departments. When the *Graphic* was started they accepted a flattering offer to go on its regular force, and were for some time identified with that paper. Mr. Croly died in 1888, but Mrs. Croly is still in the harness. She was the founder and editor of the *New Cycle*, when it was the authorized organ of the Federated Woman's Clubs of America. She has also edited *Demorest's Magazine* and *Godey's Lady's Book*, and is now devoting her time to writing a history of the woman's club movement in America. For more than forty years the name of "Jennie June" has been familiar to the reading public as a fashion and art writer, while the name of Jennie C. Croly has been long associated with a different class of work and well beloved among women everywhere. She was president of Sorosis, that

famous women's club, for twenty-one years — an honored position which it is safe to assume that no other woman will ever occupy so long.

One of the next among hard-working newspaper women, and one with a peculiar field of labor, was Maria, generally known as "Middy" Morgan. She was a native of Cork, Ireland, and the daughter of a wealthy country squire. On her father's estate she was a bold and daring horsewoman; and when in early womanhood the care of the family estate fell upon her, she made a thorough study of farming, bred horses and cattle for the market, and became thoroughly conversant with live stock of all kinds. Upon her brother's return from the army to assume the cares of the estate which he had inherited, Miss Morgan went to Italy, where she was introduced at court and, being a handsome girl, was made much of generally. During a visit to the royal stables she suggested to Victor Emmanuel that they be replenished. She was immediately commissioned to go to Ireland and England and select a stock of Irish hunting mares, which she accomplished with great success. She came to this country in 1869 with letters of introduction to various people. Recognition came so slowly, however, that she bravely went to work in a hotel as chambermaid while looking for work more suited to her taste and ability. She applied to the *Times* for a position. Mr. Bigelow, the managing editor, smiled and said the only post unoccupied was that of the live-stock reporter. "I can fill it," was the unhesitating reply. She was allowed to try, and she remained in the position twenty-three years. She was eccentric in dress and appearance, although refined, kind-hearted, and generous always; but her reports were forcible and reliable, and came in time to be considered the best in New York. Through her efforts many reforms in the stockyards and for the relief of suffering cattle were instituted, and she was often spoken of as the best judge of cattle in the East. Miss Morgan died some years ago, leaving a considerable property.

Through the influence of these women and Ellen Hutchinson, who had already become a recognized force on the New York *Tribune*, a bright New England girl became imbued with the journalistic purpose, and in 1870 Sally Joy applied for a place on the Boston *Post*. There was to be a woman suffrage convention up in Vermont, and the fresh, round-eyed young girl was told that she might "do" it.

First, she was told to take a small assignment for that evening; whereupon, altogether ignorant of the unwritten law that sinks a reporter's individual plans and desires into nothingness before the duties of the paper, this slip of a girl replied, "O, but I can't; I want to go to the theatre!" How well she performed her duty at the Vermont convention, Mrs. Livermore and Lucy Stone have often told, and when she came back she was put on the regular assignment list — the first woman to go into daily journalism in Boston.

Mrs. Lavinia S. Goodwin had, the year before, entered upon an editorial position on *The Watchman*, a religious weekly; and Mrs. Margaret Magennis joined the reportorial force of the *Evening Traveler* the year following, with which paper she remained nearly a quarter century. After several years' service on the *Post* under Col. Nathaniel Greene, Sally Joy married Harry K. White, Jr., a singer of some note. As Sally Joy White she has since been identified with the *Daily Advertiser*, and for a dozen years past has been regularly connected with the Boston *Herald*, besides doing a vast amount of fugitive literary and journalistic work for other papers and magazines. She was five years president of the New England Woman's Press Association, and her bright, cheery face is one of the best known in Boston.

"Catherine Cole" of New Orleans was the first woman reporter on the Southern press. By dint of hard, untiring work, not always appreciated in that aristocratic city, she paved the way for the really easy positions women hold to-day on the Southern journals. Kindergartens, the Woman's Exchange, and the Training School for Nurses in New Orleans all came about as results of her trenchant writing. Sixteen years ago, Martha R. Field went on to the New Orleans *Times*, remaining with them two years. Then her work on the *Picayune* began, and ever since that time, fourteen years ago, as "Catherine Cole" has she commanded the highest respect of her city and of journalists everywhere. Her field has been a wide one. Her "Correspondence Club" has been a steady feature of New Orleans journalism for sixteen years. She went to Ireland and travelled with William O'Brien; she has been staff correspondent at Washington; she walked across England, all for the *Picayune*. She has written more about the State of Louisiana than any other one individual, and has done much to bring its claims

before the public. She is a sincere friend to women, and has written and done much to elevate the standard of young girls both at the North and South.

Speaking of the *Picayune* with which "Catherine Cole" was so long identified, mention should be made of Mrs. E. J. Nicholson, the wife of the former proprietor. When he died the paper was badly in debt, having suffered during and after the war, and its finances as well as its credit and reputation were at a low ebb. Mrs. Nicholson, contrary to the advice of all her friends, then stepped to the front, took personal charge of the paper and made it one of the leading papers of the South. With success came money. She died during the past summer, leaving behind her a handsome piece of property in the *Picayune*, and during her last years she drew an income which would have warranted her in resting from her labors had she chosen.

Miss Kate Field was in the work for many years, perhaps first in precedence of both time and ability. Her name was identified with the best movements in art, philanthropy, and literature. She took a vivid interest in all the political questions of the day, and *Kate Field's Washington* was quoted far and wide, both for its sound, sensible judgment and its sparkling wit. In fact, Kate Field herself possessed the most remarkable fund of wit vouchsafed to any woman since the days of the French *salon*. Her earlier work on the *New York Truth*, when she instituted her famous "Madge" letters, was distinguished for its brightness, perspicacity, and cleverness. She was the woman who persuaded Queen Victoria to investigate the merits of the telephone, and there has been hardly a movement of the age that has not been materially aided by her. *Kate Field's Washington* was started with but moderate hopes of success, and more for the sake of a clear field for unbiassed utterance than for any financial reason. Its patronage, however, proved that the public after all likes a journal with the courage of its convictions, which does not truckle to any element outside the open path of those convictions — a lesson which might well be learned by journalists other than women.

In 1895 Miss Field decided to close out her *Washington* and travel. In the interests of one of the great New York dailies she went to Honolulu, whence her letters were distinguished by the same rare intuition and intelligent grasp of the situation that ever characterized her work. The reading

world was shocked and universally grieved, last summer, by the news of her sudden death in Honolulu; at the present writing her body is on the way to America to be cremated in accordance with her instructions by will. Miss Field left behind her some little property, proving that a woman with financial sense joined to mental capacity may earn more than "a living" by journalism; and she also left a reputation second to none for honest, diligent, earnest work—a reputation that might well be envied by any man in the profession.

Lilian Whiting's is another name that is well known throughout the whole country, her weekly syndicate letters through a long series of years in Western and Southern journals making her name familiar to many readers in those sections, as her editorial and literary work on the *Evening Traveler* in Boston created for her an atmosphere of respect and admiration in the East. It was sixteen years ago that Miss Whiting left her home in Illinois and came to Boston, after a short apprenticeship under Mr. Murat Halstead in Cincinnati. With but little experience and, as she says, quite ignorant of life as it really exists, she went to the Boston *Traveler* and asked for work. They told her they had nothing; but with the admirable pluck of a Western girl she offered to select her own subjects and write on them, and added that if they did not like her work when it was done, they need not take it. No managing editor could refuse a young girl so modest a request, and she was told to "go ahead." No one had faith in her except herself; but her success may be estimated by the fact that she was put on a salary at the end of two weeks, and in two years more she was made literary editor, a post she held for nearly nine years, until radical changes in policy led her to resign and become managing editor of the Boston *Budget*. Her "Beau Monde" was eagerly read by a large class of readers of both papers, while her literary reviews have been regarded as of the highest order. Miss Whiting brings conscience and a well-trained mind, with habits of persistent, untiring industry, to her work; and she regards the profession of journalism as a sacred calling, no more to be trifled or juggled with than that of the ministry. Miss Whiting resigned from the *Budget* some months ago, and has passed the last year in foreign travel and study. Her "World Beautiful," which has been uncommonly well received, is a collection in book form of her best essays under

the newspaper title of "The Beau Monde," and proves the saying that much good literature is consumed by the daily papers.

Chicago with its immense development of professions and industries has a small army of newspaper women that are among the most "brainy," keen, and able women of the land. An article like the present can give space to but few of them, though, considering the quality of the rest, it must seem invidious to select any one, two, or three. Mary Allen West, the first president of the Illinois Woman's Press Association and the editor-in-chief of the *Union Signal*, was a native of that state. She was one of the first women county-school superintendents in Illinois. She showed wonderful organizing powers and was among the first workers of the W. C. T. U., and was called, after much work in state organization, to take charge of the *Union Signal*, where she proved herself a journalist of ability and good sense. Her editorial judgment, judicious generalship, and utter lack of self-seeking, her courage, integrity and sound, cogent common sense not only won for her the highest respect of contemporary journalists, but brought the *Union Signal* into high repute. Miss West left this country early in 1892 for Hawaii and Japan, in the interests of the W. C. T. U. She died in Tokio the following December.

Another capable and forceful worker in newspaperdom is Mrs. Antoinette Van Hoesen Wakeman, of whom Miss Frances E. Willard says: "I regard her as one of the brightest, purest, most truth-seeking women of my large circle of friends. There is something electric in both her and her pen. Every good work and word finds a helpful ally in this brave little woman, who has grown up out of Chicago's smoke and mud as fair and slightly as the gentian, of which she often makes me think." Mrs. Wakeman was for many years on the editorial staff of the Chicago *Evening Post*. She does art work, conducts "women's departments," writes book reviews, and turns in regularly from five to eight columns a week, besides doing syndicate work and contributing regularly to one or two magazines.

As a woman who devotes herself to politics Miss Mary H. Krout is worthy of more than a casual mention. Miss Krout is a native of Crawfordsville, Ind. She began writing verses and essays when only eight years old; the poem "Little Brown Hands," which is known and loved throughout the

country, was written by her at the age of sixteen. After years of fugitive writing she became assistant editor of the *Crawfordsville Journal*, and later of other western papers. In 1888 she came into prominence through her political work. Prior to the presidential campaign of that year she went to Chicago and through the influence of General and Mrs. Lew Wallace secured a position on the *Inter-Ocean*. In July she was sent as political correspondent to Indianapolis and given unlimited power during the campaign. Arriving in that city at half-past eight one morning, in less than an hour she was in close conference with President Harrison, who gave her plenty of wise advice and a letter of introduction to the Republican headquarters. She soon formed a comprehensive idea of the political situation, and then did some remarkable work which extended through several months. For one hundred and eight consecutive days she sent from one to two columns of reliable matter to her paper daily, in addition to the private telegrams and letters which had much to do with shaping its editorial policy. One of her great feats was the sending of Gen. Wallace's three-column speech by telegraph. While no one else thought it worth while to report the speech entire, Miss Krout rode ten miles to the nearest telegraph office and despatched it to the *Inter-Ocean*. The edition containing the speech was quickly exhausted and extra editions were called for. The other daily papers copied it, and it was finally used as a campaign document. On the day of Harrison's election she sat at her desk from nine in the morning until two the next, sending all the specials for office bulletins herself. No more arduous or brilliant piece of newspaper work was ever done by a woman. Upon her return to Chicago she took an editorial position on the *Inter-Ocean*. During the trouble at the Sandwich Islands in 1893 Miss Krout was sent by the *Inter-Ocean* to Honolulu, from whence she furnished daily telegraphic news and editorials on the situation, being the sole representative of her paper there for three months. Since that time she has been in Australia, New Zealand, and Honolulu for the *Inter-Ocean*. Just now she is back at her desk in Chicago.

Another woman to go to Honolulu to represent her paper during the spring of 1893 was Adeline Knapp, of the *San Francisco Call*. She is one of the brightest newspaper women on the Pacific coast, having been connected with the *Call* for some years, where she has made an enviable record as an "all-

round" journalist and a woman of more than ordinary ability. Miss Knapp is a native of New York state, but went west early in life. She is a college graduate and took up the study of medicine early, intending to make its practice her life-work. Owing to some trouble with her eyes, however, she had to postpone that branch of work, and in the most accidental sort of way possible was led to make a venture into journalistic fields, — a venture so successful that she has been browsing there ever since. Her value to her paper is reckoned no less than that of Miss Krout to hers, and Miss Knapp, though but a few years in the harness, is in the very front ranks of American newspaper women. The Arena Publishing Company have just issued a book, "One Thousand Dollars a Day," from her pen.

One of the most thoroughly trained journalists in Boston is Miss Katharine Eleanor Conway, of the *Pilot*. For twenty years Miss Conway has been in the editorial harness. She began on Rochester and Buffalo (N. Y.) papers, occupying responsible positions there for several years. About fifteen years ago she came to Boston and applied for work on the *Pilot*. Mr. John Boyle O'Reilly, who was then the editor, recognized her marked ability and immediately engaged her in a minor editorial capacity, since when she has been steadily working her way to the front. Upon Mr. O'Reilly's death in 1890 Miss Conway was made assistant editor, and second only to Mr. James Jeffrey Roche on the *Pilot*. Her chief characteristics are a broad, liberal judgment, a too rare faculty of taking unbiassed views of the main questions of life, and a thorough, conscientious love of truth and sincerity. Miss Conway has made a reputation as a poet of high quality, having published two volumes of poetry which entitle her to a front rank among the better class of latter-day poets, besides a series of books for young women, and has assisted in editing other books. It is unnecessary to add that she is one of the busiest of women.

Miss Mildred Aldrich has been in the field as long as Miss Conway, although her work has been in different lines. While she has written on every imaginable subject, as the "all-round" journalist must, perhaps her best work has been in the direction of dramatic criticism. During her twelve years' connection with the Boston *Home Journal* she made many lifetime friends in the dramatic profession by her honest, fearless criticism and intelligent praise. Her weekly "Harle-

quin " was anticipated and read by thousands of people, and in losing her the *Home Journal* allowed its brightest star to be removed to another firmament. Miss Aldrich was for two years on the editorial staff of the Boston *Daily Journal*, doing dramatic, social, and literary work; she is now on the Boston *Herald*, where her broad, liberal culture and habits of thought, with a vast collection of dramatic material, amply equip her to represent at its best the fitness of the modern woman for the calling of journalism.

Equally well known and equally well fitted is Miss Josephine Jenkins, whose "Entre Nous" in the Boston *Herald* was enjoyed by thousands of readers every day for many years. Miss Jenkins was for many years connected with the *Saturday Evening Gazette* under Col. Henry G. Parker. When the *Beacon* was started a dozen years or so ago, she joined its editorial staff; but her brilliant work, "On the Lookout," soon attracted the attention of the editor-in-chief of the *Herald*, and she accepted a flattering offer to transfer her breezy, brainy paragraphs to the greater paper. By one of those unaccountable impulses that occasionally blind a great newspaper to the qualities in themselves that make them most popular with the better class of readers, the *Herald* suddenly closed out its "Entre Nous" last winter; and for many weeks men and women looked for it in vain, it having become a habit of *Herald* readers to turn first to that and to Mr. George Babbitt's editorial notes of a morning. But although Miss Jenkins's department seems to have been permanently closed, her services are appreciated and she is still retained as an editorial contributor. She is a strong, original thinker and a fearless writer, yet with a grace all her own. She lives on the "Back Bay" in a flat as dainty as herself, and she well illustrates the truth that a literary woman need not be "a frump."

Boston is beyond question the most impossible city in this country for "society journalism" to flourish in. It is hardly necessary to explain that the natural and hereditary conservatism of the "best people" leads them to regard the average society writer as a pronounced enemy, to be shunned and denied everything; one had almost said to be turned away from decent houses like a beggar. The "smart set" consider it little short of a crime to let one's picture get into the paper, and a social disgrace to have their names appear there. Consequently the one woman who has the social

"pull," the tact and the ability to get news from that set and in a legitimate way, occupies a unique place among society editors. Mrs. Caroline Hall Washburn of the Boston *Herald* is connected by ties of blood with several of the best Boston families, and is the only woman in New England who does society news "from the inside." Not only does she conduct the best society department in the country, but she draws the largest salary of any woman. She is withal a handsome, brilliant, and beautifully dressed woman, and spends her summers in Paris.

"Maud Andrews" of the Atlanta *Constitution* is without doubt the foremost woman on the Southern press to-day. In private life she is Mrs. Joseph K. Ohl, and the wife of one of the editorial staff of her paper. There is, in fact, a very pretty romance connected with her coming on to the *Constitution* a young, inexperienced girl and her love affair with Mr. Ohl. They have a charming home in Atlanta and one beautiful little daughter. Mrs. Ohl is herself a handsome woman, and her poems and stories show a higher quality of mind than always succeeds on a newspaper; but her "woman's page," which is one of the best in the country, shows that she has the practical "newspaper sense" necessary to success in her chosen field. In her work she is associated with such men as Frank Stanton, Clark Howell, Joel Chandler Harris, and, during his life, Henry Grady; while in her own city she is associated with all that is best and foremost for woman's advancement. She held a responsible position on the Woman's Board of the Atlanta Exposition, and made many friends among women from all parts of the country.

Corinne Stocker, Mary Louise Huntley, Leonora Beck, Rosa Woodberry, and Mrs. Georgie Byington are other Georgia women who have come to the front within the past few years as newspaper workers of value; while the name of Mrs. Mary E. Bryan has long been known in that connection.

Mrs. Annie L. Diggs of Kansas is one of the most prominent newspaper women in the Southwest. For many years she was connected with the Topeka *Advocate*, finally going to Washington as its local editor. She was one of the foremost workers in the Farmers' Alliance movement, and her article on "Women in the Alliance Movement" in *THE ARENA* for July, 1892, was one of the most comprehensive summaries of that subject ever written. Mrs.

Diggs now lives in Washington, and accomplishes a vast amount of work outside of her regular writing, as she has entered the lecture field, besides having undertaken editorial duties on the *New Forum*. Although modesty forbade her to mention it in her article, Mrs. Diggs herself has been one of the most able and prominent women in the Alliance movement.

One of the most successful bits of work done by a woman on the New York press is "Her Point of View" in the *Sunday Times*. It is from the pen of Mrs. Margaret Hamilton Welch, the widow of Philip H. Welch. The untimely death of that prince of humorists left her with four little ones to care for, and Mrs. Welch, who had watched over her husband's long illness with a rare devotion and self-sacrifice, at once took up her pen. She had already written a number of successful stories for *St. Nicholas*, and had often written excellent things that had been accredited to her husband, but now she began to use her talent in real earnest. Besides summer correspondence for the *Times* and a deal of syndicate work, her "Point of View" has been regularly kept up, and has been collected and published in book form, having a large sale. Mrs. Welch stands for all that is best and finest in womanhood, and her work is just like her.

Another woman's column that has had an aftermath of success in book form is "What One Woman Thinks." This is the work of Mrs. Haryot Holt Cahoon on the New York *Recorder*. Mrs. Cahoon is still a young woman, and a native of Detroit, Mich. Her first work was done at Little Rock, where she helped start the *Woman's Chronicle*, and her writings have always been distinctively for and about women. She takes the place on the *Recorder* of Mrs. Christine Terhune Herrick.

There are several other bright women on the New York *Recorder*. Mrs. Eliza Putnam Heaton was for several years editor of the "woman's page," and Miss Cynthia Westover, who is now her successor, as "Kate Kensington did a great deal of excellent work in the line of "specials," as well as plenty of "all-round" work. Miss Westover is an earnest, practical woman, and her efforts, which are largely in the line of reforms, humanitarian and philanthropic, deserve success. Her history reads like a romance. She is of an old Virginian family, but was born in Iowa. She was only seven years old when her father, a mine owner and geolo-

gist, undertook a trip across the Rocky Mountains. The motherless little girl was not to be left behind, so she was put in training for the rough life, and from that time until she was a young woman, found her home in mining camps and on the plains. An early picture of her shows what appears to be a miniature cowboy with an immense sombrero on the tiny head. She could ride like an Indian, handle a rifle and always carried in her belt a Colt's revolver, which she held across her left arm in shooting. She was an expert with the lasso, and the Ute children who were her playmates in Colorado taught her how to use the bow and arrow. She was the first white child who was registered in the Colorado schools. She crossed the mountains seven times with her father in those days, shot and killed an Indian who was tomahawking a boy belonging to her train, saved the life of a man who had been scalped, and had other varied and interesting experiences of a similar nature, even to killing a bear and fighting off wolves. When she was seventeen she began to teach school, and then prepared herself for the normal department of the State University of Colorado, where she was graduated, and afterward took a full course at the Denver Commercial College. She has acquired an excellent knowledge of the modern languages, translating freely from three of them. Since coming on to New York a few years ago, she has been inspector in the Custom House there, and has learned the art of illustration, furnishing sketches for her own articles. She has, since entering journalism, displayed the same courage and enterprise that have always characterized her, and has steadily gone on climbing the mount of success. She has written innumerable pages of newspaper stories, has published a book or two, and aside from all this she has accomplished the invention of a labor-saving miner's cart, for which she received a gold medal and was made *membre d'honneur* of the Parisian Society of Inventors. But in spite of her adventurous life and early surroundings, she is as quiet, well-bred, and handsome a woman as one ever meets in the most refined drawing-room.

Another woman prominent in New York journalism is Miss Elizabeth G. Jordan, who adopted newspaper work immediately after graduation in 1885. She is a native of Milwaukee and began her labors as "free lance" on the Milwaukee *Sentinel*, the St. Paul *Globe*, the Chicago *Times* and

Tribune, and other Western and Southern papers. Early in 1890 she came to New York and went on to the *World*, where she gained invaluable experience in all-round reportorial duty. She was sent all over the country, and wrote up her experiences in a unique way that proved her ability to do a higher class of work. Accompanied only by a negro guide, she took a horseback ride over the Virginia and Tennessee mountains, sleeping in mountaineers' cabins at night, visiting camps and mines, and gaining much good material which afterward made what Horace Greeley used to call "mighty interesting reading" in the *Sunday World*. Directly after she began a series of *feuilletons* which appeared every morning for a year. They formed an illustrated feature of the *World* and told in pathetic or simple language the story of some tragic or humorous event of the day before. In May, 1891, Miss Jordan was promoted to the position of editor of the woman's and child's pages of the *Sunday World*. The next April she was made assistant editor of the same paper, a position she still holds.

There are altogether too many bright and capable women on the press throughout the country for an article like the present to cover them all. In Boston, even, there are too many to even mention.

Mrs. E. M. H. Merrill has long been known as one of the busiest and most "hustling" (to use an expressive word that is current also in newspaper offices) young women of her day. For many years she was connected with the Boston *Globe* and did excellent writing over the signature "Jean Kincaid." She has been president of the New England Woman's Press Association for three years and is an enthusiastic club woman. She has also been for some time editor, business manager, and chief owner of the *New England Kitchen Magazine*.

Mrs. Marion McBride, who was for many years on the Boston *Post*, is aptly styled "the mother of press associations," having started most of the earlier ones of this country. Mrs. Mary Alice Worswick, although only twenty-three, has established an enviable reputation as "Amy Robsart," and her work on the Boston *Post* and the New York *World* is always the best of its kind. "Dinah Sturgis" (Mrs. Belle Armstrong Whitney) also has made an enviable reputation on Boston and New York papers.

Miss Minna Caroline Smith of the Boston *Transcript* is a

Western woman who came east a dozen years ago and began by doing work on a Cambridge paper while pursuing her studies at the "Annex" (now Radcliffe College), and later going on to the *Outing* magazine when it was published in Boston. Soon after she went on to the regular staff of the *Advertiser*, where she remained three years, and then took vacation trips to California and Europe. For several years past she has been a member of the editorial force of the *Transcript*. She has done much good literary work besides, having published a child's story, a volume of poems, and, recently, a translation of Charles Nodier's "Trilby, the Fairy of Argyle," with great success.

Miss Alice Stone Blackwell has been one of the editors of the *Woman's Journal* ever since she graduated from the Boston University a dozen years ago. As a lecturer and an after-dinner speaker she is particularly distinguished. She inherits from her mother (Lucy Stone) a clear insight into human nature, a rare devotion to duty, and a high and noble purpose; and from her father, Mr. Henry B. Blackwell, a brilliant wit and ready flow of language, that combine to place her among the best speakers and most convincing writers of the day.

Mrs. Elizabeth M. Gosse, the "Woman's Club" editor of the *Herald*, Miss Catherine Wilde of the *Woman's Journal*, Mrs. Whitaker of the *Health Magazine* and *New England Farmer*, and plenty of younger women who cannot even be mentioned in an article like this are every day making the record of women's newspaper work in Boston better. Especial note should be made, however, of the exceptionally brilliant work of Mrs. Evelyn Greenleaf Sutherland, ("Dorothy Lundt"); it has a delightful flavor all its own, like a "none-such" apple. She has done some beautiful things in the line of short stories, and her play-writing in collaboration with Mrs. Emma Sheridan Fry promises to bring them both fame at an early day. Mrs. Fry, too, is fast making a reputation for herself, both in her syndicate work and her chatty columns in the Boston papers.

In New York, also, there are many more: Helen Watterson of the *Sun*, Maria L. Pool of the *Tribune*, Eliza Archard Conner of the American Press Association ("the Chauncey Depew of Sorosis"), Isabel G. Mallon, author of the famous "Bab" letters, Anne O'Hagan of the *World*, and Grace Drew are but a few; and in other cities any number more

are doing equally good work. In short, when one remembers all these and so many more who are fast swelling the number of active newspaper women of America into the hundreds, or perhaps the thousands (since no census of them has yet been taken), one lays down one's pen in despair at the mere thought of covering them all in the scope of a limited magazine article, and can only rejoice that the title reads "*Some Newspaper Women.*" A volume were needed for all.

There is no longer any question whether women shall enter journalism. They *have* entered and occupied the field, and they are "there to stay." There is but one standard by which their work must be judged: that is the standard which decides whether man's work is good or bad. A few more years of training, a few more years of the "higher education," a more thorough physical development for women, and honors will be even!

A CELESTIAL LOVE.

BY CAMILLE FLAMMARION.¹

"What ails you this morning?" I exclaimed, as André came into my study, looking all disordered and disconsolate, his face pale, his eyes haggard, his hair unkempt, and his gait weary, as though he had been on a long tramp. "You haven't spent the night watching the stars, although the sky was more beautiful than I have seen it for a long time."

"On the contrary, I studied the heavens a good deal last night, but I wound up with a surprise such as I never before experienced, and I certainly haven't slept this morning for a single moment. I am still stupefied about it. But what you mistake for fright was only an agreeable, a charming surprise, followed by a boundless regret — a surprise so great that I have not yet got over it."

"Have you discovered a new star with a queer spectrum, a nebula of strange form, or a comet with a prodigious tail, and was not the insomnia that which is produced by an exciting emotion?"

"It was a more astounding experience than any you can imagine. I have seen Dora — yes, Dora, my dead love."

"Oh, that imagination of yours! What tricks it has already played upon you! You are becoming the sport of hallucinations — you, whose spirit is so calm and well poised. Mistrust yourself. I have already warned you. It is a dangerous tendency. You are too much of a poet. I prefer mathematics; they are more trustworthy."

"I don't dispute it. An hallucination, a dream, what you will, but I am still unhinged by what I have seen and heard. And there was nothing irrational about it."

"Well, tell me your story. No doubt it will be extremely interesting."

My friend André was a young man of five-and-twenty, an excellent astronomical observer, who had figured with extreme accuracy the planetary aspects of Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn,

¹ Written for THE ARENA, and translated from the French by FREDERICK T. JONES.

to which bodies he by preference directed his studies, though in a somewhat dreamy and mystical fashion. A profound and never-to-be-forgotten sorrow had smitten him, and since that event, which had been comparatively recent, he had been plunged in ceaseless melancholy. He had loved and he had had for a companion a young girl, charmingly beautiful, as dreamy as himself, ardent and passionate, whom after three months' adoration he had suddenly lost. And now for two years since the blow had struck him she had been his constant thought, scarcely forgotten even during the scientific labors which absorbed his strength and his energy. Without her his life was sad and colorless, and he had often longed for death. His hope was to die speedily, and, indeed, his health, formerly so exuberant, had gradually declined. He believed in the future existence of the soul, and he ceaselessly questioned where his lost love might be. Several times he had told me that he thought he had been sensible of her presence near him, and had heard her, like an inward voice, speaking to his soul. I had tried to turn him from these ideas, which seemed to me dangerous to his condition of mind, and I had thought that he had dismissed them, when on the morning in question he had come to me so troubled and agitated by his vision.

He explained that, about two o'clock in the morning, while he was examining through the telescope a region in the Milky Way extremely rich in stars, he partially swept with his glass the beautiful constellation Cygnus, when his attention was arrested by a superb double star, Albireo, composed of two suns, one yellow, the other sapphire. While he was trying an eye-piece of very high power on the blue star, and making preparations to examine it with the spectroscope, for the purpose of making a special study of its peculiar light, his eye was affected by a species of dazzlement, which he at first attributed to the vivid brilliancy of the star: then, immediately afterward, he felt a slight electric shock in the shoulder. Nevertheless, he continued his observations, and adjusted the spectroscope to the telescope. But, whether fatigued by the night's labors, or merely from the need of a moment's respite, he sat down in the big arm-chair in which occasionally, after protracted observations, we used to stretch ourselves, and he fell asleep for a moment. The rays of the moon, entering through the opening in the cupola as a feeble beam of bluish light, fell softly on the instruments, the

globes, and the maps. He tried to get up in order to make his spectroscopic examination, when, quite close to him, he saw — saw with his eyes — standing before him and lit up by the moon, the beloved form of his darling, and at the same time he felt himself held down to the chair by a stronger magnetic force.

But I leave the account to André, for here, word for word, is what he related to me :

Dora remained standing before me. Above her shone Albireo. My dear one was even more beautiful than in the past — idealized, and as though translucent with a heavenly light.

My first impression was one of stupor. I feared nothing, but an icy shiver ran over me from head to foot and set me shuddering. I lay stretched in my chair as though my body had been lead. She came no nearer to me, and it seemed to me that at first I had no desire to approach her.

She looked at me tenderly with her great blue eyes, which had always seemed wide open with a novel surprise, and said to me with eagerness :

“Why do you not come ? I await you. We have not yet known what love is !”

The tone of her voice was the same as formerly, and as soon as I heard it, the apparition lost its strange character and became real, so to speak.

At this sweet reproach, at this regret, at this avowal, all our hours of delight reappeared vividly before me ; and our passionate raptures, our delicious ecstasies, our endless kisses, even the very extravagance of our pleasures — all these enchanting memories, suddenly resuscitated in my brain, shot through me in a flash of radiant joy, and I hastened to reply :

“How ! we have not known what love is ?”

“Surely not,” she answered. “We have experienced only its gross sensations —”

“Ah ! how exquisite —”

“Yes, for earth. But here — what a difference !”

“Where — here ?”

“In the system of the azure sun of Albireo.”

And she told me that she lived there, among a sort of course of angels. And as I listened, it seemed to me that I was living with her the new life. It was no longer death ; it

was life. I found myself again in her company as in former days.

"Yes," she added, "what a difference between the love which is known here and that which we tasted on earth!"

I confess that at this avowal I experienced a disagreeable sensation.

"How do you know that?" I cried, piqued by a sudden and whimsical return of the sting of jealousy.

"Foolish, foolish as ever!" she replied, with her adorable smile. "Jealous of one who is dead!"

"But you are not dead, since you speak to me of love and profess to have experienced joys unknown on earth. No, I am not jealous, but I love you always. Come, I am open to reason. Explain yourself."

"On earth we have only five senses. Sight, hearing, smell, touch — each plays a part in our sensations; but true love resides essentially in the attraction of souls one for the other. We have but five senses, possibly only four."

"Have you more, then, in your present life?"

"Seventeen. And now I say again, I await you. . . . And among these seventeen there is one which surpasses all the rest, which is worth them all, and which alone might be called the sense of love."

"And that is —"

"The electric sense. In love electricity plays a predominant part, even among terrestrial organisms, so gross, so insensitive. The human soul is a substantial entity, of an electric nature, which radiates to a distance around our material, visible body. This electricity emits invisible waves which are very different from those of light."

"Yes, I know," I replied in my mathematical fashion; "light waves are three ten-thousandths of a millimetre in length, while electric waves are thirty centimeters."

"I was not aware of it."

"I understand quite well what you tell me, that there is a radical difference between the size of the vibrations which give rise to electric and to luminous effects."

"Not one of the five senses of the earthly body can perceive the electric waves. With us, on the contrary, it is the chief of our seventeen senses. It is far more important than even sight itself."

"Why do we love? Why do we feel either sympathy or antipathy? Why do we remain indifferent?"

"To you these are unfathomable mysteries, but they are very simple matters for us who perceive directly by means of a special sense. The soul, which is an electric substance, emits in every direction electric waves, invisible to you, perceptible to us. These waves may be compared to the sound waves which emanate from the vibrating string of a violin, or harp, or piano. If, during their passage, these sound waves encounter another string whose rate of vibration harmonizes with their own, this second string will emit a tone without having been touched by any one. It is an experiment which you can make at any time. If two souls vibrate in unison, or, frequently better still, in harmonic concord, their respective waves, meeting, coalesce, unite, and behold these two entities locked together by a chain more solid than iron. It is not alone their regards which are linked together, it is their whole being. If the concord is perfect the union is indissoluble. Whatever one may do to prevent the union will be labor lost. If need be, such a purpose may be accomplished by death. If there is discord in the vibrations which encounter each other the result is antipathy, and all the most persuasive arguments will avail nothing. Such a man is antipathetic to me; such a woman sets my nerves on edge. Seek not to alter the first impression; it will be labor wasted. Well, in Albireo we see these soul vibrations, these ethereal undulations, just as you see light; we perceive them by our electric sense, while to you they remain unknown. Of these electric vibrations, which are as the very atmosphere of love, you on earth are ignorant. You understand love about as much as the deaf understand music."

"Ah! did I not say that you are ungrateful?"

"No, my beloved, I am unmindful of nothing. But remember that love is the intimate union of two beings. In the case of earthly love, the two are never wholly lost in each other. But here, where the electric sense is fully developed, our ethereal bodies are like two electricities which are annihilated in a lightning flash. The union is so absolute that in place of the two entities which came together only one survives."

"Like oxygen and hydrogen, which on combining lose their identity in order to form a drop of water, a limpid pearl which holds the rainbow and comprehends the universe. But afterward?"

"Well, afterward they can recover their identity. I know not how it is done, but they resuscitate."

"That is not impossible. Electricity — can it not decompose the drop of water and separate once more the oxygen and hydrogen which by uniting had formed it?"

"You can explain everything as a scientist. For myself, I am still a woman; I explain nothing."

"Then," I added, "one loses consciousness of one's existence — really dies — and is born again?"

"Do you not understand that our seventeen senses, controlled by the chief among them — the electric sense — endow us with sensations beside which the keenest joys experienced on earth are as the gross impressions of a mollusk? And what light floods us! What flowers! What perfumes! It is a perpetual ecstasy. Oh, if thou wouldst come! If thou wert here!"

"Can you not take me?" I cried, springing toward her.

"Come!"

I seized her in my arms; I glued my lips to hers and in an instant I was conscious that in the midst of a blue light most mellow and caressing, Dora was bearing me away on immense wings. I nestled close to her body and was lost in rapture. A multitude of beings floating like ourselves in the atmosphere had the form of female dragon-flies with antennæ and crests, and with aerial organs, which doubtless were the seat of the new sense of which she had told me. I understood that I had been suddenly transported to one of the planets of the azure sun of Albireo. Cascades of blue water fell from the rocks and ran toward an immense garden bedecked with brilliant flowers. Birds of dazzling plumage, apparently self-luminous, filled the air with their warblings.

"Let us cross over this lighted portion," said she, "toward the evening horizon, and descend to the palaces of the night."

Having passed round the lighted hemisphere, we came into a half-night. All the rocks, all the vegetation, and all living creatures shone with a phosphorescent or fluorescent light, blue, green, or rose-colored. Doubtless the rocks possessed properties analogous to those of the phosphates and sulphides of baryta, which store up the solar light absorbed during the day, and radiate it during the night. The flying creatures were equally luminous, after the manner of fire-flies. On this world, darkness is never complete, first, because of this curious phosphorescence of everything; then on account of the second, or golden sun of Albireo, the

far-off light of which is seldom absent; and also by reason of a ring analogous to that of Saturn, which, illumined by two differently colored suns, is sometimes blue, sometimes yellow, sometimes green, and sheds during the half-night light of the strangest character.

How insignificant is our poor diminutive terrestrial globe, which we imagine is everything, in comparison with these marvellous outside worlds!

My beautiful and beloved Dora bore me lovingly between her wings, and we descended to the border of a lake, beneath a dense arborescent foliage, the huge leaves of which spread like a bower of greenery above a carpet of moss besprinkled with a thousand tiny blossoms.

"This is my home," said she; "let us rest."

In my rapture, in my ecstasy, I was about to seize her in my arms, and taste from her divine lips the exquisite happiness of being beloved by her, but she had scarcely touched ground when her earthly body was instantaneously transformed into another, similar to that of the beings whom we had encountered flying in the air. It was no longer my Dora. But she was even more beautiful, more radiant, and beside her I felt that I was a mere earthworm.

"To love me still, to love me forever," she said, "it sufficeth to die. Forsake the earth. Here thou wilt belong to me."

"Have I not left the earth, then?" I replied, utterly amazed.

"No; behold!"

With the point of one of her antennæ she touched me lightly on the forehead, and I felt a sharp electric shock. I opened my eyes and found myself alone, seated in the big arm-chair. My darling had disappeared. I no longer doubt in the least that she really lives in that star of Cygnus. She has summoned me thither, and I shall speedily find her again. More than ever do I love her!

Such was André's narrative. The apparition made so profound an impression upon him that from that day his spirit seemed to be always wandering far from the earth. His feeble health rapidly declined, but he lived happy in his dream, with the longing, the fixed idea of seeing it realized.

I was not surprised then when, a few months after the adventure which I have just related, I learned of the sudden

death of my dear comrade. On a lovely summer night, haunted possibly by the same vision, he had reclined in the same arm-chair in front of the great equatorial pointed toward Albireo; and in the morning it was thought that he had slept there. But his body was quite cold.

SWEET 'LAASES.

BY WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE.

It was twilight in Mullein Town. Down the dusty street, of which Mullein Town boasted but one, sounded the uneven, loitering step of the laborers going home from their work over in the city "on the other side the creek."

It was only a village, a little settlement of negroes that was interesting, if not large; select, too, and original, bound by no strict obedience to the laws that governed their more pretentious friends over in the city "on the other side the creek."

The other side the creek meant much to the denizens of Mullein Town. They cautioned their children against "soshatin' with any sech triflin' niggers as dey-all on tudder side de creek."

On the other hand the Mullein Town tribes were "a passel o' cunger niggers what don't know butter fum beeswax. Dey ain't nothin' fitten ter talk 'bout in dat Mullein Town. Better keep 'way fum dar ef you don't want a spell flung ober you; dat you had. Ef you don't want ter wake up some day wid all de ha'r gone out yer haid, or else yer feet done furgit how ter walk, you better stay on dis side de creek."

So was there great enmity between the two sections. Mullein Town boasted no house of worship, and although she was in consequence forced to cross the creek and worship with the "other side," even then the enmity was not forgotten.

She was welcome to come over and sit under the sanctuary, to catch such crumbs of comfort as might fall from the 'bles of her pretentious neighbors, and she might drop her mite into the same basket along with theirs; they would send it along in the same message to the same suffering heathen; she might shout and sing and shake hands with the saints from "the other side" *on great occasions*, but the line must be drawn somewhere, and it was drawn at church festivals, suppers, concerts, and the like. She must keep on her own side the creek when it came to carrying off the honors at

these entertainments. Let her presume to carry off a prize and see what would happen.

Mullein Town knew what would happen; for had not yellow 'Liza, the belle of the "'cross the creek" town, carried off the last three cakes at the last three walkings? And she would do it again; they could depend on 'Lize to uphold their pride and to outdo the "stuck-up niggers on de udder side de creek."

'Liza was busy packing the fresh, clean clothes into the basket; she was in a great hurry,—as great a hurry as a Mullein Town negro could get in. She had to carry those clothes home across the creek; for 'Lize did such washing as the fine folks on the other side were fain to recognize and glad to get.

She was singing as she worked; one of those dreamy, drawly, half-hymn, half-jubilee melodies, that nobody composed and nobody but a Mullein Town negro, a woman at that, knows how to sing:

Oh mo'ner, le's go home,
 Bless God!
 He's a-wait'n ober yander fur ter see you come,
 Bless God! Bless God!
 Oh rise up, sinner, an' shake off yer sin
 Ef yer 'spec' de anguls ter let you in,
 Bless God!

Bless God! Bless God!
 Salvation's free ter you an' me,
 Bless God! Salvation's free.

She sang in a low, crooning way that was not unmusical despite the uneven measure of the words, which she twisted into a sing-song melody of her own, adding a note where the words were too many, and dropping into a long souging moan-like sound that effectually covered up any lack where words were wanting. For metre is a small thing to the negro; he thinks of the music, not of the metre. The more wise he.

Through the open door of her cabin came the prattle of children playing about the streets, varied now and then by the loud laugh or the friendly "how-you-do's" of villagers passing to or from their homes, to the workmen coming out from their work over in the town across the creek.

Over all sounded the almost ceaseless creaking of the well sweep; for all Mullein Town watered at the public well. Moreover, it was supper time in Mullein Town, and it was

a natural thing that the pails should stand empty about the curbing while Mullein Town exchanged the gossip of the day in the dusky, dusty twilight.

They were talking about the cake-walking that was to be that very night at the church across the creek. Every word came as distinct and as sure to the ear of the young woman packing her laundry basket as though the talk had been designed solely for her ears.

"Jes' wait till 'Liza tackles 'em, I tell yer. Eh-eh? Dey ain't seen dat gal strick a plank yit. Dey all better not go ter brayin' till dey's cl'ar o' de stable, I tell you. 'Liza'll fetch 'em."

It was a man's voice that replied :

"Dey say dey got a new gal ober dar what dey fotch fum somers 'way off. Dey say she kin sho' walk. Dey say she strack a walk once ober dar whar she come fum, dat dey ain' nebber stop talkin' 'bout yit. Dey say she kin beat our 'Liza all ter pieces ; dat's what de town niggers say."

"Yes, an' dey say dat de las' time. Dey say dey got a nigger what skeer a jack rabbit hitse'f off'n de track. But it ain' skeer 'Liza Ann, ez nobody ebber heeard tell on. 'Liza walked home wid de angul cake on her haid jus' desame, oncon-sarned as if hit 'uz a basket o' clean clothes she 'uz fetchin' home fum washin'. Eh-eh? Fotch anudder jack rabbit fur 'Liza ter beat, is dey? All right, 'Liza'll beat him : we-all ain't skeered 'bout 'Liza."

Their praise was pleasant. 'Liza smiled as she folded a pair of dainty fluted pillow-cases and laid them upon the white heap in the over-full basket. Get the cake? She hadn't a doubt of it, no more than her friends and neighbors outside at the well.

She meant to hurry home and get her cabin in order before going to the "walking," for she would be pretty sure to have company after the entertainment ; she always had after similar entertainments. Tall Rufus, the Mullein Town beau, who had a barber's shop "across the creek," always walked home with her after a cake-walking, and they always had a cosey hour together, enjoying the spoils that 'Liza Ann brought home from the walking.

When 'Liza stepped outside with the basket carefully balanced upon her head, the streets were almost deserted. The odor of frying ham told how the late gossips were employed. 'Liza was late, the ham reminded her.

"Eh-eh? dis nigger got ter move ef she gits ter de cake-walkin' *dis* night," said she as she turned the key of the cabin door and, slipping it into her bosom, started off in a brisk little walk down the dusky, moonlighted road.

A few straggling stars were shining, and through the locust trees a silver disk hung low in the heavens,— the new moon. 'Liza Ann had walked but a short distance when she gave her head a sudden little twist (she was thinking of the girl over in the town who expected to outstrip her in the contest for the cake that night) and saw the silver bow, suspended like a thing of evil, straight through the full branching limbs of the locust trees.

Unconsciously she gave a little startled scream.

"I saw it through de trees," said she. "Oh, my Lord, I saw de new moon through de trees. Dar's gwine ter be bad luck."

She was not thinking of the cake, however, nor of the "bad luck" that might come to her through failure to win it. She was thinking of that man who always walked home with her after the walking and helped her to eat it. What if he should fail to come?

She was relieved, however, of the fear before she had walked a hundred yards. Down the road, in the half light of the dying day, a quick step was hastening toward her. In an instant she was the coquette, pretending not to see him.

Nearer and nearer he came. 'Liza was humming a hymn under her breath, and heard, seemingly, nothing.

"How's my Sweet 'Laases dis evenin'?"

When he spoke she gave a startled little scream and clutched the clothes basket, that tottered upon her saucy head as naturally as though it had been trained to the pretty deception. And indeed it might have been, for the number of times it had helped 'Liza Ann to play that same part she was playing this evening.

"Did I skeer my Sweet 'Laases?"

'Liza Ann dropped her head as much as the big basket would permit and laughed coyly. Her beau fell into step and walked back with her a little distance to the bridge that spanned the dividing creek. As they walked they talked, in the low, coquettish way of lovers from the rural ranks.

"My Sweet 'Laases goin' to de cake-walkin' *dis* night?"

"Uh-huh."

"Her goin' ter win de cake ober de town gal fum furrin parts?"

"*Dat she am!*"

"Eh-eh; hear dat; dat's de way talk it ter 'em? My Sweet 'Laases goin' let a cullud man 'scort her home long-side o' dat cake?"

"Uh-huh."

"Same's ef he's fitten ter soshate wid prize walkers en fine ladies?"

"I 'spec'."

"You's a lady; *dat's* what you am; a lady fum 'way back. I 'spec' I gwine kiss dem ruby lips when we's done wid de cake?"

"Uh-huh; I 'spec'. Ef dat 'ar' town gal fum de furrin parts don't beat me walkin'."

"Listen at dat now: beat *you*? Who gwine beat you? Ef she do dat she got git up 'fo' day; 'way long yon'er 'fo' day too, I tell *you*. Beat you nothin'. Dey ain' no furrin gal gwine beat my Sweet 'Laases, I tell you; else she ain' gwine be my Sweet 'Laases no mo'."

The flattery was sweet, sweeter than the cake itself. 'Liza Ann lent a willing ear. She even opened the road for more.

"I got some raid shoes ter w'ar," said she. "Some generwine ones. I'm gwine ter git 'em dis minute. Miss Mamie what I washes fur done say she'd sell 'em ter me fur de week's washin'. I's gwine walk in 'em ternight."

"Uh-huh. Lan' o' Caanan! wont we be fine? A cake an' a pair o' raid shoes. Dat furrin gal won't be in dis pleasurin', I tell you. What else you got, hon?"

'Liza Ann drew a trifle nearer. The clothes basket was a great nuisance this evening.

"I got a little chick'n ter brile, an' a pan o' hot biscuits, an' a couple o' col' dumplin's."

"An' de cake, hon: you sholy ain't gwine furgit de cake?"

"Naw, I ain't furgit de cake," said she. "Hit's a mighty nice one, I reckon; hit's a angul cake."

"De anguls gwine be dar ter eat it, too, ain't dey, hon, when de walkin's ober?"

"I sholy 'spec' so," she replied with a laugh. "Lor', I cl'ar furgot, but" (strange she should have thought of it at that moment) "I see the new moon through de trees ternight."

"De moon ain't got de gibbin' ob de cake, hon," said Rufe. "Don't you min' de moon, but jest keep a eye on yer feetses."

I got to leab my Sweet 'Laases here and git 'long back ter de shop, ef I 'spec' ter see dem raid shoes walk inter de kingdom *dis* night. But I'll see you at de cake-walkin', an' den I'll walk home wid de angul cake an' de angul too."

They separated with a laugh and a promise of meeting again, and each went his own way, she happy in the certainty of success and of that other certainty of youth — love.

He was thinking of the angel cake over which he was to preside when it should have come into the actual rather than the prospective ownership of his lady-love. He was well acquainted with those angel cakes; he had partaken of more than one of them with 'Liza in the cabin over in Mullein Town.

'Liza meanwhile hurried on with the basket of laundry. Besides making her own toilet, she wanted to spread her table and tidy up the cabin before going to the cake-walking.

The lamps were lighted when she climbed the steps of the house that held the coveted scarlet footwear. The mistress herself counted out the pieces of fluted lace and lawn as 'Liza lifted them from the basket. When the last had been counted she took out her pocketbook, and offered the girl the two bright silver dollars that were due her. 'Liza stopped her with a gesture.

"Now, Miss Mamie," said she, "you promise I might hab de raid shoes fur *dis* week's washin'."

The mistress hesitated.

"'Liza, you surely are not in earnest about wanting those slippers," said she. "They pinch my own feet, still less — What size do you wear, 'Liza?"

"I mos'ly w'ars a fo', but I's gwine w'ar a two *dis* night," said 'Liza.

"Why, they'll pinch you to death; you won't be able to walk a step in them."

"Eh-eh! don't you b'lieve a word o' dat, Miss Mamie. I'll git 'em on. Ez fur de pinchin', hit's wuf a pinch ter git de cake ober dat furrin yaller gal. 'Sides, Miss Mamie, I's 'bleeged ter hab dat cake becuse I done axed comp'ny ter he'p me eat it."

She dropped her head forward upon her breast and laughed; the mistress herself could but smile at the audacity of the proceeding.

"But what if you fail to get the prize?" said she.

Such an idea had never entered the girl's head.

"Eh-eh!" said she. "I's 'bleeged ter git it. He done say I ain't his Sweet 'Laases no mo' ef I ain't win dat 'ar' cake."

The mistress dropped into a chair and laughed aloud.

"His what?"

"His Sweet 'Laases; dat's what he calls me, Miss Mamie; he say I's his Sweet 'Laases becace I takes all de cakes fum de udder gals. Gimme de shoes, Miss Mamie. I got ter run 'long an' set de table 'ginst I go ter de chu'ch."

As she opened a drawer of the bureau the mistress said:

"You're a great goose to do it, 'Liza; but if you will have them —"

"Yessum," said 'Liza, "I 'spec' I am; but we's all gre't geoses sometimes, Miss Mamie, when we's somebody's Sweet 'Laases."

"Well — yes; perhaps so. Here are the slippers: you'd better keep your hard-earned money though, Eliza."

But 'Liza was gone, back to the cabin in Mullein Town, with her treasure in her hand. As she thrust her key into the lock and pushed open the cabin door it occurred to her that she was tired. It had been a busy day, and she had stood at the ironing table well-nigh the whole of it. And she had walked over with the clothes, and made a little visit to old Aunt Nancy, who was down with the rheumatism, in a cabin at the further end of the village; then she had carried home the flat-iron she had borrowed at another house, and had "stepped" over to Uncle Jeb Moon's to borrow two nails and a hammer with which to do a little needed carpentry about the place.

Yes, she was tired. The low, shuck-bottomed chair before the hearth had a tempting something about it; for one moment the glories of the cake-walking dimmed before the demands of exhausted nature. Only for a moment, however; for as she drew off the paper wrapper and the bright, red, high-heeled slippers lay in her hand, weary nature was relegated to a back seat.

There were long brilliantly red ribbons attached to each; a tie string that was calculated to heal the most rebellious case of weariness on record. 'Liza Ann was herself again in half a minute. She placed the shoes upon the mantel where she could see them while she tidied the room. They had the appearance of a gaudily plumaged bird perched above the little mantel among the white papers, neatly scalloped, which

served as lambrequin, and the glass tumblers filled with gayly colored tapers that were kept ready for the hero of "Sweet 'Laases."

She swept and dusted the room, spread a white sheet over the bed, and drew a pair of shams, embroidered in turkey red, over the pillows, shook out the white muslin window curtains, and then she "set the table."

A clean fresh cloth, two plates, a couple of cups and saucers, knives and forks, and two small white napkins. A pitcher of red chrysanthemums occupied one corner of the board, while the broiled chicken in a glass covered dish filled another. The biscuit and other knick-knacks were arranged with systematic nicety about the board. In the centre of the table there was a tall, glass cake-stand set in a fluff of red and white fringed papers. The stand was empty, reserved for the cake that was to be won that night.

When all had been made ready 'Liza made her toilette; a neat figure and trim enough in a modest dress of dark gray stuff with a fresh white apron and linen collar. She finished off her costume, however, with a flaming scarlet bow hoisted upon her short, kinky hair, immediately above her forehead. Then came the slippers, and then too came the tug of war. They refused to go on; twist and turn, pull and persuade as she might, the number two refused the foot of the number four. The poor feet were weary and swollen with their day's tramping and the shoes were small.

'Liza was in despair.

"You's *got* ter go on," she declared to the offending reds; "you's got ter go, and you'd as well ter do it."

There was another pull and twist, and then 'Liza Ann took heart.

"Dey come mighty nigh it dat time," she declared triumphantly. "Dey didn't lack more 'n a inch dat time; ef my feet wuzn't swelled dey'd go on, I mos' knows."

She got up and filled the kettle and swung it over the fire that had served to heat the irons all day, and while the water was heating she ate a bite of cold victuals and finished her preparations for the frolic. Then she filled a tub with the hot water and, lifting her skirts, placed her feet in the steaming vessel. She soaked them for ten minutes, then drew on her shoes and stockings, and slipping the red shoes under her shawl, she started for the cake-walking.

"Dey'll go on now," she told herself, "becase dey's got

ter go; but I reckon I'll jest fetch 'em along in my han' an' put 'em on at de do'."

She was late, but as all Mullein Town was late her tardiness created no special comment. She was tired too; she couldn't forget it either; even in the gay scene about her the ironing-board and the tedious tramping she had done would obtrude like "spots upon the feast" of her pleasure.

She had many friends among the assembled revellers, and she had many enemies. Varied and many were the salutations which greeted her arrival at the church.

"Dar's 'Liza Ann; now look out fur yer cake," was the first challenge from the Mullein Town side, responded to with prompt disregard of feeling from the opposing candidate's friends.

"Eh-eh! raid shoes. 'Spec' ter carry off de cake, does yer? 'Spec' dem raid shoes ter p'intedly walk off wid it, eh-eh?"

The slippers did create a sensation and no mistake. 'Liza Ann felt repaid for the pain they were giving her, though she had some fears concerning the ominous cracking of threads in the neighborhood of the heel. They represented just one week's work, though that was a small matter as compared with the winning of the cake.

She laughed and flirted and was happy in hearing herself called "Sweet 'Laases" now and then as the tall figure of Rufus the barber bent over the scarlet bow upon her head.

There were a full dozen who had entered the lists, but only 'Liza and the champion from a neighboring town were the favorites.

'Liza scanned the contestants as they took their places along the row of benches reserved for them. At the very end of the bench, arrayed in regal purple and with a white feather drawn majestically across her head and fastened above her ear with a brooch of flaring brightness, 'Liza Ann beheld her rival.

Her costume created a stir; 'Liza trembled for her own modest gray. But a glance at the red slippers, however, reassured her; the red slippers and the barber who was waiting for a slice of that same cake resting at that moment in full view of the assembled multitude, upon a tall glass stand in the centre of a table at the end of the room. It was an angel cake; only the angel cakes were deemed worthy of admission to a contest of this kind.

Promptly at the hour appointed the master of ceremonies called the assembly to order.

"Bredderin," said he, "an' sisters, we will open de exercises ob de ebenin' wid prayer; let us all pray."

The prayer was as earnest as though he had been conducting a protracted meeting, and the amens were as hearty. When it ended they sang a hymn and then they cleared the space down the centre of the room and the cake-walking was *on*.

But little attention was given to the first ten contestants; interest was centred upon the two rival walkers, who had made a record at similar contests.

'Liza Ann was the last upon the list. When she saw her rival rise and shake out her purple skirts amid a murmur of "um's" and of "eh-eh's," it required more than one lingering glance at her scarlet-shod feet to keep down her fears. Still her faith in her adornment was sufficient. Moreover, she knew the weaknesses of her kind.

"A nigger 'll vote fur raid shoes whether dey's got any feet in 'em or not," she told herself when the murmur for her rival broke out into actual applause. She even smiled as the yellow girl from afar took her place at the end of the room and, setting her foot upon the plank that had been chalked for the purpose, waited the command to start.

It came from the master of ceremonies stationed at the opposite end of the room:

"Raidy—start!"

The girl lifted her head with a proudly conscious little toss, and held it erect, motionless, until she had caught the gaze of every eye in the room. Nobody thought of the broad, flat foot walking down the middle of the floor; nobody thought of the walk itself; they were all too intent upon the bright, piquant face under the droop of the white ostrich feather, to notice that the girl had made her feet thoroughly comfortable in a pair of loose, unpretentious old shoes, whose only adornment was a fresh coat of blacking. They failed to see that she swerved more than once from the chalk lines, which indicated the limits allowed for grace and the extra "steps" which were sometimes indulged in by the prize walkers. The purple dress, the white feather, and the laughing black eyes were carrying everything before them. She nodded here and smiled there, and once—it was just at the moment when she caught the eye of tall Rufe the barber—she actually lifted her hand to her lips and threw a kiss.

Such a shout as went up!

"Uh-uh! dat gal kin walk wid her eye shet." "Cake-walkin's easy ez eatin' ter dat nigger." "Some folks 'll hab ter git up 'fo' day ef dey beats dat 'ar'." "Land o' Caanan! Look at dat, will somebody?"

She reached the end of the room in a perfect storm of applause.

"Raised sech a wind de feather in her haid got ter wavin' hits own se'f," one of the sisters was heard to declare, while another even got up and shook hands with the candidate, and told her in a knowing way that "dey ain' been no sech walkin' as dat, not sence de war."

And then, when the noise had subsided, came 'Liza's turn. She took her place where the late victor had taken hers, and in her turn awaited the signal to start. She felt, by that intuition that comes to all of us, that she had lost in the gain of her rival; but she had friends who were still loyal, still hopeful, still enthusiastic.

She glanced at tall Rufe, but he was bending over the white feather, unconscious of or else indifferent to the fact that she, his own "Sweet 'Laases," was at that moment about to pass through the painful ordeal of walking for the prize. She turned her eyes away. One more glance in that direction and the red shoes would never be called upon to bear her upon the journey down that long yellow pine plank. The next moment she rallied and took courage. Rufe looked up, smiled, and came a step nearer. After all, she had a chance to win; and should she lose, she still had him, her lover. Life couldn't be wholly void nor defeat utterly crushing so long as fate left her love.

She lifted her skirts, ever so slightly, when the signal for starting had been given. There was a ripple, slight but sufficient to show that the tide *might* be turned.

A trifle higher rose the gray skirt; there was a hint of fluted ruffling visible at the hem, white and neat as 'Liza's hand could make it. Not one there but rendered Caesar his due when it came to laundry. Not one but had great respect for the tub over which 'Liza Ann presided.

If she had not been so set upon calling attention to the slippers, poor 'Liza! all might have been well. But the slippers were her ruin; the slippers, designed for triumph, were destined to prove her downfall. She had the attention of the house; her late enemy herself leaned forward with parted

lips and flashing eye to watch the progress of the red feet down the pine plank.

'Liza had many little tricks of grace ; she had a way of turning her toes a trifle out and then giving them a sudden turn in ; sometimes she would lift one foot, like a young pullet about to steal upon a forbidden flower-bed where the seed has been newly sown, and then follow it cautiously with the other. This step never failed to elicit applause. The other girl had really taken no "steps ;" they would remember it when 'Liza Ann had showed them hers. Sometimes she minced, like an old maid that is afraid of not being graceful ; but being young and free from any hint of awkwardness, in 'Liza the trick was passed for grace, as other old tricks will sometimes pass upon young tricksters. And again sometimes she would drop into a long, swinging step that was the perfection of grace itself.

She had just started out upon her programme when another stitch broke in the back seam of the slipper. . Another step and she remembered the ironing board and the long tramp to carry the clothes home. She was tired ! One step more and—ah ! there was an unmistakable *limp* in the pretty walk.

A limp that grew with every movement of the scarlet slippers. R-r-r-r went the seam at the back, and r-r-r-r went 'Liza's hopes and 'Liza's heart.

While the judges were taking the vote she crept outside and drew on her old shoes, folded the remains of the red slippers under her shawl and made ready to go home. She had lost the prize ; she knew that ; but she was too tired to care very much, and after all she had her lover. She waited there for him, at the door, back in the shadow where the light from the lantern above the door could not find her ; waited and revelled in the sympathy which, after all, was as sweet to anticipate as the victory had been.

The crowd filed out, singly, then in groups, laughing, joking, enjoying or commiserating her defeat. Nobody saw the lonely little figure crouched against the shadowed wall ; not even Rufe, who came out at last, the prize winner upon one arm and the great cake, the beautiful angel cake, lifted high above his head with the other.

They passed so close she could have touched them with her fingers, but she would as soon have thought of touching a poisonous reptile.

She hurried home alone, and fumbled under the doorstep for the key. As the door swung back, a golden dash of moonlight streamed into the room, showing her the white-spread table and the preparations she had made for her lover's coming.

After all, the memory of joy anticipated, though it be nipped in the first fond flower of its conception, is sometimes more keenly bitter than the actual death of the joy itself.

'Liza Ann had kept her disappointment down and had held her grief under restraint, until that carefully prepared table with its mocking decoration of crimson flowers met her eyes. The white cloth was like a shroud to her poor heart.

She walked over to the fireplace, stirred the red coals into a white heat, and with a hand that did not falter she tossed the red shoes into the equally red coal-bed. Then she dropped into the seat she had set for her lover and, burying her face in the snowy tablecloth, burst into tears.

"Hit ain't de angul cake," she sobbed; "I don't keer nothin' 'bout de ole angul cake; I don't keer fur de money flung 'way on de shoes, an' I don't keer 'bout dey-alls laffin' at me,—*but I heeard him call dat yaller gal his Sweet 'Laases!'*"

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

MODERN FAIRYLAND.¹

REVIEWED BY MARGARET CONNOLLY.

Fairyland, — what wonderful visions the mere name conjures up! How it brings back the happy days of childhood, when Fairyland was as real to us as the every-day, prosaic world in which we lived! Much to be envied was the happy mortal blessed with a fairy godmother. Even the happiest little girl would have been willing to change places with Cinderella, the despised and neglected step-daughter, who, through the kind offices and beneficence of her fairy godmother, meets Prince Charming, who, of course, falls in love with and marries her.

Although we laugh now at the general belief in fairies which existed centuries ago, yet way down in our hearts do we not still cling to a remnant of our childish faith in the dear "little people," who hold their revels all night long, and make the flowers their couches during the day? Indeed, a great modern historian, speaking of the former belief in fairies, says, "That such beings should exist, and should be able to do many things beyond human power, are propositions which do not present the slightest difficulty."

The author of "Modern Fairyland" has made a new departure in childish fiction, one which will be hailed with delight by little ones, and it is not too much to say that the grown-up sister, or the mother, or the aunt who reads this little volume will be as interested and amused as the children.

We are introduced to modern Fairyland at the birth of the Princess Fernitta, the daughter of the King and Queen. And great is the rejoicing in the court. The Princess is one of the most beautiful fairy babies that ever were born, but before many days elapse a most startling discovery is made. The Princess has no wings! This disturbs her royal parents very much, but they are still further disturbed when at the christening of the tiny Princess one of her godmothers, Fairy Grumble-Growl, angry at being the last godmother invited (the Princess had twelve godmothers), when it came to her turn to wish, wished that Fernitta should become a mortal. This terrible wish, in spite of all the precautions of the King and Queen, is later fulfilled, when Fernitta disappears from Fairyland. Wonderful are the adventures and escapades of the little Princess, and funny beyond description the account of her return to her parents and her endeavors to *modernize* Fairyland. How she puts all the gentlemen fairies in dress suits, and the lady fairies in long skirts, making them put their hair in Grecian knots, and how irk-

¹ "Modern Fairyland," by Eley Burnham. Handsomely bound in illustrated cloth covers and containing many attractive illustrations. Price \$1.50. Arena Publishing Company.

some the poor little fairies find it to have to go to bed at night and get up in the daytime, and to learn to cook and eat the food that mortals eat, is all told with inimitable drollery. Of course, the handsomest and most brilliant of the fairies, Prince Puck, falls in love with Fernitta and everything ends happily.

Along with all the fun the author introduces some lessons which little folks cannot learn too soon: the beauty of kindness and generosity, and how happiness may be found in work as well as in play.

This volume is gotten up in the most attractive style, bound in illustrated cloth covers, and containing seventy-five marginal illustrations besides the frontispiece. It is sure to become a popular favorite with children, as it will never fail to interest and amuse, while at the same time unconsciously and unobtrusively teaching helpful lessons. No more appropriate or acceptable gift book can be found for the holiday season.

"THAT ROMANIST." ¹

REVIEWED BY JESSIE B. RITTENHOUSE.

"That Romanist" is from the pen of Adella R. MacArthur, a writer who brings a new name to literature, but who demonstrates by her strong, sure touch the right of eminent domain. The book flies a somewhat misleading title, and prefigures itself to the reviewer as a possible exposition of Romanism. But one does not penetrate far ere he casts aside this illusion in the consciousness that he is in an atmosphere of the broadest and most generous tolerance rather than one of ecclesiastical bigotry. Such passages as these meet his eyes:

I venerate every creed, doctrine or resolution that lifts a human being above himself, out of the darkness into the light.

I must believe that all sincere and constant souls are a unit with the great Author of Good.

The religion of Love exemplified in the lives and acts of men and women would of itself revolutionize the world, empty the almshouses and asylums, and close the prison doors.

And this fearless assertion:

No religious founder so clearly lays before us the possibilities of growth from sensuous material conditions into etherealized spirit existence by mental process as Lord Buddha.

It will be seen that not only is the suffrage of sympathetic fellowship granted to the Catholic, but that the author, with a spirit broad as love itself, reaches out to *every* soul endowed with aspiration, be it Buddhist, Mohammedan, Parsee or Christian, and affirms that obedience to its own intuitive strivings, rather than a coalition or adoption of creed, is the nearest access to its God.

It seems to be demanded of a work of fiction, in these earnest, intense days, that it shall justify its existence by contributing somewhat of

¹ "That Romanist," by Adella MacArthur. Pp. 364. Price, cloth, \$1.25; paper, 50 cents. The Arena Publishing Company, Boston.

definite value to *universal progress*; not only that there shall have been wrought out through it such phases of thought as will relate it to some specific realm of literature, but that it shall, above all else, have added another step to —

The great world's altar stairs,
That slope from darkness up to God.

Measuring "That Romanist" by standards such as these, it will at once assume its place as the foe to credulity, ignorance, intolerance and bigotry, the defender of the intellect as the high tribunal to which all issues are to be referred, the advocate of the supremacy of religion over theology, and the resolvent of religion into its own primal element — Love.

In developing these theories, Mrs. MacArthur arraigns the Hebrew mythology, still masquerading throughout the pulpits of orthodox Christendom as Holy Writ, and discloses with intrepid vigor the errors and incompetency of its reputed God, and the fallacious weakness of the entire structure upon which the so-called Christian Church rests.

It would seem in these days of higher criticism, when liberalists have discussed and dissected Biblical and orthodox fallacies, that there would be no need of such a work as "That Romanist," but the masses do not read the treatise of the scholar, and his ideas can only reach them as they percolate through from the overflow of thought at the top.

This is a slow process, as the general standard of thought attests. It has taken a century for even the liberalist to overtake Thomas Paine, and the church at large is preaching and teaching the identical doctrines for which he wore the brand of heresy; so that it will be granted that there is a very real and vital work for "That Romanist" to do, especially as it reaches far beyond the field of Biblical contention, and brings to its pages the best and most ennobling elements of *all* religious systems.

But "That Romanist" is not merely a theological treatise whose tenets would be more fittingly expressed through the medium of the pamphlet; it is primarily a story of remarkable intensity and power, full of movement and dramatic force, and evolving its religious and philosophical theories so naturally through the development of its characters that the story is a symmetrical growth, rather than a graft of theories upon an alien trunk.

Divested altogether of its ethical purpose, it would still be a unique and charming story for the story's sake, introducing us, as it does, to a heroine whose Scotch-Irish temperament has the iridescent sparkle of smiles and tears. A girl whose entire life has been passed in a convent and who, but a month's time acquainted with the outer world, finds herself a unit in the gay and shifting throng at a popular Southern resort, is not likely to follow the most conventional lines, and Lenorah's every act has the freshness of a newly opened rose.

Her only knowledge of men has been gained from the priests chanting at the altar, her confessionals to them, and from the brief visits of her sailor father, whom she had never loved, but rather hated for his

Protestantism, and for the fact that he had torn her from the arms of the sisters and forced her into the unfriendly world.

The "Romanist" is an improvisatrice of surpassing gifts, and as she tells her unrest to the responsive instrument she draws to her another guest of the hotel at Tampa, where the story opens, and thus begins the relationship that forms the basis of the plot.

In the character of Mrs. Müller, who is destined to transform the nature of "that Romanist," the author has given us her finest creation, — one fit to exemplify her own exalted standards of religious philosophy. We are introduced not to a type, but to a woman, one who has lived and wrought out in herself, by suffering and aspiration, the noblest attributes of the soul, whose mind has burst all shackles, and become akin to all humanity, and who moves serenely as a star across the page which she illumines.

The character drawing throughout the book is unusually strong and distinctive, but the trenchant power of the author's pen is shown effectively in the portrayal of Mrs. Müller's mother, an adherent of the most conservative of Presbyterian orthodoxy, who pits her theories against those of her daughter; and thus is thrown into sharp relief the essential differences not only in faiths, but in the influence of such faiths upon human character.

Pertinent questions are asked, as, for instance, Where and what *is* the orthodox heaven, about which the Church teaches so confidently, and with such sweeping generalities? Is it a *place* or a *condition*? and can there be a condition without a place? etc., etc.

While the author affirms that everything pertaining to the life beyond is purely speculative and imaginary, she nevertheless evolves certain theories in relation to it that are worthy of consideration.

The romance of "That Romanist," which becomes an absorbing one, is developed through the introduction of a young man educated for the Presbyterian ministry — though by no means a clerical sort of personage. As a brother to Mrs. Müller he is thrown much in the society of the Romanist, and the subordination of theology to love is a matter of easy accomplishment on his part; but the results entailed from the bitter and intriguing opposition of his ultra-orthodox mother give a coloring and intensity to the narrative and reveal the author's strength in depicting dramatic scenes. Indeed the last chapters are a swift succession of incidents, absorbing, finely wrought, and ending in a strong *dénouement*.

In local setting the story is artistic and unique, presenting a shifting panoramic background of Southern scenes, embracing Tampa, Havana, the Cuban plantations, Suwannee River, Asheville, and other Southern resorts. There is, however, no tedious interlarding of description, but rather the dreamy, fragrant atmosphere of the South land, pervading its pages.

The mission of "That Romanist" is, then, to teach that love is the divine principle, the source and culmination of being; that it, and it alone, is the transforming agent of the soul; that it shall obliterate all

creeds, rise above all differences, and usher in the day when humanity shall recognize —

One God, one law, one element,
And one far-off, divine event
To which the whole creation moves.

SANTA CLAUS' HOME, WITH OTHER STORIES AND
RHYMES.¹

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.

When one compares the famous "Mother Goose Melodies" which have been sung to the children of other days to their delight, and which contain so much of nonsense and so little of sense, with such a work as "Santa Claus' Home, with Other Stories and Rhymes," he will be impressed with the wonderful advance which has been made in children's literature during the past century. The myth of Santa Claus and fairy stories seem to have a wonderful fascination for the child brain, and in the opening story of this volume, which, by the way, is exquisitely illustrated, Helen M. Cleveland has written one of those rare pieces of fiction adapted to the tastes of early childhood, while at the same time she has subtly taught the parent as well as the child a great lesson in ethics. This story pictures a little waif, one among the tens of thousands in the slums of all our great cities who look longingly for Christmas Eve with a fond hope that Santa Claus will remember them. When the little sister comes home she has failed to sell enough newspapers to buy the toy the lame child longed for. All at once the scene changes; a little fairy sent for them by Santa Claus from Wonderland calls both the children to follow him, giving them skates whereby they can ride over land and water and through the air to the magic realm of the ideal. But they are not alone; stopping at tenement after tenement, this little corporal from a brighter land gathers the children by the thousands, even as Jesus gathered the waiting multitude eighteen hundred years ago on the shores of Galilee to hear the words of life, and they are taken to the Wonderland and given a glimpse of bliss. They do not wish to return, but, under present conditions, none of us, whether young or old, are able to live long in the realm of the ideal, and so they are compelled to return, much against their will. But Santa Claus assures them that there are kind hearts in the world and he knows how to reach those hearts. "You shall not be left to freeze in the cold street, Tommy. I will see that somebody looks after you, Jamie; and, Jackey, I know a man who wants to straighten just such a foot as yours, and make you strong and well."

No one can read this story without seeing how subtly the author sinks into the heart of the parent who reads the story to the child the

¹"Santa Claus' Home, with Other Stories and Rhymes for Mamma to Read Aloud," by Helen M. Cleveland. Bound in heavy plate paper; richly illustrated. Price, 50 cents. The Arena Publishing Company, Boston.

august duty of brightening the hearts and homes of and caring for the less fortunate in life.

"Dame Pout's Den" is another characteristic story in this little volume, which teaches a strong lesson to the child without the child knowing or appreciating that it is being taught, for it is in no sense didactic, but simply a natural and fascinating little sketch, such as children love to hear read to them, while at the same time it is inculcating a wonderful lesson, provided the parent has the wisdom not to enforce the ethical import of the story too strongly upon the child's mind so as to arouse its antagonism or make it think that it is being preached to. Herein Miss Cleveland excels: she does not preach. She has gotten the child's spirit, the child's love, and the child's desires, and through these she appeals, while not infrequently she teaches the parents while she teaches the child lessons which if brought home to the better nature cannot fail to bear fruit.

There are several poems by Margaret Gay adapted for children, and numerous other sketches. The illustrations are exceedingly fine, and altogether this is one of the books which parents should give their children as a Christmas gift.

SANTA CLAUS' HOME, WITH OTHER STORIES AND RHYMES.¹

REVIEWED BY CHARLES E. HOLMES.

"Santa Claus' Home," "The Cobweb Girl," and other rhymes and stories by Helen M. Cleveland and Margaret Gay is a dainty Christmas book beautifully illustrated and made up of stories which have already won popularity in juvenile periodicals.

Miss Cleveland's work in these stories possesses the same fascinating quality which made her original stories for school children attain immediate recognition.

One forgets that the author is grown up. The effect produced is that of one child playing with another, and the transparent purity and blithe spontaneity of childhood bubble from every page.

Generally the author is exquisitely natural in what she says and how she says it. No modern writer for children enters so easily into the child's own world, and to become the best living writer for young children Miss Cleveland needs to do but one thing, and that is to overcome all fear of the editor. She should not allow that august individual to stand beside her desk, for in spots he modifies the naturalness that is her charm.

Aside from her art, the author has shown good judgment in trying to meet not only the needs of mothers and children, but of teachers and pupils also. The book is dedicated to "The children's hour," the time 'between the dark and daylight,' when sleepy little voices demand a story," and every selection is admirably adapted for mothers to read aloud.

¹"Santa Claus' Home, with Other Stories and Rhymes," by Helen M. Cleveland and Margaret Gay. Richly illustrated. Price 50 cents. Arena Publishing Company, Boston, Mass.

Many little ones have already spoken "A Pair of Rogues," "The Naughty Dolly," "Grandpa Specs," etc., in school, and a third need of children has been met by the introduction of pretty kindergarten songs.

"Santa Claus' Home," "The Cobweb Girl" eating her own curls, "The Moon-man with his Skippy Folk," "Dame Pout in her Den" entice the children into realms they love, the realms of fairyland.

"Puss and Baba" gives a delightful picture of repentant mischief. "The Mischiefs" and "Grandpa Specs" in grown-up clothes are natural. "How Rob did It" and "A Pair of Rogues" are humorous sketches by Margaret Gay. "Trip-a-toe" and "The Jolly Miller" are school marching songs. These with about a dozen other short stories and rhymes make a delightful child's book.

A more useful and entertaining gift cannot be found as a Christmas offering for the little ones. The book is charmingly illustrated.

WORLD BEAUTIFUL—SECOND SERIES.¹

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.

This exquisite volume is a beautiful companion to Miss Whiting's former work previously noticed by me bearing the same title, although the present volume appears to me even deeper and richer in its spiritual insight and the high inspiration which characterizes it than did its predecessor, and that is saying much. Almost every page seems fairly palpitating with that true sympathy, that broad spirit of toleration, that resolute determination to see the good in humanity, which is, in fact, medicine for the soul.

Then, again, there are a peculiar ease and literary charm which pervade all Miss Whiting's writings and are very noticeable in this volume. This, of course, enhances the high and fine thought set forth by one who, in my judgment, more nearly than any essayist of our time, has caught the spirit of Emerson, but who has given to her work the added luminosity of a strong, loving faith which is not always so pronounced as one could wish in the fine writings of the Sage of Concord.

Those whose souls hunger for high, spiritual thought—ideas profoundly religious, yet free from cant and dogma—will hail with delight this latest and best work of Miss Whiting.

LITTLE JOURNEYS TO THE HOMES OF AMERICAN AUTHORS.²

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.

Early in the fifties the well-known publishing firm of Putnam published a series of papers entitled "Little Journeys to the Homes of

¹ "World Beautiful," second series, by Lillian Whiting. White, stamped in green and gold, gilt top. Pp. 291. Price, \$1.25. Roberts Brothers, Boston.

² "Little Journeys to the Homes of American Authors." Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. Richly bound; sumptuously illustrated. Edited by Elbert Hubbard, author of "Forbes of Harvard," "Little Journeys to the Homes of Good Men and Great," etc. Price, \$1.75.

American Authors." These were first produced in a magazine brought out by the Putnam firm, and were written for the most part by able scholars, many of whom have since become foremost among America's great writers. After the lapse of this long period of more than a generation, these delightful papers have been gathered together and brought out in a sumptuous volume. The dates when the sketches were written are given in each case, but in many instances they are preceded by short notes written by Elbert Hubbard, and these notes of themselves constitute by no means the least attractive feature of this exceedingly valuable and entertaining volume.

It is a beautiful book for the holidays and will make a most appropriate present to any friend who has a taste for literature. Among the chapters are sketches dealing with such authors as Ralph Waldo Emerson, James Russell Lowell, William Cullen Bryant, Washington Irving, Prescott, and other illustrious American writers.

TWO NEW WORKS BY JOSEPH EDGAR CHAMBERLIN.¹

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.

Joseph Edgar Chamberlin is widely known throughout New England for his delightful papers in "The Listener" column in the *Boston Transcript*, but he will reach, in my judgment, a far wider audience through his two dainty volumes which have just appeared, entitled "The Listener in the Town" and "The Listener in the Country." There is a rare value in these works, inasmuch as they are written in admirable English, and call the attention of the reader to the beauty and poetry of common life whether in town or country.

Mr. Chamberlin is at once an idealist and a realist. He has the poet nature. He does not wallow in the gutter and imagine that in so doing he is realistic. On the contrary, while being as thoroughly realistic (in the sense that realism is truth to life) as the most ardent realist could ask, he shows the beauty side of nature in its rural simplicity, as well as the grim struggle of life in its barrenness, as seen to-day in our great cities.

I wish to give our readers a taste of Mr. Chamberlin's work by quoting his sketch entitled "The Lily Cove," taken from "The Listener in the Country." It will be seen from this that Mr. Chamberlin, like Robert Burns, is a real poet at heart. This is only one of numbers of exquisite sketches which appear in this volume:

These late droughty days have been golden ones for out-of-door enjoyments. The farmer laments them, for his hay crop is meagre, his pasture is drying up, his corn — even his corn, *solibus aptum*, as fond of sun as Horace himself — is crying for rain, and his potatoes bid fair to be small and few in the hill. The business man trembles as the long, dry days wear past, for he sees a bad harvest likely to be added to all the other wretched causes that are postponing the good times. But the perpetual picnicker sees no reason to find fault with them; the artist finds

¹ "The Listener in the Town" and "The Listener in the Country," by Joseph Edgar Chamberlin. One volume each. Cloth. Price, seventy-five cents. Copeland & Day, Boston.

the mowing-field, stripped of its poor crop, all the more beautiful in his picture because the green rowen is making no start, for the parched stubble maintains a rich golden brown tint from day to day. And for careless youth, that takes no thought of the morrow, there never were days like these, — long, rainless ones marching in endless procession, when girls want to be out of doors all the time, and boating and swimming are a ceaseless joy, and long driving and tramping expeditions may succeed one another, with literally no cloud over them; when nights are balmy and delicious; when nature, in short, seems to be in a willing league with all pleasuring purposes.

There is one crop, moreover, which I have been assisting in the harvesting of a little lately, which is not in the least unfavorably affected by drought. It is the water-lily crop; and it is particularly beautiful in a certain spacious cove that leads out of one of the loveliest little lakes in Eastern Massachusetts. It is a cove that was constructed by nature especially for the propagation of water lilies. It is a perfect oval in shape, with but a narrow connection with the main lake; and across this strait runs a gravelly bar, over which you can only force the boat by throwing the weight first into the stern and then into the bow. And whereas the main lake has not a perceptible shoal in it, and practically no lilies, the water in this cove is exactly of the depth to suit the growth and perfect development of the *Nymphaea odorata*. Everywhere the pads overlie the surface; but your boat may visit every spot in the cove without going aground. It is a weak figure of speech to say that every morning nowadays the cove is starred with lilies; the stars in heaven are a sparse growth compared with them; if you were treating the sky at night as a pond, and the stars as water lilies, you would have to row your boat a great deal farther to get an armful than you do here in this cove. When you get to the end and row back westward, looking straight at the face of the lilies, on which the rising sun is shining, you perceive that pond lilies are not the colorless things that you might imagine. Their hearts are pure gold, and the whiteness of the rest of them is delicately tinted with a faint blush of pink.

They overpopulate the cove so that it is a kindness to them to pick them by the score; they are simply begging you to draw them up, long-stemmed, from the depths. The water is not a bit muddy; as you float along you see the bottom looking as if a sort of soft gray water-moss overspread it, and this same really beautiful substance clings to the stems of the lily leaves. All around the encircling shores is a dense wall of alders, with richly veined deep-green luxuriant leaves; oaks and red maples overhang and dominate the alders; and above all there are the tops of many pine trees growing on the slope of the hill farther back. From somewhere in the depths comes the song of a wood thrush at intervals, and you perceive that the note of this bird is, in the domain of musical sounds, precisely what the water lily is to the world of vegetation, — a round, sweet, full, generous and delightful thing, ravishing to the sense and at the same time symbolical of spiritual beauty. Who that knows the wood thrush's note will deny that there is a perfume in it as rich and sweet to the inner sense as that of the pond lily is to the mere nostrils? In the long intervals between the thrush's chary notes you hear a vireo preaching from the elm tree that overhangs the spring not far away, and you know that from his perch in the tree this melodious little homilist will give you line upon line and precept upon precept all day long.

Such things as these make the lily cove a hard place to get away from, especially when one must leave it to get an early train back to Boston.

Over against this sketch I give one from "The Listener in the Town," entitled "The Victim," which shows how closely the heart of

the author beats in unison with the heart of humanity in its struggle, and with the heart of infinite love:

When one's star compels one to carry the woes of the world on one's small shoulders, a very trifling incident, a very little picture, will set one to thinking hotly, and planning revolutions. When I cannot walk in the real woods, I often walk in the forests of humanity, — in those withered, smoke-swept thickets of people that we call locally the South End, and the North End, and the Cove. They are not sweet like other woods, and yet some rare flowers are found there — together with many sad, morbid fungus-growths. The other afternoon, at the South End, I passed the head of a miserable alley that contained some half-a-dozen houses. It was narrow, dirty, hot, noisome. The houses, utterly black and hideous, were built of black and broken bricks. Up and down this miserable court toddled a small human figure, — a little boy, who looked as if he might be three or four years old. He was half clad. His little face was grimy and weazened, and his bare legs bowed out wretchedly. He seemed to be interested in something, and the expression in his furtive black eyes was pathetically like that of some more fortunate boy who might be engaged in real play in the grass. But all at once another and much bigger boy — an evil-looking chap — rushed out of the door of one of the houses and made toward the little fellow, who cowered at once, the expression on his face changing to one of dreadful terror. There, as if fearing brutal fists, the crooked child stood in abjectness, — not a child, but a gnome, a being of the under world, proclaimed a victim in every line of his terrified face, in every unbeautiful curve of his little body, in every rag that clothed him. The bigger boy paused — I thought he was about to strike the child; then he passed on and out of the alley; but the child still crouched there, — a long time, it seemed — as if he feared blows, blows, blows, from anywhere, from nowhere. He crouches still in my heart, and makes me wonder that good men are content that one-quarter of the world shall become strong and beautiful, while the other three-quarters are condemned to grow up ugly, or cringing, or withered, or crooked, or scrofulous.

Who put the little shrinking wretch of the alley into that under world? God knows. The child's parents, perhaps; and perhaps they were put there themselves by a hand that was stronger than theirs. And no matter who was to blame, you will do what you can — that is, if your star has made you feel these trifling things — to do away with this social under world altogether.

These volumes will delight all lovers of fine true literature who love to take up a book at a spare moment. They may be taken up at any time with profit, as they are divided into short sketches, and they will not only delight their readers but will make every one who peruses their pages better for coming in contact with them, not only because they will open the eyes of the reader to the beauty about him, but also because they will touch the very heart-strings of his nature and quicken that broad spirit of brotherhood whose awakening is so essential at the present time.

THE MARCH TO THE SEA.¹

This is a work of unquestionable genius, destined to become a classic in American literature. Sherman's famous March to the Sea, which

¹"The March to the Sea." A Poem. By Major S. H. M. Byers. Price, cloth, \$1.25; paper, 50 cents. Arena Publishing Company, Boston, Mass.

forms its subject, was one of the most wonderful episodes in the history of war, and it is here treated in a manner worthy of the subject.

The author, Major Byers, was a participant in that remarkable campaign. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Chattanooga, but, as he himself tells us, "he escaped from the Macon stockade, disguised himself in a Confederate uniform, went to the Southern army, and witnessed some of the fierce fighting about Atlanta. He was discovered and sent back to prison at Columbia, S. C." There he wrote the song of "Sherman's March to the Sea," which was sung by thousands of Sherman's soldiers after the completion of the march, and, indeed, gave its name to the campaign it celebrated. "He soon escaped again, rejoined Sherman's army, and for a time served on General Sherman's staff. At Cape Fear he was sent North with despatches to Grant and President Lincoln, bringing the first news the North had of Sherman's successes in the Carolinas."

The author's poetic account, therefore, has all the vividness which personal experience gives, and he assures us that "*all incidents narrated in the story are actual facts gathered from participants in the march.*" And a most vivid panorama he has painted of the great march and its various incidents, from the capture and destruction of Atlanta, to the first sight of the sea, the taking of Fort McAllister, the tramp through the Carolinas, and the final parade through the avenues of Washington.

The main story is told in stanzas which have something of the lilt and swing of Byron's "Childe Harold." The stanzas are of six lines each, in that noblest of all English poetic measures, the iambic pentameter. But interspersed at frequent intervals throughout the main narrative are "interludes," such as camp-fire stories of episodes of the war and of the campaign and songs sung by the soldiers on the march, which by their differences of stanza and metre serve to lend variety to the poem. Among the more noteworthy of these interludes are, "The Ballad of John Brown," the "Ballad" (on pp. 71-74) descriptive of the reenlistment of a regiment whose time of service had expired, and especially "The Raid of the Andrews Men," a wonderful bit of thrilling narrative, equal to anything of its kind in the English language.

The work is illustrated with some excellent half-tones.

As a specimen of the general character of the poem, the following vivid description of the making of a pontoon bridge over a river at night may be given :

CXXIII.

Then came a scene, most weird and wondrous grand :
A thousand torches in the forest stood ;
A thousand men with axe or saw in hand
Hew down the trees, and bridge the rolling flood,
And planks and ropes from the high banks are strung,
And light pontoons across the water flung.

CXXIV.

Throughout the darkness flares the pine-knot's light,
And shadowy forms are hurrying to and fro,
The dark stream gurgles off into the night,
The bonfires glimmer on the sands below ;

Gigantic seem the horsemen as they ride
Out of the woods, down to the river side.

CXXV.

The bridge is finished, forward moves the line;
With steady step to the low-beating drum,
With glare and smoke from out the darkling pine,
'Neath flick'ring lights the silent columns come.
The stream is crossed, the dying torches fall
On the wet sand, and darkness covers all.

And here is the equally vivid picture of the army's first sight of the sea :

CXXXVI.

But on a day, while tired and sore they went
Across some hills wherefrom the view was free,
A sudden shouting down the lines was sent;
They looked and cried, "*It is the sea! the sea!*"
And all at once a thousand cheers were heard,
And all the army shout the glorious word.

CXXXVII.

Not since the day when the great Genoese
Placed his proud feet upon a new-found world,
Had such glad shouts gone up to heaven as these,
When to the breeze the old flag was unfurled,
And all the army in one mighty song
Passed the glad news, "*It is the sea,*" along.

CXXXVIII.

Bronzed soldiers stood and shook each other's hands;
Some wept for joy, as for a brother found;
And down the slopes, and from the far-off sands,
They thought they heard already the glad sound
Of the old ocean welcoming them on
To that great goal they had so fairly won.

* * * * *

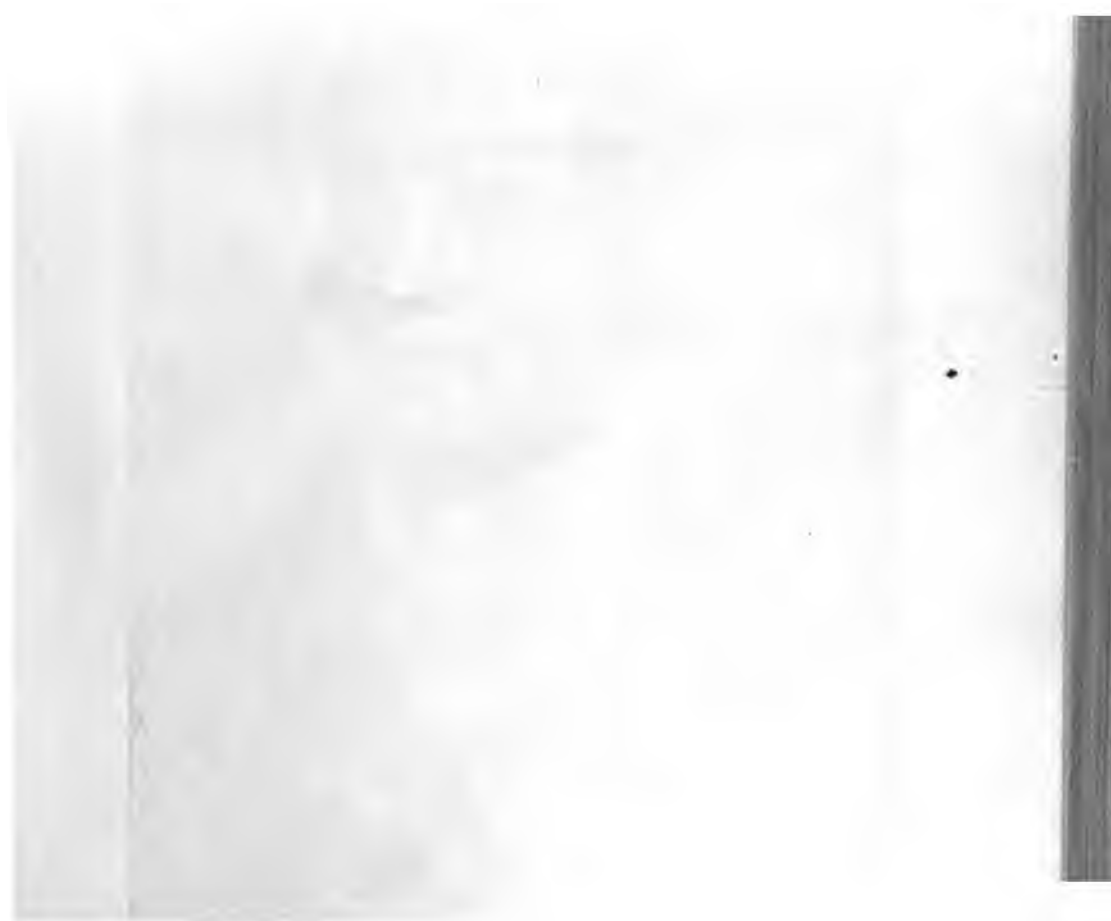
CXLIII.

At times we thought we heard the very waves,
Though distant miles the white sea still from us,
Or the low murmuring by the shore, where laves
The water, restless as mankind; and thus
Our hearts went faster than our feet, and none
But said, "*At last the weary war is done!*"

How marvellously history here repeated itself, and, in spite of differences of race, and time, and clime, what a marvellous similarity there often is in the behavior of human beings under like circumstances. The above moving description might almost be taken for a paraphrase of Xenophon's immortal account, written nearly two thousand three hundred years ago, of the first sight of the sea, and the shouts of "*Thalatta! Thalatta!*" ("*The sea! the sea!*"), by the Ten Thousand Greeks on their ever memorable retreat from Cunaxa.

If that wonderful march found its Homer in the person of Xenophon, so also now, at last, has Sherman's equally wonderful march found its Homer in the person of the author of this poem; for Major Byers is a

true poet, and he has shed the glamor of poetry over one of the greatest achievements in war of all time. He is also a fervid patriot; and cold indeed must be the heart which does not beat responsive to his stirring, patriotic, and, at times, pathetic strains, from the opening exordium to the exquisite lyric, "Adieu," which brings to a fitting close his truly noble poem.





Robert Burns-

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THE RELIGION OF BURNS'S POEMS.

BY REV. ANDREW W. CROSS.

It has been remarked that the most difficult thing about the painting of a landscape picture is to know just where to sit down.

Before the vigorous, erratic, versatile genius of Robert Burns, reflecting as it does upon every conceivable phase of life, it is difficult in a short paper like this to know just where to begin. Amid such a galaxy of talent, the difficulty is apparent of finding an advantageous starting point.

There is no more world-notorious fact in matters religious than the prevalence in Scotland of the sternest, most uncompromising species of the bluest Calvinism. Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes once passed a remark of which the purport was: He could never understand how Scotland, Calvinistic, straight-laced Scotland, could clasp her national poet to her bosom without bursting her laces. Her laces *are* bursting. The pen of Robert Burns wrote the death warrant of Scotia's Calvinistic God. The sentence may be slow in execution, but His utter extinction is as sure as is the immortality of Caledonia's national bard. "If the poet's arrows were barbed with wit," says Rev. David Macrae, a popular Scottish minister, "they were also barbed with truth, and Calvinism could not shake them off. The dogma of election ever since Burns's day has been receding from the forefront of Scottish theology. The tone of preaching has been insensibly changing." It has been declared with tiresome iteration that there is no religion in Burns's poems, but merely ruthless iconoclasm. If a man was in the undesirable embrace of an octopus and you valiantly rescued him from its cruel arms, you would scarcely expect him to reprove you for ruthlessly destroying his companion and not providing a more congenial comrade on the spot!

Burns did exalt a nobler, purer conception of the Deity ("O Thou unknown, Almighty Cause"); but had he never done so our eternal gratitude is his that, recognizing the futility of appealing to reason, he dipped his pen in gall and, with scathing satire, jeered the God of Calvinism into the bottomless pit from whence He came:

O Thou, wha in the heavens dost dwell,
Wha, as it pleases best Thyself,
Sends aye to heaven, and ten to hell —
A' for Thy glory,
And no for ony guid or ill
They've done afore Thee,

What was I, or my generation,
That I should get sic exaltation,
I wha deserve sic just damnation,
For broken laws,
Five thousand years 'fore my creation,
'Thro' Adam's cause!

When frae my mither's womb I fell,
Thou might hae plunged me into hell,
To gnash my gums, to weep and wail,
In burning lake,
Where damnèd devils roar and yell,
Chain'd to a stake.

Such lines as these, such tart irony, might well have made a veritable devil blush for shame!

There is a transparent sincerity pervading all the prose and poetry of Burns. Critics have been candid about his faults, but no critic has been as candid as the poet himself. "I acknowledge," he says, "I am too frequently the sport of caprice, whim, and passion." In another epistle he declares: "God knows I am no saint. I have a whole host of follies and sins to answer for, but if I could, — and I believe I do as far as I can, — I would wipe away all tears from all eyes."

Linked with this honest integrity was a spirit of indignant fury against those who gave rein to selfish follies and hid them under the fair cloak of religion:

God knows I'm no' the thing I *should* be,
Nor am I e'en the thing I *could* be,
But twenty times I rayther *would* be
An atheist clean,
Than under gospel colors hid be,
Jist for a screen.

The Scottish Presbyterian Church, strong now in her tremendous organization, stronger then than we can now

imagine, was no paltry antagonist before whom to throw the gauntlet of defiance. The religious tyranny that made her disfavor more feared in earlier times than was the Roman ban of excommunication had not yet died. Her terrible anathema oftentimes brought the wolf of poverty to the door and paralyzed with terror even the ministering angel of pity.

I own 'twas rash, an' rather hardy,
That I, a simple, countra bardle,
Shou'd meddle wi' a pack sae sturdy
Wha, if they ken me,
Can easy, wi' a single wordle,
Lowse hell upon me.

But I gae mad at their grimaces,
Their sighin', cantin', grace-proud faces,
Their three-mile prayers, an' hauf-mile graces,
Their raxin' conscience,
Whase greed, revenge, an' pride disgraces
Waur nor their nonsense.

* * * * *

They take religion in their mouth;
They talk o' mercy, grace, an' truth,
For what? to gie their malice skouth
On some pulr wight,
An' hunt him down, o'er right and ruth,
To ruin straight.

All hail, Religion! maid divine!
Pardon a Muse sae mean as mine,
Who in her rough imperfect line,
Thus daurs to name thee;
To stigmatize fause freends o' thine
Can ne'er defame thee.

In similar vein, and illustrating his fierce wrath against hypocrisy, is his "Address tae the Unco Guid," still honoring true religion but stigmatizing her "fause freends":

O ye wha are sae guld yoursel',
Sae plous and sae holy,
Ye've nought to do but mark and tell
Your neebour's fauts and folly!
Whase life is like a weel-gaun mill,
Suppld wi' store o' water,
The heapit happier's ebbing still,
And still the clap plays clatter.

* * * * *

Wi' wind and tide fair i' your tail,
Right on ye scud your sea-way;
But in the teeth o' baith to sail,
It maks an unco lee-way.

* * * * *

Then gently scan your brother man,
Still gentler sister woman;

Tho' they may gang a kennin wrang,
 To step aside is human :
 One point must still be greatly dark,
 The moving *why* they do it ;
 And just as lamely can ye mark
 How far, perhaps, they rue it.

Who made the heart, 'tis He alone
 Decidedly can try us,
 He knows each chord — its various tone,
 Each spring — its various bias ;
 Then at the balance let's be mute,
 We never can adjust it ;
 What's *done* we partly may compute,
 But know not what's *resisted*.

To many a sensitive religious soul that terrible poem "The Holy Fair" appears to be a blasphemous and seditious lampoon on the commemorative supper of their Saviour, and so, after its perusal, the poems are laid aside with regret, and their author is condemned as an irreverent ribald. But as the old saying hath it "Circumstances alter cases."

"The land of brown heath and shaggy wood" has long been renowned for its religion — and its whiskey. At one time in the country districts of Scotland the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered twice a year in the open air, the participants arranging themselves on benches erected round the church for the purpose. The ministers and parishioners from the surrounding district gathered at this specially selected centre, and the occasion was popularly called "The Holy Fair." It is now notorious as having been the scene of drunken orgies and theologic brawls. Temperance was at a discount, and he was not half a man, certainly not half a Christian, who could not devoutly, with upturned eyes, break bread in remembrance of the death of his God in the morning, discuss with grim gusto the frailties of his fellows in the afternoon, and get helplessly, hopelessly drunk in the evening.

Here some are thinkin' on their sins,
 An' some upo' their claes ;
 Ane curses feet that fyl'd his shins
 Anither sighs an' prays ;
 On this hand sits a chosen swatch,
 Wi' screw'd-up grace-proud faces ;
 On that a set o' chaps at watch,
 'Thrang winkin' tae the lasses.

* * * * *

How monie hearts this day converts
 O' sinners and o' lasses !

Their hearts o' stane, gin night, are gane
 As soft as ony flesh is.
 There's some are fou o' love divine;
 There's some are fou o' brandy —

It was this vile travesty that awoke the indignation of Robert Burns and produced that vividly true picture "The Holy Fair."

Which was the greater blasphemy, that of the so-called Christian church or that of Burns, who poked such fun at their insipid burlesque that it was ridiculed into non-existence?

"The world has never known a truer singer," said Whittier. "They know little of Burns who regard him as the idle singer of an idle lay. Pharisees in the church and oppressors in the state knew better than that. They felt those immortal sarcasms, which did not die with the utterer, but lived on to work out their divine commission." On the other hand there is nothing more sublime, nothing more simply religious in the poetry of the world, than "The Cotter's Saturday Night."

What clerical utterance could surpass that "Prayer of Burns in the Prospect of Death"? —

O Thou unknown, Almighty Cause
 Of all my hope and fear!
 In whose dread presence, ere an hour,
 Perhaps I must appear!

If I have wander'd in those paths
 Of life I ought to shun —
 As *something* loudly, in my breast,
 Remonstrates I have done —

Thou know'st that Thou hast formed me
 With passions wild and strong;
 And list'ning to their witching voice
 Has often led me wrong.

Where human *weakness* has come short,
 Or *frailty* stept aside,
 Do Thou, All Good! for such Thou art,
 In shades of darkness hide.

Where with *intention* I have err'd,
 No other plea I have,
 But *Thou art good*; and goodness still
 Delighteth to forgive.

"The Cotter's Saturday Night" is too long for quotation; but after a peerless description of rustic simplicity the poet proceeds :

From scenes like these old Scotia's grandeur springs,
That makes her loved at home, revered abroad;
Princes and lords are but the breath of kings;
"An honest man's the noblest work of God!"

That last line is the keynote of much of the poetry of Burns. His emphasis upon the true dignity and worth of man, independent of the accident of birth or rank, has done great service in the propagation of the great principle of the brotherhood of man and its correlative idea of the fatherhood of God.

What tho' on hamely fare we dine,
Wear hodden gray an' a' that;
Gle fules their silk an' knaves their wine,
A man's a man for a' that;
For a' that, an' a' that,
Their tinsel show an' a' that,
The honest man, tho' e'er sae poor,
Is king o' men for a' that.

And what is Burns's plan of salvation? —

It's no in titles nor in rank,
It's no in wealth like Lunnon Bank,
Tae purchase peace or rest;
It's no in makin' muckle mair,
It's no in books, it's no in lear,
Tae mak us truly blest.

* * * * *
If happiness hae na her sate
And centre in the breast,
We may be wise, or rich, or great,
But never can be blest.

* * * * *
Nae treasures nor pleasures
Could mak us happy lang;
The heart's aye the pairt, aye,
That maks us richt or wrang.

By such teaching Burns brought contentment into many a poor home; he poured consolation upon hearts which battled unsuccessfully against an overwhelming and unrelenting fate. "Rank is but the guinea stamp," God cares for *men* — and the more they need His tender solicitude, the greater will be His loving care. Take courage, my poor brother, there is more real satisfaction to be derived from the wonders and surpassing beauties of nature, free to all, than from the gorgeous halls of a palace.

The laverock ¹ shuns the palace gay,
And o'er the cottage sings;
For nature smiles as sweet, I ween,
Tae shepherds as tae kings.

¹ Lark.

It has been truly said that the cause of Liberty is a sacred one, and Robert Burns has every right to the dignity of a saint in her calendar. "Oppressors in the state, as well as pharisees in the church, felt his immortal sarcasms."

On one occasion he had been to church and heard thanks offered to God for a British victory. He wrote :

Ye hypocrites ! are these your pranks,
Tae murder men an' gie God thanks ?
For shame ! gie o'er, proceed nae further ;
God winna hae your thanks for murther.

When republican France had overcome the forces of Europe united for the repression of the republic's newly enforced rights, Burns sang his triumphant song of congratulation ; and when the Tree of Liberty was planted where the Bastile had stood he once more burst into song :

Upon this tree there grows sic fruit,
Its virtues a' can tell, man ;
It raises man aboon the brute,
It mak's him ken himsel', man.
Gif ance the peasant taste a bit,
He's greater than a lord, man.

* * * *

King Louie thought to cut it doon
When it was unco sma', man ;
For this the watchman cracked his croon,
Cut aff his head an' a', man.

The lover of freedom as Burns was, it was but meet that much of this spirit should be dedicated to his native land :

Wha for Scotland's king an' law
Freedom's sword will strongly draw,
Freeman stand, or freeman fa',
Let him follow me !

By oppression's woes and pains,
By your sons in servile chains,
We will drain our dearest veins,
But they shall be free !

Lay the proud usurper low,
Tyrants fall in every foe,
Liberty's in every blow,
Let us do or dee !

That is Scotia's national song, a call to defend her liberty, her freedom against the world. Nor could those strong-limbed sons of Albion ever invoke the spirit of their national bard or sing those inspiring words as a preface to a war of oppression, any more than they could swing the claymore in a battle of wrong and coercion, and sing their national anthem

without a blush. Nay! it is the keynote of a larger freedom that reverberates wherever lovers of liberty dwell, and rises into a triumphant supplication:

Then let us pray that come it may,
As come it will for a' that,
That man tae man the warl' o'er
Shall brithers be an' a' that.

Something has been said about the suggestions of immorality to be discerned in some of the poet's fancies. When Burns was nearing death he said he was well aware that his death would occasion some little noise, and that every scrap of his writing would be revived against him to injure his future reputation, that letters and verses written with unguarded and improper freedom and which he earnestly wished to have buried in oblivion would be handed about by idle vanity or malevolence, when no dread of his resentment would restrain them or prevent the censures of shrill-tongued malice, or the insidious sarcasms of envy, from pouring forth all their venom to blast his fame.

Much has been said about the poet's loose life — a large proportion of it is not true. It is the bitter prerogative of genius to be misunderstood. It is only in the deep furrows of sorrow, in the fields of isolation, that God plants immortal seeds. The beautiful blossoms upon the tree of eternal truth have been fertilized by crimson moisture wrung from bleeding hearts.

Let us consider this man Burns, a veritable genius with all the fiery emotions of the muse sweeping through his soul, working daily at the plough, fighting prosaic poverty; in his own words, "hunted from covert to covert under all the terrors of a jail;" involved in continual difficulty; picked up by fashionable society, lionized, the novelty worn off thrown aside like an exhausted bauble; this month a ruined peasant, his wages five pounds a year, and these taken from him (a great deal of excess he could afford in these circumstances), next month petted and patted by fashionable prigs; and then — the tribute that fashionable English society and literary Scotland paid to this child of the gods — they set his brilliant genius to *gauging beer* at a salary of fifty pounds a year! Driven out of even that beggarly pittance because of his stalwart free expression, and only kept from starving by the *charity* of a kind patron, at last, health and spirits gone, hope fled forever, contumely casting vile slanders at his name,

his wife and family clinging to him and begging for bread, he went from this to a kindlier sphere, madly craving with his latest breath from this world which owed him so much, "For God's sake send me five pounds!"

God's ichor fills the heart that bleeds.

Out from the shadow of debts, difficulties, despair, he passed into the refulgent light of Him in whom there is no darkness at all. This is no apology for the poet's life. It needs none. At his death he was thirty-seven years of age. His record is unparalleled. No man in the whole history of literature ever achieved so much with such niggardly help, with such terrible impediments, as did Scotia's famous poet in the short space of thirty-seven years. With Nathaniel Hawthorne we would say, "Consider his surroundings, his circumstances; the marvel is, not that the poet sinned, but that he was no worse man, and that with heroic merit he conquered these hindrances so well."

Still the burden of his song
Is love of right, disdain of wrong;
 Its master chords
Are manhood, freedom, brotherhood;
Its discords but an interlude
 Between the thoughts.

Now they raise heaven-threatening monuments to his memory. "Ever the blind world knows not its angels of deliverance till they stand glorified 'twixt earth and heaven." Just one hundred years from now he died, and to-day there is not a spot where literature is known that the wreath of fame has not been woven for his brow. Truly —

He left his land her sweetest song,
The earth her saddest story.

NEGRO FOLK-LORE AND DIALECT.

BY PROF. W. S. SCARBOROUGH, A. M.

Three things are looked upon as having contributed to the decline of folk-lore: (1.) Scientific ideas and explanations. These appeal to the judgment and reason, and cause a spread of intelligence that repudiates the idea of being governed by or of indulging in observances or customs that would in any way imply that one was a believer in them. (2.) The clergy, who as a rule have swept away as fast as possible a belief in that which has to do with the supernatural aside from pure religion itself and its accompanying faith. (3.) The great changes that come to a people when civilization takes hold upon it. Commingling, change and improvement in conditions, all conduce to the stamping out of these ideas which we donominate now under one general head as folk-lore.

Folk-lore in its broadest sense is a record of a people's history. Trench tells us that the word recently borrowed from the German as a substitution for the long and Latinized popular superstitions must be esteemed an unquestionable gain. A knowledge of it aids to a better understanding of all that is ancient in the life of a people. It helps the archæologist, the linguist, the philosopher, and the historian, each in his own line of operation.

But what folk-lore does in general, negro folk-lore does in particular. Here especially the negro has a field to himself, and he should take pride in it, in any effort to accumulate and give to the world such of the tales, sayings, superstitions, and observances as will throw light upon and best illustrate the evolution of his race.

It is to be regretted that the negro himself seems to stand aloof from anything that connects him with his past. As a consequence we are without much that he knows and could use with advantage to all concerned with reference to his own life and history. He fails to appreciate the importance of such knowledge to the world at large. But it is just

what one might expect under the circumstances. He is not wholly to be blamed.

The negro has to-day a rich field for exploration and research ; but, set in the midst of a civilization such as we find on the brink of the twentieth century, what is done to preserve these queer, quaint, odd sayings, expressions, and superstitions with the accompanying dialect must be done quickly or else they will be swept away and completely obliterated by the growing intelligence of the descendants of the race, which is now a little over thirty years removed from bondage. Rich will be the record of this people when its full history shall be written in the light of the civilization of the future.

Negro folk-lore is enhanced by negro speech forms, characterized as they are by metaphors, figures, similes, imaginative flights, humorous designations, saws, and sayings. His speech is replete with archaisms, obsolete usage of words, many things that go to form a dialect and which add to its attractiveness in many ways. But there is one thing that makes it exceedingly difficult for the student who seeks for that which is distinctively the heritage of the negro, — that is, the ready adoption by the race of what may properly be called Southernisms as distinguished from expressions and sayings such as are used in other localities of our country. This is true in large measure wherever two races have had many years of life together within a country. The superstitions, the proverbs of the one are more or less sure of readaptation by the other. Yet it is true that the very quaintness of the negro speech has often converted common sayings into gems of originality by the new setting, so to speak, that it gives them. This we shall see to be true in Louisiana, where the Creole proverbs are largely borrowed from the French. We find, too, a similar adaptation in the proverbs — many of them — which are the property of the Bermudan negro.

Prof. Harrison, in a paper on Negro English read before the American Philological Association at Yale College some years ago, truthfully observed that the negro has a talent for dealing with hyperbole, rhymes, picture words, like the poet ; his slang being not mere word distortion, but his verbal breath of life, caught from his surroundings and wrought up by him into wonderful figure-speech. It is also true that, as the same authority further observes, the negro humor and naïveté are features not to be overlooked ; that much of his

talk is baby talk; that he has as well a power of indescribable intonation. In speaking of the negro further he says what we know to be true of all people in a primitive state of development, that to him "all nature is alive, anthropomorphized as it were, replete with intelligences, the whispering, tinkling, hissing, booming, muttering, zooming around him are full of mysterious hints and suggestions which he produces in words that imitate often strikingly the poetic and multiform messages which nature sends through his auditory nerve, thus bringing that onomatopoeic element into his speech found the world over in speech beginning. The primitive negro is on intimate terms with the wild animals and birds, with the flora and fauna of the wild stretches of pine woods among which for generations his habitation has been pitched. His mind is yet in the stage in which ready belief is accorded to the wrangle of shovel and tongs, the loves and hates of dish and platter on the kitchen shelves, the naïve personification of the furniture of his cabin; and for him rabbits and wolves, terrapins and turtles, buzzards and eagles, live lives no less full of drama and incident, of passion and marvels, than his own kith and kin gathered around the pine knot or the hickory fire."

Prof. Harrison of course is describing, and that, too, admirably, the characteristics of a generation passing away, the generation in fact that came up under the dispensation of slavery, that was so situated as to be kept in a primitive stage for a long time, considering its close proximity to the circle of civilization just without its limits. In short we have had, as it were, primitive man with his ideas, beliefs, and all pertaining thereto at the very doors of learning some two centuries or more. The only wonder is that scholarship has not sooner seized hold upon his life and investigated it as illustrative of such life since creation.

It is not the present generation that furnishes us the folklore of the race, though it must be largely the gleaners and preservers of it. It is not the present generation which pins its faith on spells and witches, charms and dreams and signs. Much superstition may cling to it, it is true; in fact, will cling as among the most highly civilized; for even at the acme of civilization no people has been known to have freed itself entirely from all the bonds of superstition cast about it by its forebears in primitive days. So we acknowledge that the negro is not so far away to-day from these primitive

influences that here and there may not be noted the outcropping of early beliefs to be seen in old observances and customs, especially in those localities where ignorance has not given way to intelligence and learning.

We find this true in Hayti, in various parts of Africa; it is seen also in Bermuda and among the Creole population in Louisiana; while nearer home there are those isolated spots where superstition lingers as evidenced in both speech and action. These then are the best fields for the student of folk-lore.

"Very many of the sayings found in the Southern States, especially in the South Atlantic States, are traceable to the Elizabethan usage of the early settlers, and in that respect resemble in expression, in archaistic pronunciation, in obsolescent forms, similar ones found as well in Eastern States of the North." The negro not only distorted his words already at hand, but he formed new ones as we have before intimated. He has been truly a Mrs. Partington in his ingenuity and facility along this line. Taking both these facts together, I feel safe in asserting that the negro's natural gift for language, for word using, added to his opportunities, modified in turn by his lack of advantages, would in time have resulted in a new tongue nearly as correctly formed according to the rules that govern the formation of a new language, as were the Romance languages of Europe, of which the French, the Italian and Spanish are most prominent types. Such might have been the probability had no revolution in his status taken place.

In a paper on the French language in Louisiana, Prof. Alcée Fortier makes the following observation:

While speaking of the French language in Louisiana it is necessary to say a few words about that very peculiar dialect, if it may be called so, spoken by the negroes in lower Louisiana. It is quite interesting to note how the ignorant and simple Africans have formed an idiom entirely by the sound, and we can understand, by studying the transformation of the French into the negro dialect, the process by which Latin, spoken by the uncivilized Gauls, became our own French. However ridiculous the negro dialect may appear, it is of importance to the student of philology, for its structure serves to strengthen the great laws of language, and its history tends to prove how dialects have sprung from one original language and spread all over the world. The negro's language partakes necessarily of his character, and is sometimes quaint and almost simple. The plantation songs are quite poetical, charming in their oddity. There is no established orthography for the negro French, and this obscure dialect of a Romance tongue is written like the Spanish without regard to etymology and simply by the sound, though the letters in passing from the language to the dialect have not kept their original value.

What we are pleased to call negro dialect, however, is, as Rudyard Kipling would say, another story; yet I venture to point out some of the peculiarities belonging to it — the leading principles of all language formation, which strengthen my conviction about the possibilities of a new tongue evolved by the negro. It also seems pertinent that I should make this point, as the varied forms of folk-lore lose much of their native strength when separated from the accompanying dialect which is the characteristic part; and, too, a proper appreciation of both folk-lore and dialect forms of speech can only be obtained from an understanding of some of the causes that lead to dialect formation the world over.

The negro has simply done as other races — applied the principle of mishearing or *otosis*, as the late Prof. Haldeman of Pennsylvania has termed it. He was further helped to perpetuate this by analogy. In short, he put in practice all the principles linguists classify under aphæresis, when he said '*possum* for *opossum*'; under prothesis, when he said *year* for *ear*; under syncope, when he said *cur'us* for *curious*; under epenthesis, when he said *cornder* for *corner*; under apocope, when he said *fiel'* for *field*; under epithesis, when he said *clost* for *close*; under transposition, when he said *ax pervishun* for *ask provision*. These initial and final clippings from words, initial and final additions, medial additions and clippings and transpositions are all found when any ignorant people attempts to speak the tongue of another people with which it is wholly unfamiliar. These belong to the law of mispronunciation; though we would not be understood as saying that they constitute that law, whose strength lies more particularly along the transmutation of sound.

But to return to folk-lore proper. I may add that the interest that has been recently aroused by the investigation of philologists and folk-lorists in this special field is meeting with a general response by many — even among the negroes themselves — who have hitherto paid little or no attention to the subject. I remember, years ago, that the ceremony of "foot-wash" was held in great repute by the negroes of the South — a ceremony which they as industriously performed in their own peculiar, odd, quaint way as it is possible to imagine. It was as much an occasion of merriment for some as it was a part of the religion of others. To enjoy it one has to see it. A mere description of it fails to convey to the

reader what it actually was, and is,— for it is by no means an obsolete custom to-day. The singing and the exhorting are all in the dialect, making the whole affair one of intense interest to the on-looker.

Negro superstitions, beliefs, and sayings hold an equal place with their customs. Signs and omens are innumerable and are religiously observed. The power of witches, witch doctors, and charms gains ready credence. Many of all these are a bequest from African forefathers, while many others have descended to them, as has been noted, through the French in Louisiana and through the Elizabethan influence in other more northeasterly localities. Indeed, some of the charms of these last named are very like those of the early English as seen in the Riddles of Cynewulf. It is true that in either case the native African depends upon oracles, and pins his faith closely to the responses that come from the chosen source of consultation. Geographically speaking, the ancient African was not so far away from Delphi and its oracles; and it opens up a field for considerable conjecture as to whether there was not an influence that filtered down through the ages cropping out in what we may be pleased, perhaps, to call a more degenerate form, as shown in the prophecies of certain soothsayers of the present day among the negroes of this country.

One story will illustrate the credence placed in "hag-riding," as well as show the use of charms or spells and the use of dialect in the telling:

"Yaas, hags is folks sho' 'nuff. I done seed 'em wid dese two eyes. One ole hag dun rid dis chile twell I'se so crawney dat yoh could er seed de bones. I tried eb'ryting. I done put cork in de bottles in de middle ob de floh, den I done put down co'n an' peppah, but dere wan' no res'. Den someting done tole me ter tek de Bible an' put it undah my haid an' tek my shoes off an' tu'n de toes f'um de bed an' dat ole hag she can' jump ober it. Sho' 'nuff dat night it comes jes' lak befo' an' it couldn' jump, an' it stood dar twell day crep slam enter it, so I could er seed it; an', honey, it wan' nobody but Sis Jimson, she dat libs jinin' me. Oh, yaas, ole hags 's people des lak we is."

I append a few sayings that are current in Africa:

"The man who gets up early finds the way short."

"When a cockroach makes a dance, he never invites neighbor fowl."

"The tongue of a liar has no bone."

"Trouble tree never blossoms."

"Good fungi never meets with good pepper pot."

Signs for bad or good luck are numerous, as well as the movements necessary to avert the former. "Ef yer dream ob aigs an' dere ain' none broke, trow salt in de fire soon nex' mornin' or dar gwine be er mighty big fuss; but ef some is broke den de fuss done broke." "Ef yer dream yer teeth's fallin' out, yo'll hear ob a death; an' ef dey be eyeteeth 'twell be in de fambly." No charm seems to be given to prevent this. But again, a specific cure for backache is "when yer hears de firs' hooper-will holl'n, ter git down an' roll on de groun'."

But whether in stories, sayings, signs, or songs, whatever form these characteristic expressions take, there is that quality of nearness to nature and her secrets that we find common to folk-lore the world over. The negro, too, is as epigrammatic in his way as any race, and there is at the bottom of the curiously wrought phrases a fund of sound common sense that shows a keenness of insight, a penetrative quality of mind that some are averse to allowing the race as a whole.

The gathering in of this store of material for the use of the future philologist and antiquarian is as yet in its infancy; still with the American Dialect Society interesting itself, the Folk-lore Society actively bestirring itself in this direction and, in turn, levying upon all sources of information through schools and their numerous colored students, there is no reason why valuable additions may not be made to the vast stores already accumulated in the line of the folk-lore of the world's peoples, and thus, incidentally at least, make plain to the negro himself that he has a history of his own in more ways than one.

THE TELEGRAPH MONOPOLY.

BY PROF. FRANK PARSONS.

XI.

§ 6. *What can be done with the telegraph here?*

First, there is the plan of contracting with one or more private companies to connect the post offices with telegraph lines, supply the instruments and operators and carry messages at low rates as a part of the postal service. This plan was advocated by Postmaster-General Wanamaker with such persistence and ability that it has come to be called the Wanamaker plan. His idea was to begin by connecting all the free-delivery post offices and gradually extend the lines to all offices. A postal telegram could be deposited in any post office or post box, or in any telegraph office of the contracting company or companies. The charges would be 10 cents for 20 words for 300 miles or less, not over 25 cents for distances up to 1,500 miles, not over 50 cents for any distance, nor more than 1 cent a word for words beyond the first twenty. Two cents on each telegram would go to the government for its services in collecting and delivering the message and the rest would go to the telegraph company. New York capitalists were eager to contract with the government on the Wanamaker basis or on the basis of a uniform 25-cent rate regardless of distance, whichever Congress thought best, and they were willing to have the Postmaster-General an *ex-officio* member of their board of directors; also a member representing each political party to see that no unfair advantage should be taken.¹ The Western Union, however, did not wish that such a contract should be made with itself nor with anyone else, because it would greatly lower rates and would illustrate so clearly the benefits of a union of post and telegraph that a full government system would be likely to follow in a few years.²

¹ Bingham Hearings, Seymour's Statement, p. 1, 2, *et seq.*

² See the full statement of the Wanamaker plan for a "Limited Postal Telegraph;" Bingham Hearings, pp. 1-17; Wanamaker's Arg. 1890; and Report of P. M. Gen'l, 1892.

This plan avoids the objections usually urged against a public telegraph. It would not increase the government patronage, nor require any public expenditure, nor limit private enterprise. And yet it would render the country an inestimable service by cheapening the telegraph and making it more accessible to the people.

Its disadvantages are that it still leaves the rates higher than need be in order to give the private capitalists the profit they demand, that although the business would be essentially a public one carried on in the Post Office and largely by means of its labor and capital, yet the profit would chiefly go to private parties; that it would extend the pernicious contract system, which is far more liable to abuse than the patronage; that it does not eliminate the antagonism of interest between the telegraph management and the public; that it does not diminish but largely increases the telegraph stock to be gambled with and manipulated; that it leaves the telegraph workers to the mercy of corporate greed, etc.

The Limited Plan is vastly better than the present system, but there are plans as far superior to it as it is to the existing service. Mr. Wanamaker clearly recognized that the plan he proposed was not the best *per se*, but he thought it immediately attainable whereas the better plans he feared were not.

The Bingham committee said to him:

Why not let the government furnish the wire and control the whole thing?

Mr. Wanamaker

That would be very much the best thing to do in my judgment. . . . We have everything but the wires and the poles and the machines.

Mr. Crain:

Why not furnish those?

Mr. Wanamaker:

The reason is because there seems to be an impression that you do not want to make an appropriation.³

Senator Edmunds' words to the Hill Committee in 1884 are full of wisdom:

It seems to me, for the best interests of the country, that any appliance with which its welfare is so intimately connected as is the instantane-

³ Bingham Hearings, 1890, p. 16.

neous transmission of intelligence, should be subject to no censorship, to no corporate will, to no question of how it is going to affect stocks, or the standing of corporations, or of persons, but it should be free to all men as the post office is, and, like the post office, subject to no espionage. It is essential, I believe, at this time, to the interests of the United States, and growing more and more so, in connection with great social questions, and the aggregations of vast sums of money under corporate power, that this Government telegraph, on the constitutional principle stated, should be undertaken independently, and subject to no contracts or arrangements with parties.⁴

Second, the Government can lease lines from private companies and operate them by the postal force. With a good civil service this would be better than the first plan, since it accomplishes the same extension of facilities and still greater reduction of rates (the corporate profit on operation would be eliminated and the complete union of postal and telegraph services would give rise to additional economies) and obviates all the objections to the first plan except two, — it would still pay out a considerable rental profit which had better stay with the people, and it would retain the contract method to some extent. Nothing but public ownership under a good civil service will accomplish the full measure of benefit and give the people the full profit of the undertaking.

Third, the Government may buy existing lines and connect them with the post-office system as was done in England. One trouble with this plan is that existing lines are in large part of very inferior quality. Another trouble is that the people would probably have to pay five or six or more times the value of the telegraph, — they would be requested to pay cash for ninety millions or more of water — *they would be expected to purchase their own patronage*, — to buy the franchise they *loaned* the companies for five years as clearly appears from the terms of the law of 1866 already stated in Part I,⁵ and to buy it at an inflated valuation produced by

⁴ Jan. 14, 1884, Hill Com., Sen. Rep. 577, 48-1, Edmunds, Part II, p. 3 *et seq.*; *Voice*, May 23, 1886, p. 2.

⁵ The law permitted companies organized in any state to extend their lines throughout the United States on condition that the Federal Government should have the right to buy the lines, property and effects of said companies at an appraised value. This clearly indicates the intent to buy at the actual value of the lines and instruments. The government did not need nor want to buy any state franchise, nor did it wish to provide for buying back the right it was then giving at a value as large as inflation might choose to make it. Without any contract at all the Federal Government had the right to take the telegraph lines on full payment including the state and national franchise — it has always this right under the law of eminent domain, — one of the chief objects of making the contract constituted by the act of 1866 when accepted (as it was) by the companies, was to obtain better terms for the government, if it should wish to purchase, than the law of eminent domain would give it.

unjust charges imposed upon the very public to be saddled with the said inflation. What a wonderful thing is "business"! W persuades P's agent to grant him a privilege belonging to P. W then largely overcharges P for services performed under said grant, and thus lifts the market value of the privilege, that is, other parties would be willing to buy the privilege from W at a price proportioned to the amount of overcharges the privilege enables its holder to collect from P, so that when P desires to reclaim the privilege he finds it necessary to pay an enormous price because he has to buy the valuable right to overcharge himself — the greater the overcharges have been, the more unjustly he has been treated, the more he must pay to persuade W to give up his privilege of unjustly treating him, — he must pay the market value of the audacity and unscrupulousness of W.

Senator Edmunds told the Hill Committee that if the government could buy the lines at the cost of replacement, that was the thing to do. If not, the nation should build its own lines — start the public lines and then the Western Union would sell at reasonable rates, and the nation could buy such lines as suited its purposes.⁶ In a speech on the floor of the Senate Jan. 20, 1883, Senator Edmunds said:

What the United States, in regard to its postal affairs and the welfare of its people, needs more than anything else is the construction of a postal telegraph, beginning moderately between great points in the country and all intermediate points, and then extending it, just as we have the mail system, as the needs of the community and fair economy would require, until every post office should have, or be within the reach of, a postal telegraph.

But I beg the stock operators in New York not to suppose that I, for one, am in favor of the United States buying out any telegraph company anywhere. I am in favor of the United States building its own postal telegraph, and managing it in its own way, and leaving the gentlemen who are engaged in private pursuits to pursue their operations in their own way as private pursuits.

We introduced into the postal system, not long ago, a provision for

The government gave the telegraph companies a national franchise free of charge, and in consideration therefor the companies agreed to allow the government to buy their lines, instruments and other property it might wish to make use of at their actual value. If this were not the meaning, if the intent was that the government should have the right to buy out the companies paying appraised value of franchise and all, there was no sense in putting the condition in the compact, for the government had that right without any contract. There is no doubt however that in case of purchase the Western Union would make strenuous efforts to secure a heavy overpayment whatever standard of valuation might be adopted, and there is only too much reason to fear that they would succeed. It is not probable that Uncle Sam will be able to buy out the Union at reasonable rates unless he first brings the managers to their senses by means of government competition on the great traffic lines.

⁶ Sen. Rep. 577, Part II, p. 9.

carrying merchandise, but we did not think it necessary to buy out the operations of the Adams Express Company, or the Southern Express Company, or the Union Express Company, or the United States Express Company, and so on, although what we did very seriously diminished their profits, and impaired their business. Everything that the United States does, operates in that way upon the interests of its private citizens,—everything except the appropriation of money directly.

Senator John Sherman of Ohio made the following argument in favor of a Government Postal Telegraph. He said :

I should rather, also, in this connection consider one other subject of infinitely greater importance than even this proposition (to reduce postage), and that is whether the time has not arrived in this country, when the Government should assume to convey intelligence by electricity,—not the management of the present telegraph lines, but when we should transmit through our post offices and our post roads, communications by electricity, by wires constructed by the Government itself. The Government of the United States might duplicate all the wires and all the means of transportation by electricity for about \$20,000,000 or \$25,000,000.

If, therefore, we wish to do an actual good to our people, if we wish to confer upon them an enormous benefit, we should assume that which we have a right to assume as a part of the postal service of the country, the transmission of intelligence by electricity. In that way, by the expenditure of probably \$15,000,000 or \$20,000,000, we would save to the people of the United States \$10,000,000 a year, and increase our revenue. This has been done by other countries situated in that connection no better than ourselves.

In 1888 the Committee on Commerce said :⁷

1. That the time has arrived when the Government should construct and operate a postal telegraph system as a branch of its postal service.
2. That the service will undoubtedly be self-supporting.
3. That the Government has the right to build and operate telegraph lines under the jurisdiction of its post-office department.
4. That public opinion will not permit, and good faith and justice do not require, the purchase by the Government of the property and franchise of the Western Union Telegraph Company.

Many more citations could be made to the same effect, but these will serve to indicate how strong is the feeling against the purchase of existing lines at the exorbitant values put upon them by the holders. If the Government should announce its intention to purchase, it is probable that stocks would rise in consequence as they did in England and the people might have to buy a great deal more fictitious value than now exists in the telegraph balloon. This might possibly be avoided by giving the Postmaster-General authority to buy at his discretion naming no time, and then appointing trustworthy postmaster-generals who should buy through secret agents when stocks were low and so gradually acquire

⁷ H. Rep. 955, 50-1, p. 5.

control of the lines. I say "possibly" because it is very doubtful if such a plan would work with the telegraph, because a majority of the stock is in the hands of very rich men who do not care to sell. Moreover it would be known that the government was watching for an opportunity to buy and this might keep stocks up for a considerable period. Finally Wall Street would make a powerful effort to control the appointment of the Postmaster-General, or to make a deal with him anyhow, and the temptation they could offer would be very great. It is safer for the government to build its lines and keep its accounts in the daylight, as Senator Edmunds proposes, and if, during the process, existing companies offer to sell useful lines at the cost of duplication, then let us buy them. It is only fair to establish the new service with as little loss to individuals as is possible under methods consistent with justice to the public.

The Government has the power to reduce the telegraph properties to a fair value, by enacting a law regulating rates. Or it may declare the National telegraph franchise void for violation of conditions. Or it may begin competition little by little, or set a time in the future at which it will establish competing lines if existing lines are not offered at reasonable prices. In any of these ways the Government can obtain the wires at cost, and by some of the methods stated, the change of value in stocks would be gradual, spread over a number of years, and no large or sudden loss would fall upon any one individual.

Fourth, the Government could ask private parties to build the lines or supply the money for building them, on condition that said parties should receive a specified interest on their capital, that all profits beyond said interest should go toward paying off the principal, and that when it should be entirely paid the lines should revert to the Government free of debt, — a sort of building loan association plan. It might be agreed that the operation of the lines during the period of payment by instalments should be in the hands of the builders or of the Government or of trustees for both. This is the plan by which Springfield secured an electric-light plant, and it is better than the last, for it avoids water and gets a new system of the best make. It requires no public debt, but the people lose on the interest which is 6 or 7 per cent in such cases usually instead of the 3 per cent for which the Government

can borrow, and the 0 per cent for which it can issue greenbacks or tax inheritance, etc., as proposed under the following head :

Fifth, the Nation may build a telegraph system for itself. It may first build lines connecting the great centres of population and use the revenue thus obtained year by year to extend the wires to the out districts, or it may establish a comprehensive plant at the start as the British government did. It may raise the needful funds by taxation (an inheritance tax on big fortunes for example⁸), or by bonds, or by issuing greenbacks, or by opening postal savings banks and investing part of the money deposited by the people in a telegraph plant. Either plan is good, except the bond issue, but perhaps it is most just that the money for public improvements should be raised by graded taxation that takes very little from those of small wealth and a great deal from those of large wealth, and by the issue of greenbacks in payment for materials and labor — the latter plan would add a trifle to the volume of the currency and help a little toward lifting us out of the present business depression at the same time that it paid for the new telegraph system.

The purpose to be accomplished is the transmission of intelligence to all parts of the country, with the utmost practicable speed, at a minimum cost, and in manner and form appropriate to the occasion. The means of accomplishing this purpose are the ordinary telegraph, the quadruplex, the multiplex, the automatic, the telautograph, the telephone, the pneumatic tube, etc., — each has its place in a well arranged system.

The automatic will be of the utmost service especially in

⁸ It would be no more than fair to take a good slice off the millions the telegraph managers have absorbed from the people in the shape of tolls on the people's franchise — as fast as the millionnaires die let the nation claim a good share of their wealth for public improvements, rebuilding the city slums, educating the poor, etc. A tax of 1 per cent on estates of ten to twenty-five thousand at the death of the owner, 2 per cent on estates from twenty-five to fifty thousand, 4 per cent from fifty to seventy-five thousand, 6 per cent from seventy-five to a hundred thousand, 10 per cent from one to two hundred thousand, 20 per cent from two to five hundred thousand, 30 per cent from five hundred thousand to one million, 40 per cent from one to ten millions, 50 per cent on all over ten millions, or any similar system, would yield a large revenue by a method that would not press upon anyone, but would help to check the concentration of wealth and yet would be perfectly just as restoring to the people a portion of the wealth taken from them by the present unrighteous system of business. The disposal of property to take effect after death is a privilege created by society for the social well-being, and must yield to such modifications as may from time to time be necessary to secure a better diffusion of wealth or other object related to the public good.

dealing with through traffic between large cities. The machine telegraph will send from 1,000 to 3,000 words per minute (as against 15 to 45 words on the circuits used by the Western Union), at a cost of 3 to 10 cents per hundred words (instead of a cost of \$1.40 per hundred as claimed by the Western Union as the average of their present methods). The business man of the future will dictate his letters to a stenographer; she will write them on a machine in the shape of a typewriter that will perforate the words in Morse characters, printing one or more duplicates in Roman characters at the same time if desired for retention in the office or other use; she will mail the perforated letter stamped and marked for the telegraph department of the post office, or she will send the office boy with it directly to a postal telegraph office; when the perforated message reaches the telegraph it will be fed into the automatic transmitter and despatched, at the rate of 1,000 or more words per minute, to the telegraph office nearest the destination of the message; the receiving machine will print the message on a strip or on a letter sheet as may be wished in clear Morse characters that can be read by anyone after a few days' trial; the printed message will be mailed to the addressee, or sent to him by special delivery if so ordered, or read off to him through the telephone; and the whole thing will cost but a trifle more than carriage by mail bag and steam car. A person who cannot afford the services of a stenographer, can have a perforator and operate it himself, or he can go to a telegraph office and write his message and it will be perforated there by the clerks, or he can write his message and mail it marked for the telegraph and it will be perforated in the post office and sent to its destination.

This is not a dream, but a simple statement of what would result from the general use of a system well known among experts as having already proved its power to do all I have stated.⁹

⁹The Anderson Automatic has transmitted and recorded in perfectly legible characters 3,000 words per minute between New York and Washington, 381 miles over a compound copper and steel wire of much smaller carrying capacity than the No. 4 copper wire which would be used in constructing the new system according to the plans of the inventor. It has carried eight hundred words per minute over a similar compound two-ohm wire, 1,027 miles from New York to Chicago. And it has carried from Jersey City to Philadelphia 1,500 words per minute, 90 miles over a single, small iron wire of a resistance of 25 ohms per mile, or more than twenty times the resistance of a number 4 copper wire. Over an experimental line 3,000 words per minute have been recorded by this system. By the hand method the highest speed

It is not probable that love letters will be sent by telegraph; but they form a very small part of the mails, I presume, for lovers contrive, as a rule, to keep close enough together to communicate without the aid of the post office as much of the time as possible. Some social and political letters also will court the seclusion of the impenetrable envelope, unless they are urgent enough for the use of

that an expert telegrapher can attain is about 45 words a minute, and ordinarily 15 to 25 words per minute is all that can be expected. With the quadruplex and four operators at each end of the line, 60 to 80 words a minute may be sent over one wire, but the average is about 50 words per minute, so that the Anderson Automatic makes one wire the equivalent of 40 to 100 of the ordinary Morse circuits in use by the Western Union, or 10 to 20 of its quadruplexed wires.

Mr. W. E. Athearn, a very high authority, formerly Chief Electrician of the Baltimore & Ohio Telegraph Company, thoroughly tested the Anderson system, and says: "With a one-ohm-per-mile resistance hard-drawn copper wire, strung upon well set, substantial poles, the tests justify the belief that much more than 1,000 words per minute could be reliably telegraphed in all weathers."

In respect to cost of transmission with the Anderson Automatic Mr. Athearn says: "A careful approximate estimate of the cost of telegraphing, complete, 1,000 words from New York to Chicago, including perforating, transmitting, copying by typewriter at the receiving station, with liberal allowances for cost of labor, stationery, chemicals, etc., is about, but rather under, fifty cents. The present rates of the Western Union Telegraph Company for telegraphing a business message of 1,000 words from New York to Chicago, are upward of thirty dollars."

Mr. P. B. Delany, the great inventor of the multiplex, says: "At Philadelphia, on Monday, the 23d of Feb., 1892, I saw 1,500 words per minute received from Jersey City in perfectly plain Morse characters, by the Anderson System of Machine Telegraphy. The line used was an iron wire with a resistance of about 25 ohms to the mile, or equivalent to double the length of an ordinary telegraph circuit. Judging from the character of the work, 2,000 words per minute might have been received if the transmitting machine at Jersey City had been geared up to that speed. There will be no difficulty whatever in working at a speed of 1,000 words a minute between New York and Chicago."

Mr. D. H. Bates, once of the Western Union management, and afterwards President and General Manager of the Baltimore & Ohio Telegraph Company, examined the system in 1890 at the request of the Postmaster-General. He says: "The effect of the arrangement is to ensure,—great speed—great accuracy and legibility of the record at the receiving station—absence of all errors except those inherent in the line itself, and the presence of line faults may be instantly detected. Two large copper wires could accommodate by means of the Machine Telegraph, all that eight or ten similar wires could handle by means of the quadruplex, the work being as well done and with a saving of one-third in the number of operators and clerks."

Mr. F. N. Gisborne, Electrician and General Superintendent of the Government Telegraph Lines of the Dominion of Canada, told the Royal Society of Canada in May, 1891, that the Anderson system had accomplished in a perfectly practical way the astonishing feat of telegraphing 3,000 words a minute over a single wire 351 miles long, and 800 words a minute over a circuit of 1,027 miles in a heavy rain storm. Wherefore two wires operated by the Anderson System were proved to have a capacity more than equal to 30 wires operated by the quadruplex system in general use by the American companies (the Western Union is supposed to have quadruplexed about 75,000 miles of its wire) which represent 80 ordinary Morse telegraph circuits and require 160 skilled operators at the terminals, and 20 workers to attend the repeaters at halfway stations between New York and Chicago. Mr. Gisborne also said it was clear that a hundred words could be telegraphed 1,000 miles for 25 cents

cipher. Bulky documents, rolls of manuscript, newspapers, books, and parcels will continue to go by mail with letters in respect to which time is not of importance. But the great mass of social and business letters will travel by wire instead of by rail. It will save a day between New York and Chicago, and a week between New York and San Francisco.

For the sending of money orders and other messages, in

and yet allow a large profit to the telegraph companies. The decrease in the cost of line and its maintenance by the substitution of the Anderson System for present methods would be enormous to say nothing of the far smaller number of operators and instruments required.

The *Montreal Gazette* of June 13, 1891, commenting on Mr. Gisborne's address said that he had shown how recent improvements in automatic telegraphy made it possible to compete successfully with the Postal Service for the carriage of letters, thus emphasizing the frequently expressed opinion that the time is ripe for the complete combination of the two services in the hands of the postal authorities.

The method of operation is simple. The message is perforated on a strip of paper, which is put into the transmitter and passes under metal points. At each perforation these points pass through the paper and close the circuit for a length of time corresponding to the length of the perforation. At the receiving end the closing of the circuit makes a Prussian-blue stain on a moving ribbon or sheet chemically prepared for the purpose.

The Perforating Machine is as simple and efficient as an ordinary typewriter and can be operated with the same ease and speed (1,800 to 2,000 words per hour).

The Page and Line Recorder prints the message on a letter sheet about ten words to the line, and is a great improvement over the paper ribbons for recording long messages, letters, or news reports. So says Mr. Athearn, and Mr. Bates says, "The Page and Line Recorder marks a long step forward, and its use removes one of the chief obstacles heretofore barring the way to full success in autotelegraphic transmission."

The Business Men's Composing Machine enables any person after a little practice to perforate a message for telegraphing as quickly as it could be written with a pen or typewriter (a perfect copy of the message for the office file being simultaneously printed in Roman characters). The use of this composer would considerably lessen the cost of telegraphing and would shorten the time required to get a message under way, the message being ready for the automatic transmitter the moment it is written and stamped, thus avoiding even an instant's delay. The reading of the message and counting of the words by the operator, taking the money, etc., uses up many instants with our system. Then the transmission is 50 to 100 times more rapid than that in general use to-day, and at the other end the attendant does not have to write out the message, but sends it at once as it is printed by the machine, if it is a quick-delivery message, or talks it through the telephone directly to the addressee.

Where the traffic is large the automatic effects a great saving in cost of construction as well as in cost of operation. A single line of hard-drawn copper wire No. 4 with the automatic is more than able to do the work of ten wires of the best quadruplex systems (300,000 words or 10,000 messages of 30 words in 8 hours), yet the cost of the single copper line is less than half the cost of a good ten-wire galvanized-iron quadruplex outfit. The repairs and battery expenses of the automatic line are little if any more than a tenth of the corresponding maintenance expenses of the ten-wire quadruplex. The ten-wire quadruplex needs 80 first-class operators; and on a long line like that from New York to Chicago at least 5 repeaters would be required at Buffalo,—85 operators; the equivalent automatic line would need 2 operators, 2 helpers, and 20 perforators (if the messages all came unprepared—so far as they were prepared in the offices of the senders the need for perforators at the telegraph office would cease), 4 to 22 workers against 85 workers with the quadruplex, to handle

which the transmission of the handwriting of the sender is important, the telautograph should be made available. It would be useful also for sending diagrams, pictures, drawings of criminals, etc., by telegraph.

For the convenience of persons far apart who wish to converse with each other directly, long-distance telephones should be systematically distributed over the country. It is

the same traffic in each case. With an eight-hour shift for the workers the cost of transmitting business under consideration would be about 6 cents per message of 30 words by quadruplex, and about 1 cent per message of 30 words by automatic, or $\frac{1}{2}$ cent a message if the perforating were done by the sender.

The number of letters passing daily between New York and Chicago is said to be about 40,000, and the telegrams 8,000. If letters were telegraphed at a low rate between these points a vast number of missives from surrounding regions would cluster to them to save a day in transit, and the total might soon be nearer 100,000 than 40,000. Suppose, however, that in each 24 hours only 7,000 letters were to be telegraphed, averaging 100 words each, and 8,000 averaging 200 words each. A careful estimate based on considerable practical experience with the Anderson Automatic shows that the cost of transmission of the 800 million words of traffic per year would be about \$300,000, or less than 4 cents per 100 words including labor, materials, repairs, and interest on the actual investment. Wherefore it appears that if a 5-cent telegraph stamp were added to a hundred-word letter alongside of the ordinary 2-cent postage stamp the 7 cents would more than pay for handling in the mails and for transmission by telegraph between the two great centres nearest the origin and destination of the letter. As the 2-cent postage pays double the present cost of handling letters (Postmaster-General's Rep. 1892, p. 51), and the automatic transmission figures less than 4 cents, it is clear that 5 cents would cover the total actual cost, mail service and all, between New York and Chicago. It would not fully pay for transmission from New York to San Francisco; it would more than pay for such transmission between Boston and New York, Boston and Philadelphia, New York and Philadelphia, New York and Washington, New York and Chicago, Washington and Chicago, etc., making the average trunk-line transmission less than 5 cents for the entire country. If the messages were perforated by the sender and the automatic record sent to the addressee without copying into Roman characters, the total cost of transmission per 100 words would be less than half of 5 cents. As the automatic was extended, and the postal telephone and multiplex netted the country more and more, messages would go to and from the automatic trunk terminals by these means instead of *via* the mail bag. The strategic point, however, is the automatic trunk line for telegraphing letters long distances instead of sending them by mail. That is the thing of all others that the post office should aim to do at once.

A business of 800 million words per annum could be transacted on two No. 4 wires running considerably below their capacity — estimating the capacity at the most moderate figure suggested by the experiments, viz., 800 to 1,000 words a minute. It may be interesting to state that it is estimated the transmission of the same traffic by the Western Union quadruplex would cost about 18 or 20 cents per 100 words — actual cost, I mean, including interest on the real investment. The special telegraph messenger service is not included in any of these estimates — the Western Union says that costs 2 cents a message. (Bingham Hearings, Green, p. 60.)

A full account of the Anderson system with detailed data of cost of construction and operation will be found in a brochure entitled "Machine Telegraphy," by W. L. Craig, M. B. Brown, printer, 49-57 Park Place, New York, 1895. The data of pp. 28-29 allow interest on the real investment, while those of p. 27 are made up on the ordinary private-corporation plan with large dividends on watered stock. Receiving copyists and rent are also included in pp. 26 and 27, but not in the estimate of p. 28. I have included copyists but not rent either in figuring the automatic or the Western Union

often desirable to come to an understanding about some matter that needs discussion and argument, and at a distance it may require weeks or months of correspondence to do so, whereas, a few moments' conversation might adjust the whole difficulty.

Every large town should be provided with the long-distance telephone and the telautograph; and in settled regions, where there are no large towns, the country should be

cost. There would be substantially no addition for rent in a postal system, and even if allowed for at private rates it would amount to less than half a mill per 100 words automatic. The book figures on an 8-hour day for employees and allows \$50 to \$80 a month wages per employee. Its estimates of the cost of operating the quadruplex and the cost of construction of the copper and the iron quadruplex lines are all too high according to other engineering authorities and the testimony before congressional committees already cited — in the above statement I have given the corrected data in these respects. The letters and reports of Mr. Athearn, Delany, D. H. Craig, and F. N. Gleborne may be found in the same book.

Since writing the above I have received Senate Document 291, May 26, 1886, containing the testimony of P. B. Delany before the Butler Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 54th Congress, 1st Session, May 13 and 20, 1886. The great inventor with charming modesty and open-mindedness says nothing about his own services to the science of telegraphy, but urges most powerfully the claims of the Automatic which is chiefly the work of others.

He says in substance that with plenty of wires a single short message can be sent by hand about as quickly as by the machine system, but "if the message is a long one, or if there are a thousand messages to transmit, it might take two days to get them off by hand, whereas, if there are a sufficient number of perforators, the whole lot could be transmitted in a few minutes, the machine system affording the same capacity as 70 to 170 circuits work by the present Morse system. . . . *For the great bulk of telegraphic correspondence the hand method is inadequate, slow, and expensive.* . . . The highest average of transmission over a single wire by the quadruplex was about 50 words a minute. Now it is practicable to telegraph 2,500 words a minute between Washington and New York, and 1,000 words a minute between New York and Chicago, while the telephone carries speech 1,500 miles. . . . Last October (1886) over an actual line having but 180 pounds of copper to the mile (Philadelphia to Harrisburg and return), 216 miles, 940 words a minute were plainly recorded, the current used being but 120 volts. The trial was made over the lines of the Pennsylvania R. R. Co., from the Broad Street station, and was conducted in the presence of a board of well-known electrical experts. With this system 8,000 words a minute have been recorded over an experimental line, which shows the possibilities of the latest development in machine telegraphy."

The inventor gave the committee an estimate on the construction and operation of an automatic line from New York to Chicago as follows:

CONSTRUCTION PER MILE, 3-WIRE LINE.

35 poles, 30 ft., at \$4.....	\$140.
Setting poles at \$1.50.....	52.50
Total for poles.....	\$192.50
Cross-arms, pins, and insulators at 55 cts.....	19.25
2 copper wires, 850 lbs. each per mile, at 15 cts. lb.....	255.
1 iron wire, 600 lbs. per mile.....	35.
Stringing 3 wires, \$7 per mile.....	21.
Incidentals.....	27.25
Per mile 2 copper and 1 iron wire.....	\$550.
1,000 miles.....	\$550,000.
Complete equipment, apparatus, furnishing, etc.....	50,000.
Total.....	\$600,000.

divided into districts of not more than fifty miles square, in the central portion of each of which some postal telegraph office should have the long 'phone and the telautograph, so that a few miles' journey, at the most, would enable any citizen to have the benefit of these great utilities.

If A in Boston wished to talk with X in Cincinnati about selling X a lot of shoes, or buying X's building in Boston, he would drop X a telegraph letter asking for an interview and naming a time, hour, and minute, or he would go to the

The vast difference between this sort of construction and Western Union lines will be appreciated when you know that the Western Union uses little copper, and that the iron wire it uses weighs about 130 pounds to the mile. The line described by Mr. Delany would be much more expensive than the lines considered in Part III, but not so much more costly, I believe, as the inventor's figures would indicate. Twelve men can set from 24 to 80 poles a day ("Telegraph Construction," by J. C. Douglas, p. 363), according to soil and method and size of hole. Fifty cents each for setting should be a sufficient allowance for actual cost, and contractors are eager for the work at \$1 apiece. For the cost of poles themselves, the Western Union told the Census Bureau that its poles cost \$1 each. The Western Union has contracts with many railroads that relieve it of freight rates; but this was not the case with the construction described in Part III, note 13, where the figures show that the entire cost of poles could not have exceeded \$3 each although they were hauled long distances — \$2 per pole laid at the holes is what the telegraph builder figures in the Blair Hearings, Vol. I, p. 146, and he says his estimate is high. The estimate takes copper wire at 15 cents a pound, but it is quoted at that in ordinary purchases by retailers from wholesalers, — 28 cents retail selling price, 45% off wholesale price to retail dealer in ordinary-sized purchase of a few hundred pounds, — larger buyers get a 13-cent rate, and a purchase of 1,000,000 pounds ought to be made at 11 or 12 cents, — a year ago even small purchases could be made at that rate. The iron is figured right, but the stringing is too high, — \$5 a mile of wire is ample (see figures in Blair I, p. 147, deducting the cost of setting poles).

Passing from the construction account with the impression that it is too high, we come to the cost of operation. Calculating at the minimum average of 800 words per minute, or 1,600 for the two wires, Mr. Delany's data place the cost per message of 70 words from New York to Chicago at 4½ cents, including interest on his construction account and every expense but postage, which ought not to be over 1 cent. *If the sender does his own perforating and the message is sent to the addressee in Morse characters, the cost of transmission would be a trifle over 1½ cents per message of 70 words, or 2½ cents a hundred not including postage.* This is not probably below the truth, for the tendency of the witness was to make his estimates of operation high as well as his estimates of construction — a tendency plainly manifest in his giving the perforators a speed of but 15 words a minute, which is far within their practical capacity.

In the *Electrical Engineer* for Sept. 4, 1895, there is an estimate of cost by Delany, which runs a little lower than the one he gave the Butler Committee in May, 1896, viz., 2.6 cents per message of 50 words from New York to Chicago, including interest and omitting postage. This agrees substantially with Mr. Athearn's data. The article last referred to says that between New York and Philadelphia a single wire with 300 pounds of copper to the mile will carry 3,000 words a minute, and the automatic will record them in dots and dashes as sharp as an engraving. To do this by hand would take 38 wires worked quadruplex, or 152 circuits at nearly 20 words a minute, which every telegrapher will admit is too high an average for quadruplex circuits. Over an iron wire, 356 pounds to the mile, which gives 60 words a minute quadruplexed, the automatic will carry 2,000 words a minute between New York and Philadelphia.

long-distance telephone in Boston and ask the Cincinnati office to send out and get X, and the bargain could be talked out on the telephone and moulded into shape with an ease and certainty that make the telephone far superior to the telegraph for ordinary business requiring consultation and adjustment.

For communication between different points in the same town or city, the telephone has marked advantages. It would be a good plan for the municipality¹⁰ to own its telephone system under Federal regulations and supervision, — decentralized units in federation is the true plan wherever practicable, — local self-government to the greatest possible degree consistent with effective coöperation of all the parts for the accomplishment of the purpose of the whole, — that is the principle on which our institutions are founded, and a very wise one it is, — liberty and union welded together.¹¹

¹⁰ Some of the best telephone systems in the world are run on this plan. See, for example, the account in Part IX of Trondhjem, Norway, where the municipality owns the local 'phone, while the state owns the long-distance lines.

¹¹ This principle is recognized to a considerable extent in the post office, and it would be better if it were still more fully observed. If each postmaster were appointed by local authority (judge, mayor, or selectmen) the federal patronage would lose its terrors even without any civil-service reform, and the addition to the power of any local authority would be insignificant — a power that is dangerous when concentrated in the hands of a single individual becomes innocuous, or even beneficent when diffused over the whole country and divided among 70,000 appointing authorities, every one of which is under the immediate eye of the people the appointee is to serve. The local appointing powers would be of various shades of political sentiment, and the administration at Washington would no longer be able to use postal plums to pay for partisan service or to secure partisan success. If good civil-service rules were added to this, and original appointments were to be made in each case from a list of five or ten persons (some of them from the neighborhood or as near it as may be) who had passed the examinations prescribed by the Federal authorities for postal aspirants, it is probable that a large increase in efficiency and economy would result at the same time that the spoils system would be driven out of the post office. The postmaster would be a trained expert, a worker in the office with a tenure during good behavior and a prospect of promotion, instead of a merchant or outside business man with a term of four years, little acquainted with post-office work, employing clerks for as little money as he can, and putting as much as possible of the salary and commissions in his own pocket, in many cases not because he does any postal work to speak of, but because he is a good Democrat or a good Republican. The fourth-class post offices are still under the contract system, and are not yet within the protection of a real public ownership. Let us give the pay to those who do the work. Establish local appointments from tested lists. Create postal districts, each with a Federal superintendent who shall have charge of all the offices in his district, like the superintendent of a railway division, with power of dismissal for cause (to be judicially ascertained at the request of the person dismissed), and power of promotion for merit to superior positions in the railway mail service, etc., and power to place the name of a meritorious worker on the list for appointment in another city than his own and recommend his efficiency to the local postmaster for a clerkship or to the local appointing power for the postmastership. The district

If under the laws of its state a town or city were denied the privilege of establishing an adequate municipal telephone system, or if, having the privilege, it neglected to use it, the post-office department should fill the gap by extending the Federal lines so as to afford a proper local service under public management. In country districts it would seem best that the local telephone service should be, not only subject to postal regulation, but an integral part of the National postal system — not a local plant locally owned and federated with the National plant, but a part of the National plant. The reasons are that greater economy will be thus secured, and a much more extensive rural service. The Federal policy would be the same with the telephone as it has been with the extension of postal facilities by mail, and lines would be built by the nation in many a country district that could not build a system of its own. We should have a telephone station at every country post office, and every farmhouse could be connected with neighboring villages, towns, and cities, and enjoy the benefits of instant communication over a wide area at a trifling annual charge. Such a telephone system would be of greater use to farmers and country folk generally than all the rest of the postal and telegraph system. A vast amount of new business would be created by such an enterprise, the incomes of postmasters in towns and villages throughout the country would be considerably increased, millions of people would be able to transact with ease and swiftness a great deal of business that requires long journeys and consumes much time, and would be able also to do much business and enjoy much social intercourse from which they are now entirely cut off.

While it is true that the decentralization of municipal units in a well federated system of telephone service is an admirable plan — perhaps the best plan, under present conditions at least — yet it is equally true that decentralization must not be allowed to degenerate into competition. There are few enterprises in which the bad results of competition

system is common in Germany and other European countries. It is not wise to have but a single bureau of reference for a continental business system. The more the numberless details of such a system are referred to persons on the spot for prompt action, the better for the service, and the greater likelihood not only of quickness, but of decision with a thorough comprehension of the circumstances. Sweden has reconstructed her postal service on the district plan since Postmaster-General Wanamaker brought the matter before Congress. (See P. M. Gen'l's Rep., December, 1892, p. 33 *et seq.*)

are more apparent than in the telephone service. Mr. Edmunds, President of the Northern Society of Electrical Engineers in Great Britain, put the matter very clearly when he said :

Competition in such a matter as telephony must inevitably result in absorption, or in public inconvenience. When in one district there are rival telephone systems the subscriber has to pay for both if he is to communicate with all the people he wishes. A case in point occurred in Manchester, where 500 subscribers to the Mutual Co. had to become subscribers to the National Co. also.¹²

In the same discussion Mr. Chrehugh is reported as saying that —

He was a subscriber to the New Telephone Company, and although the service over their own system was a thoroughly satisfactory one, he found great difficulty when wishing to speak to a subscriber on the National Co.'s system, which seemed to proceed from jealousy between the companies. He continually found that subscribers were "engaged," and it frequently took an hour to speak to a subscriber on the rival system.

Mr. Browell said that for six months they had rendered it almost impossible to use their telephones when speaking over the National Company's system. He paid for the use of the National, but practically could not use it.

Telephonic competition compels the subscriber to pay the annual charges in each of two or more systems, and renders a service far inferior to that of a united system, — double the cost, and a service but little better than half of that which a single system covering the whole area would afford, — with three rival systems, treble the cost, and a service but little better than a third of the service a single system would render.

For communication between railway offices, where many brief messages traverse the wires and the officers wish to talk back and forth with the least possible intervention of machinery, the hand method of telegraphy will be likely to continue in use, also in postal stations where the business is small and can easily be attended to by one of the postal employees, — a country postmaster or his daughter will soon learn to transmit if you offer them one or two cents per message for the service, and the receipt may be automatic even with the ordinary instruments. The lines may be duplexed or quadruplexed, or, better still, multiplexed, so that a single wire

¹² *Electrical Review*, Dec. 20, 1895, p. 782.

will do the work of 8, 12, or 20 wires simplex, or 2, 3, or 5 wires quadruplex.¹³

Just what combination of telegraph and telephone, automatic, autographic, multiplex, pneumatic tubes, etc., will best accomplish the purpose of maximum service at reasonable cost, experience alone can determine. It is safe to begin with automatic lines between all large cities, and cover the rest of the country with the hand telegraph, making all post offices and post boxes places of deposit for telegrams. The interstate and interurban telephone should also net the continent, in close coöperation with local municipal telephones wherever the city, town, or country will establish such service. Over a large part of the system no separate wires for the telephone would be needed, since Van Rysselbergh's simultaneous telegraph and telephone system, extensively used

¹³ The duplex system sends two messages in opposite directions over one wire at the same time. The quadruplex sends four messages, two in each direction, over one wire at the same time. The multiplex sends two, four, six, eight, ten, twelve, or even twenty messages over one wire at the same time. The Patten multiplex has been thoroughly tested between New York and Philadelphia, working twelve circuits with a single wire. The whole twelve messages can be sent in the same direction at the same time, or six one way and six the other, or any part of the twelve can be sent one way and the rest the other way, or part of the circuits may be worked as through lines between New York and Philadelphia and the rest sent off to outlying towns, by connecting the main wire with the said towns. This system enables one wire to do the work of twelve ordinary lines or three quadruplex lines, and so permits a large economy in construction and maintenance. It operates by the hand method, so that its rapidity of transmission is not great, but it serves to connect, at trifling cost, numbers of small offices where the traffic can go on a Morse circuit by hand without crowding. The main wire can be used for through service also, and if a long message is to be sent it can be divided into parts and each part sent by a different operator at the same time, thereby multiplying the rapidity of transmission. The Patten system is synchronous, *i. e.*, it depends on concurrent movements of machinery at both ends of the line which make and break the connections of the keys and receivers in rapid succession, thus giving the line to each operator by a series of connections. The breaks in the current from any key are so infinitesimal as to have no effect on its operation — the practical result being the same as if each operator had a line to himself. Delany's multiplex, extensively used in England, is also synchronous, and sends six or eight messages over one wire. Delany's multiplex dates from 1882, preceding Patten, but the latter has introduced valuable improvements. The Meyer system, 1873, preceded both, and though inferior to both, it has given good results on the Government lines of France, proving itself to have a capacity of 110 messages per hour.

There is another sort of multiplex, of which the Harmonic of Prof. Gray is an example. It depends on the property sonorous bodies possess of responding to vibrations corresponding to their own pitch. If a vibrating reed is used to transmit a series of electrical impulses over the wire, and a second reed is placed at the other end of the line tuned to the same pitch as the first reed, the second reed when connected with the wire will be set in vibration and give out a continuous tone like the first reed. By means of a Morse Key this tone in both reeds may be broken up into the letters of a message. If two or more reeds of different pitch are at each end of the line, each receiving reed will select its own tone and no other. By the use of a Morse Key to each pair of reeds, it thus becomes possible to transmit as many messages as there are pairs of reeds, over the same wire at the same time.

on the Government lines in Belgium, makes it possible to use the same wires for telegraphing and telephoning at the same time.

To connect the free-delivery post offices with a first-class multiple system would cost, it is said, about five to seven millions, and to cover the entire country, about twenty to twenty-five millions.¹⁴ To establish the automatic in place of the multiple for direct communication between large cities, to add the long 'phone on the Rysselbergh plan, and the Gray telautograph by districts as above suggested, would not very greatly increase the cost,—the whole a mere nothing for a nation that spends 3,500 millions on luxuries every year; nothing for a government that can issue greenbacks to pay for the work, and so give back to the people a few of the millions the creditor classes have taken from them by the contraction of the currency; nothing for a government that can enact an inheritance law under which the death of any one of the leading telegraph magnates would endow the nation with funds enough to build the entire postal telegraph system and leave a considerable surplus for the extension to suburban districts of the automatic, autographic, etc., facilities as fast as experience suggested its advisability.

One thing must never be forgotten,—in whatever way the telegraph becomes a part of the post office it must come in under civil-service rules,—no other method will fulfil the conditions of real public ownership.

A non-partisan commission—a commission composed of members from each political party and from each section of the country—might be given a veto upon the action of the postal administration and a general supervision of its conduct, just as a board of trustees holds the rein on the management of a University. This would secure the enforcement of civil-service rules, and prevent the partisan use of power, without hampering the executive energy of the Department. And if the veto were wrongly used at any time Congress would remain to overrule the error.

¹⁴ Bingham Hearings, Seymour's statement, p. 8. Mr. Seymour and other New York capitalists were ready to put in the Patten system on the Wanamaker rates with a No. 10 copper wire, estimating the cost as above.

(To be continued.)

A COURT OF MEDICINE AND SURGERY.

BY A. B. CHOATE.

The remark is frequently made, "A doctor buries his mistakes in the grave and no one is the wiser;" or as someone has put it, "Physicians of all men are most happy: whatever good success soever they have, the world proclaims it; what faults they commit, the earth covers them." No doubt there is some truth in this, — how much doctors only know.

The difference in this respect between the practice of law and that of medicine and surgery is very marked. In the practice of law the client's case is formally stated by his attorney in writing; this statement is filed in court and becomes a public record. Corresponding to this formal, written, public record is the doctor's diagnosis, frequently nothing more than a mental conclusion, without even the publicity of spoken words. In a lawsuit there is an opposing attorney who writes out and files his diagnosis of the same cause, in which he takes issue with his opponent on one or more of the most vital points in the case, and represents it to be a case materially differing from that stated by his opponent, demanding entirely different treatment.

In medicine there is nothing of this kind whatever. As a rule, no other doctor is allowed to see the patient or know anything whatever about his condition or treatment. It is a serious breach of professional etiquette for another physician to attempt to know or say anything adverse concerning a brother physician's treatment of the case, even if certain that there has been a mistake in diagnosis and treatment which will cost the patient his life. If the physician first called can retain the confidence of the patient, or of his friends in case the patient succumbs, he conducts the case in strictest privacy to the end. Whether that end be the grave or a prolonged life of misery, not a breath of adverse criticism by any other physician is tolerated. No opportunity for intelligent criticism of a physician's or surgeon's work is furnished. Is it any wonder that different schools of medicine succeed equally well although proceeding upon diametrically opposite theories?

The jealousy with which a patient is protected from interference by more than one doctor at a time suggests the truth of the following :

See, one physician like a sculler plies,
The patient lingers and by inches dies ;
But two physicians, like a pair of oars,
Waft him more swiftly to the Stygian shores.

Quite likely such would be the result if two physicians were allowed to squabble over the same patient unrestrained ; but all this is different in law. Opposing counsel come into an open court, presided over by one especially learned in the law and competent to give intelligent criticism, and there in the light of public criticism each endeavors to sustain the position he has taken ; each seeks to expose a flaw in the work of the other ; nothing is hidden or covered up ; whether it be an error in the diagnosis or subsequent treatment of the case, it is held up to public view. An intellectual battle between the opposing counsel is conducted with weapons consisting of the keenest wit, the most biting sarcasm, and the soundest logic. After hearing both sides the judge decides the various points discussed, and in so doing sometimes takes occasion to censure one of the attorneys for his ignorance or negligence, and terminates the case by requiring the defeated client to pay to the successful one an arbitrary sum of money in addition to all his costs and disbursements as partial compensation for being wrongfully brought into court. The vanquished attorney may then leave the court room in disgrace, fortunate if his fertile brain is sufficient to the task of squaring himself with his client who has been a witness to the whole proceeding.

At first thought, the freedom of physicians and surgeons from this severe criticism seems an advantage on the theory of O'Reilly, — "Be silent and safe ; silence never betrays you." But is it not, in fact, a great disadvantage to the really efficient practitioner ? Does not this freedom from just and intelligent criticism have the effect of placing the quack and the pretentious ignoramus on a level with the conscientious and scientific practitioner ?

But what is of much greater importance, is it not due to the public that some means should be furnished whereby the physician of real merit, as well as the quack and pretender, may be known ? Is it to the best interest of the sick and suffering that they should be imposed upon, and the

results of ignorance or carelessness be allowed to bear fruit in death or a miserable existence, while the ignoramuses who work the imposition are permitted to continue their depredations in the name of science, under the cover of secrecy? Is it best that the only verdict to be pronounced in case of death caused by an ignorant blunderer shall be the libellous one, "God touched him and he slept"? Such a verdict is either a libel on God or an undue laudation of a blundering quack. To the layman this seems unjust, not only to the physician and surgeon of real merit, but also to the general public.

Why should there not be a court of medicine and surgery similar to a court of law? Of course the general practice of medicine could not be done in any public manner; but why should not all hospital work, or at least all clinics, be conducted in a manner similar to the trial of a lawsuit? Why should not every hospital and medical college be established under state license and state regulation, as such institutions now are in nearly all parts of Europe? Then establish the office of clinical judge. Employ a competent physician and surgeon to fill the office and preside at each hospital at the expense of the state. Create the office also of state physician. When a case is brought to the hospital or prepared for a clinic, require the physician in charge of the patient, as well as the state physician, to file with the clinical judge a written diagnosis of the case. Make it the duty of the state's physician to know and make a record of every step taken in the treatment of the case, together with his criticism of the manner in which it is conducted. In no case should the state's physician interfere in the least with the management of a case or of a clinical operation, except to call upon the clinical judge to prevent any error likely to result in death to the patient; the judge's decision should be final, and absolutely control without delay or argument. At stated periods have a calendar made up of discharged cases, which should be indicated by number only, and in the presence of all who desire to attend have each case thoroughly discussed by the state's physician first presenting his criticisms, and the physician or surgeon who operated the case defending his work, the clinical judge to decide all points of disagreement between them and make a record of his decision.

Do as adversaries do in law —
Strive mightily, but eat and drink as friends.

One of the chief advantages of such a court would consist in making clinical work more effectual for students. Clinical operators would not be able to play to the galleries so freely as they do now. Some superficial impostors would, of course, have their business ruined, and opportunities would be less for quacks to pose before the public as competent physicians and surgeons by reason of having their names on hospital staffs and as one of the faculty of a university or college, while no careful, conscientious, efficient physician or surgeon would have anything to fear.

It has been proposed to promote some legislation along these lines at the meeting of the legislature of Minnesota this winter, and this paper is written for the purpose of calling out discussion and fair criticism of the plan. Many details of the above proposed plan have not been touched upon, which would be necessary to avoid minor objections that will arise; but since the writer is not a physician or surgeon, it is quite probable that some serious difficulties have been overlooked that will arise in the minds of physicians. Of course nothing but condemnation and opposition can be expected from every empiric and impostor in the country; but the animus which prompts their opposition will be generally recognized and their opposition discounted accordingly. Just criticism from competent professional men, as well as laymen, will be received with pleasure.

SANTA CATALINA.¹

BY JAMES G. CLARK.

Have you seen blue Catalina
On the western billows rise,
Like the palm of Lost Atlantis
Turned in protest to the skies?
Have you heard that low wail breaking
Night and day along the shore,
Like the moan of Lost Atlantis
For the years that are no more?

Have you heard that weird tradition
Handed down through cycles gone,
Of a realm that rose and flourished
In creation's golden dawn;
How it blent the warring instincts
Born of heaven, earth, and hell, —
Towered in selfish aspiration,
Spurned the Law of Love, and fell?

When the sun-god sank to slumber
On the bosom of the world
He beheld ten thousand banners
From their battlements unfurled;
When he woke from troubled visions
On his bed of brown and gold,
Lo! a wild, tumultuous ocean
O'er his buried Empire rolled.

Far below yon smiling surface
Where the white-winged navies ride,
Through the sun-god's sunless temple
Unclean things and monsters glide;
And they smite and slay each other
In their moods of fierce unrest,
Circling round a golden image
Fallen prone on face and breast.

¹ *A paradise of the Pacific.* Catalina Island, twenty miles long, with mountains and cañons full of wild goats and small game; a stretch of calm water, sheltered for fifteen miles from the southwest swells of the Pacific, a sea full of goldfish, flying fish, starfish, and strange, beautiful things; and such a climate! For five long, beautiful summer months not a storm, not a drop of rain, not a hot or cold day; but just such weather as the angels have in heaven!

I went to-day up the trail to the summit of the first range of mountains. The view was most magnificent. Away to the east lay the calm Pacific, mingled with the blue sky, so that a white sail, far away, seemed to be floating in the air; to the west, undulating hills and valleys, carpeted with rich grass cured by the dry air.

The island in summer is a vast garden of dried herbs and grasses, the scent of which, borne on the pure breeze, is very delightful. . . . Birds of many species animate the scene, while the air is full of song. The mocking bird pours out her rich notes, filling every cañon with music and setting the echoes going among the hills. From afar comes the plaintive note of the mourning dove, as if bewailing the extinction of the primitive races that inhabited this island, and left their pottery and bones to awaken the curiosity or reverence of the white man. — "*Life and Light from Above*," by Rev. Solon Lanier.

THE ARENA.

High above those ruins haunted
By the fiends of endless shade,
Cleaving through the upper currents,
Move the ships of war and trade;
And they smite and rend each other,
Filling earth with pain and woe,
Praying to one God above them,
Living for one god below.

Still blue Catalina rises
Like a hand from out the waves,
Linking races that are living
With the races in their graves;
And her wild goats pause to hearken
On the rugged mountain sides,
As if list'ning for the signals
From the old Atlantian guides.

FINANCE AND CURRENCY.

BY GEN. HERMAN HAUPT.

The writer has examined both sides of the financial question and believes that every person who is honest and possessed of an average degree of intelligence, and will lay aside prejudice and weigh the evidences for himself, will conclude that the restoration of bimetallism is absolutely essential to national prosperity.

Some facts elicited during the investigation may be of interest to others.

From the establishment of the mints of the United States, in the last century, until 1873, when silver was demonetized, the bullion value of silver never fell below 16 to 1, as compared with gold, nor did it rise above 15 to 1. The average was about $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, which corresponded to the French ratio. It is reasonable to assume that a restoration of the conditions that then existed would secure similar results.

France maintained bimetallism for seventy years until the Franco-German war at an almost constant ratio of 15 to 1, in the face of the fact that England was on a gold basis and that there were extraordinary fluctuations, as great as 2 to 1, in the production of the precious metals. She not only, single-handed, maintained the parity of gold and silver bullion in her own territory, but prevented a fluctuation of more than two or three per cent in England and the rest of Europe. Is not the United States as strong financially as France?

But for the war indemnity of five thousand millions of francs exacted by Germany, France would not have been driven from bimetallism, and she would now gladly return to it. Germany also has experienced the evils of gold monometallism, and it is reported that the Emperor William, after studying the financial question, has become a decided bimetallist.

Silver was demonetized in 1873, and none but a few who were in the secret knew of the fact. Senator Allison said:

When the secret history of this act of 1873 comes to be told it will disclose the fact that the House of Representatives intended to coin both gold and silver and intended to place both metals upon the French rela-

tions instead of our own, which was the true scientific position with reference to this subject in 1873, but then the bill was doctored.

It was changed after the discussion.

Senator Stewart said :

The question of demonetizing silver was not discussed, not even mentioned, when the bill was pending in the Senate.

Only one senator, and he was chairman of the Committee on Finance (Sherman), has ever acknowledged that he knew at the time that silver was demonetized by the Act of 1873. Senators Conkling, Allison, Blaine, Voorhees, Beck, Bozy, Hereford and Howe, and Representatives Garfield, Holman, Cannon, Kelly and Birchard, and also President Grant who signed the bill, were ignorant of the provision demonetizing silver. In the face of this testimony, it is useless to assert that the bill was discussed for several days and its provisions understood. The discussion was on the expediency of making a charge for coinage, and those who participated in the discussion were not aware of the fact that the bill did not provide for the coinage of the standard silver dollar at all.

This demonetization of silver did not retire the standard dollars then in circulation, but prevented the coinage of any subsequent productions of the mines and reduced silver to a commodity only useful for consumption in the arts. On the other hand, gold was made the only basic money for the payment of debts. The 50-cent dollar exists only in imagination, unless a man will consign it to the melting pot and sell it as bullion. If silver is remonetized the same weight of bullion will be equal in value to the coined dollar as before.

Gold monometallism amongst the principal nations of the world reduces the amount of basic money much more than half, for the reason that, although the value of gold and silver, at the ratio of 16 to 1, is practically the same, many hundreds of millions of gold are withdrawn from circulation and locked up in the war chests of European nations. The Rothschilds also own and control more than a thousand millions, and so little is left that the balance is easily cornered, thus giving the bankers the power at any time to precipitate a crisis, contract the currency, force the sacrifice of securities, bankrupt debtors and inflate their own wealth by appropriating the wreckage thus created.

It is a fact recognized by political economists in every country and in every age, that a contraction in the volume of currency invariably produces falling prices, checks

development, reduces wages, and increases pauperism and crime, while an expanding currency has the opposite effect. The demonetization of silver occurred at a time when there was an enormous and unnecessary contraction of the currency by the retirement and cremation of the greenbacks under Secretary McCullough, which had the effect of reducing the volume of money and greatly increasing the purchasing power of the gold in the hands of the bankers.

In 1866 the volume of currency in the United States was nearly two thousand millions (\$1,966,887,770), and in ten years it was reduced to \$606,000,000, notwithstanding the fact that the population was increasing at the rate of two millions per annum. During this contraction of seventy per cent, 47,600 failures occurred, and a loss to creditors of \$1,425,019,000. The annual loss on crops by shrinkage of value had been estimated at \$1,422,000,000. The loss in farm stock, horses, mules and other animals has been \$1,085,000,000. The loss on 200,500,000 acres of land under cultivation at \$5 per acre would be over \$1,000,000,000 more, and the shrinkage of other values it would be impossible to estimate. While the money lenders have added to their wealth hundreds of millions by the demonetization of silver and the contraction of the currency, the people have suffered more than twenty times as much in the shrinkage of values, rendering them unable to pay debts.

The agricultural classes have suffered most, as they cannot form unions for self-protection, and prices in the West have been reduced as follows: wheat to forty-five cents; oats, twelve cents; corn, twenty cents, and potatoes, five to ten cents. The Agricultural Department Report for 1896 gives as the cost of raising cereals, wheat, \$11.69 per acre, and corn, \$11.71. A crop of oats at forty bushels to the acre would be worth \$4.80 per acre, or less than half the cost of raising them. Farmers who have debts are, except in favored localities, hopelessly insolvent. Even in the New England States, it is stated that the number of owners of farms has been reduced 27,000, and the number of tenants largely increased.

FINANCIAL CONSPIRACIES.

When the war broke out, gold and silver disappeared, and vast sums were required for the support of the government, but the banks and bankers combined to extort a premium of

several hundred per cent. In this crisis, President Lincoln secured an issue of treasury notes to the extent of \$60,000,000, which were made a legal tender for all debts public and private, and which saved the country. Shylock became alarmed, and a bankers' convention was held in Washington, with representatives from the banks of Boston, New York and Philadelphia, where an agreement was framed to force the government to discredit her own issues, and create a demand for gold by a law that the greenbacks should not be receivable for customs or for interest on the public debt. The Senate insisted on these exceptions, although the House had made the greenbacks a full legal tender. Thaddeus Stevens, the "grand old man" of America, declared, "Yes, we had to yield. The Senate was stubborn. We did not yield, however, until we found that the country must be lost or the bankers gratified, and we have sought to save the country, in spite of the cupidity of its wealthier citizens." This was the first conspiracy. The golden octopus succeeded in clasping with its tentacles the throat of its victim, and its hold since then has never relaxed, but has been contracted more and more. The prediction of Mr. Stevens, that great injury and loss would result to all classes of people throughout the Union, has been verified. The second scheme for oppressing the people was the National Bank Act, passed in 1863. By it the banks were permitted to invest greenbacks on which the government paid no interest in the purchase of government bonds at face value, upon which interest was paid in advance, and ninety per cent was returned in national bank notes on the basis of which loans were made to the public, to an extent generally five or six times the amount of the capital. The system permitted the banks to receive deposits and lend the money of depositors, which did not belong to them, to a number of parties at the same time. The greenback, if supported by a reserve of specie in the treasury sufficient for the redemption of such notes as might have been presented, would have been a perfect currency, and two billions could have circulated probably without interest, but the issue of interest-bearing bonds and the sale of the same in the English market placed a weapon in the hands of enemies, by which serious injury has been inflicted, requiring shipments of gold to pay interest.

The national banking system allows stockholders to purchase government bonds to the amount of their capital.

These bonds are deposited as security for notes and draw interest in gold in advance.

Notes are returned to be loaned to customers to the extent of ninety per cent.

On these loans a second interest is charged by the banks at six, eight, or ten per cent.

The banks receive deposits from customers, often to the extent of many times the capital, which deposits belong to the depositors and not to the bank, and can presumably be drawn out at the pleasure of the owner.

These deposits are usually in checks which represent money and perform the office of money in effecting exchanges, so long as confidence is undisturbed, but are fictitious and not real money, and are represented by gold only to a limited extent, sometimes not over fifteen or twenty per cent. The bank discounts notes, taking the discount in advance, and requires the borrower to leave a liberal balance on deposit to be loaned to others, thus increasing the profits of the bank.

Loans are made by banks on the deposits or money of other people to an extent far beyond the capital, and when confidence is shaken and depositors withdraw their funds the bank cannot respond and suspension follows.

To strengthen the position the banks generally combine, but as all are doing business with fictitious representatives of money and not with real basic money, when the demand becomes general the suspension is general also.

The amount of real money in circulation and available as currency is not ten per cent of the amount required to transact the business of the country, and of gold alone not three per cent.

The association of banks, while an element of strength in local disturbances, is also a perpetual menace and source of danger to the public. The country banks keep deposits and draw a small interest from New York City banks,— and New York has close connections with London. Money is lent on call at two per cent on stocks, bonds, and other collateral security, and if not returned on call the collaterals are sacrificed.

Bankers can borrow hundreds of millions from the banks for which they have no use except to lock it up and make money scarce. It then commands high interest, accommodations to customers are refused, loans are called in, debtors cannot get money even at five or ten times ordinary interest,

collaterals are sold at great sacrifice, many become bankrupt, industries are suspended, employees discharged, work unattainable. Shylock reaps a rich harvest. Millions are raked in from the wreckage caused for that purpose. Then a let-up ensues; fictitious money bank check again becomes plenty. It can be borrowed on call at two per cent per annum, people are encouraged to borrow on credit to start or extend industries, the spider again invites the fly into his parlor; but the man who borrows from banks or brokers on call, secured by collateral, sleeps on a slumbering volcano that may blow him to atoms in a moment whenever a few manipulators see fit to order a contraction. It is said that Secretary Chase before his death expressed regret at the part that he had taken in introducing the national banking system, which, from its abuse in the hands of unprincipled manipulators, might become, as it has, a source of danger to the prosperity of the country.

It would not be safe or prudent for any business man to accept a loan of money on call with collateral security even if offered without interest. He would place himself in the power of the creditor to call at a time when he could not respond, and the collateral would be sacrificed.

The third scheme of robbery in the interest of the bankers was that of contracting the currency by the cremation of the greenbacks and the substitution of interest-bearing bonds. The excuse for this contraction as given by Secretary of the Treasury Hugh McCullough was a condition of unexampled prosperity due to abundance of money. His report for 1865 stated :

The country as a whole, notwithstanding the ravages of war and the draft upon labor, is by its greatly developed resources far in advance of what it was in 1857. The people are now comparatively free from debt. There is an immense value of paper money in circulation. Trade carried on more largely for cash than ever was the case previous to 1861, and there is a much greater demand for money than there would be if sales were made, as heretofore, for credit. So far as individual indebtedness is regarded, it may be remarked that the people of the United States are much less in debt than in previous years.

In the same report he says :

The expansion has now reached a point to be absolutely oppressive and becoming subversive of good morals. There is no fact more manifest than that the plethora of money is undermining the morals of the people by encouraging waste and extravagance.

It appears therefore that the Secretary of the Treasury, at a time when money was confessedly in great demand and

unexampled prosperity prevailed over the land, in the goodness of his heart and for the purpose of subserving the cause of good morals, concluded to put an end to a condition of prosperity that was *absolutely oppressive* and discipline the people by a severe and protracted application of the rod of adversity. For this beneficent purpose a system of contraction was inaugurated which has continued with more or less severity to the present day and which in the first ten years, as previously stated, contracted the currency seventy per cent, caused nearly fifty thousand bankruptcies, a loss to creditors of nearly fifteen hundred millions and a tenfold greater loss to the public by the shrinkage of values, with a vast increase in pauperism, crime, and anarchy. The experiment of improving the morals of the people by cutting off the supply of money does not appear to have been successful, but if the object had been to make money scarce, to increase its purchasing power, to depress prices, to pauperize labor, to inflict upon the nation a greater evil than war, pestilence, and famine all combined, no scheme that human ingenuity could have devised would have succeeded better. On his retirement from office, Secretary McCullough became a member of a London banking firm, with headquarters in London, where his earthly career was closed amongst those whose interest he had so long labored to subserve.

The fourth act by which the government and the people were sacrificed was the credit-strengthening act, by which the 5-20 bonds were made payable in coin. This act, approved March 18, 1869, added to the burdens of the people more than \$600,000,000. The bonds were at first made legal tender; and this law was passed for no other reason than that of doubling the wealth of the bondholders. The act was procured through strategy and was preparatory to the act to demonetize silver and thus make the bonds payable in gold.

August Belmont was chairman of the Democratic National Committee. He was also agent for the Rothschilds, who were in possession of several hundred millions of the 5-20 bonds. The Democratic party had adopted a platform in opposition to coin payment of currency obligations. As early as March 13, 1868, Baron James Rothschild instructed August Belmont that unless the Democratic party went in for the payment of the 5-20 bonds in gold it must be defeated, and, with the aid of the *New York World*, defeat was accomplished.

During the previous session of Congress Oliver P. Morton made a speech, in which he said :

We would do foul injustice to the government and to the people of the United States, after we have sold them bonds on an average of not more than sixty cents on the dollar, now to propose to make a new contract for the benefit of the bondholder.

Hon. Thaddeus Stevens said in speaking of the insatiate demands of the money bond interest :

We were foolish enough to grant them gold interest, and now they unblushingly demand further advantages; the truth is we can never satisfy their appetite for more.

Ben Wade of Ohio said :

We never agreed to pay the five-twenties in gold. I will never consent to have one payment for the bondholders and another for the people.

John Sherman in a speech delivered Feb. 27, 1867, said :

I say that equity and justice are amply satisfied if we redeem these bonds at the end of five years, in the same kind of money, of the same intrinsic value it bore at the time they were issued. Senators are sometimes in the habit, in order to defeat the argument of an antagonist, of saying that this is repudiation. Why, sirs, every citizen of the United States has conformed his business to the legal-tender clause! He has collected and paid his debts accordingly. Your idea that we propose to violate or repudiate a promise when we offer to redeem the principle in legal tender is erroneous. I think the bondholder violates his promise when he refuses to take the same kind of money he paid for the bonds. He is a repudiator and extortioner to demand money more valuable than he gave.

John Sherman at this time was poor. Five years after he took the leading part in the demonetization of silver and, as Senator Stewart said, was the chairman of the committee, and the only senator who admitted that he was aware of the fact that the bill demonetized silver. He soon after became wealthy and is now rated as a millionaire. In 1879 this same John Sherman in a speech at Toledo said, "To refuse to pay the bonds in gold would be repudiation and extortion." When the bill passed legalizing this robbery there were one hundred and eighty-nine bankers and many bondholders in the two Houses, with an army of lobbyists, agents and attorneys working for the passage of this atrocious bill, while honest industry was powerless in self-defence. From the commencement of the war to the present time the financial laws of the United States have been dictated and their passage secured by the money power for their own aggrandizement and to the serious detriment of the people.

The fifth step in the scheme was in refunding the national debt, designed to prevent the payment of the principle and

keep the people for a long term of years under the yoke of bondage, no matter how much money might be in the treasury or loaned without interest to the favored national banks to speculate upon. The action has placed the burden of debt beyond the control of the generation that created it, and although we have already paid interest money enough to have more than paid the debt, and although the principle has been reduced more than two-thirds, the remainder of the debt, in consequence of the contraction in currency and gold monometallism, is a greater burden upon the people now than the whole debt was at the close of the war. It requires more wheat, cotton, corn and other products of labor to pay the balance that remains than would, at the time the debt was contracted, have been required to pay the whole.

The sixth scheme was the demonetization of silver, to which reference has already been made in this article. It might have been supposed that, having refunded and made payable in coin the bonds that had not cost the holders more than sixty cents on the dollar, the bankers would have been satisfied; but no, the heaviest blow was in preparation, and one the far-reaching influence of which was destined to affect the prosperity of the country for many decades. It has been confidently asserted that an English agent was sent to this country in 1873 with half a million dollars, and authority, if necessary, to draw for half a million more, to secure the passage of an act to demonetize silver, which was accomplished after the bill left the committee, and was doctored as Senator Allison asserted. Only a few senators who were in the secret knew that this object was accomplished, not by direct action but by omissions, by striking out the provision for the coinage of the silver dollar. This has been denied, and it has been stated that Ernest Seyd, the agent referred to, was not in the country at the time of the passage of the act, but there was conclusive evidence from statements of members that he was here before its passage, and Judge Kelly saw the original draft of the bill, which was in the handwriting of Ernest Seyd. England failed to subjugate us by the bullet, but she has accomplished it by her gold and compelled American industry to pay her tribute.

By this act gold appreciated to double its former purchasing power and billions were added to the wealth of millionnaires at the expense of the pauperization of the labor that produced the wealth.

It is entirely unimportant whether the story of bribery on the part of Ernest Seyd is true or not. The fact remains, and is conceded even by Francis A. Walker, that a majority of both Houses and the President did not intend that silver should be demonetized. We have recent confirmation of this statement in a communication from Col. George C. Gorman, who was secretary of the United States Senate from 1868 to 1879. He says :

Mr. Hooper had misled the House by *omissions, evasions, and indirectations*. Mr. Sherman deceived the Senate by *direct misrepresentations*. This was the crime of 1873.

It is often asked, Why was not the Act of 1873 repealed when the fraud was discovered? The answer is that Congress, and especially the Senate, has been under the direction and control of the money power since 1861, and that power has dictated all the financial legislature. The remonetization of silver would reduce the purchasing power of gold at least one-half by appreciating the prices of the products of labor, and would increase the difficulty of cornering currency and creating panics. From that day, murder, insanity, suicides, divorces, drunkenness and all other forms of immorality and crime have increased, and as gold, from the very limited amount in circulation, can readily be cornered, while silver could not be, the means of creating a panic at any time by contraction was placed in the hands of the Shylocks who are ever ready to cause financial wrecks and profit by the wreckage.

That contraction invariably produces these results is so universally conceded that it is unnecessary to cite authorities.

Abraham Lincoln said ¹:

We may all congratulate ourselves that this cruel war is nearing its close. It has cost a vast amount of treasure and blood. The best blood of the flower of American youth has been freely offered upon our country's altar that the nation might live. It has been indeed a trying hour for the Republic; but I see in the near future a crisis approaching that unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country.

As a result of the war, corporations have been enthroned, and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign, by working upon the prejudices of the people until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands and the Republic is destroyed. I feel at this moment more anxiety for the safety of my country than ever before, even in the midst of the war. God grant that my suspicions may prove groundless!

¹ This was in a private letter, and is not found in the state papers.

What a wonderful prophecy, and how terribly it is being fulfilled !

THE RESUMPTION ACT.

This act was passed Jan. 24, 1875. The people generally supposed it to be a wise and good move, but it destroyed a non-interest-bearing currency and substituted an interest-bearing bond to purchase bullion to coin silver in order to carry the provision of the law into effect.

John Sherman in 1869 opposed resumption and used strong language in predicting the evils that would flow from it, and said that it would be an act of folly without an example in evil in modern times; but we have seen that John Sherman before and after 1873 maintained and expressed opinions diametrically opposite. Something had wrought a most wonderful change in this talented statesman.

The highest period of prosperity in the United States, as admitted by Secretary McCollough, was immediately after the war, when money was plenty, neither gold nor silver coin in circulation, and contraction had not commenced.

The fear that gold would leave the country if silver should be remonetized is groundless; but, if it did go, let it: no inconvenience would result therefrom, no one wants it, notes are far preferable if made legal tender. Gold does not circulate, it is hoarded.

DECEPTIVE STATEMENTS.

The press of the country is largely owned by the money power, and the aim seems to be to manufacture a public sentiment that will allay the natural feeling of irritation and resentment which a knowledge of wrong and injustice would excite, and maintain existing conditions by constant misrepresentations. When the masses become conscious of the robberies that have been perpetrated and the oppressions to which they have been subjected by legislation in the interest of the lenders of money and against that of the debtor and producing classes, they will rise in their might and send honest men to Congress who will represent the masses and not exclusively the classes.

Even intelligent readers are induced by newspaper misstatements to believe that money is abundant, and, notwithstanding the demonetization of silver and the contraction of the currency, the *per capita* in proportion to the population is greater in the United States than in any other country with

only one or two exceptions. With the observation that the amount of money required is influenced far more by the intelligence and business activity of the population than by the numbers, the following extract from a statement before the writer will be given :

According to treasury reports, there is, all told, in the United States \$1,394,781,000 cash. On January, 1876, Treasurer Jordan reported in the United States treasury \$601,102,318 (page 45). Since that date the hoard has increased at least \$100,000,000. He also reports in banks \$369,475,385. Total locked up \$1,070,577,703, leaving among the people in circulation \$324,103,197. This divided among sixty million people gives as the *per capita* of each \$5.40. At the close of the war we had in circulation about \$2,000,000,000 which entered into the circulating medium and a population of about forty million, giving a *per capita* of \$50, nearly ten times as much *per capita* as we have at present. With such figures before us who can doubt the real cause of business stagnation and the rapid increase of pauperism and crime?

With gold as the only legal tender for the payment of debts, the amount of gold in circulation available for that purpose would probably not pay one dollar in forty.

THE WARNING OF MEXICO.

The example of Mexico is held up by the advocates of gold monometallism as a warning of the baneful effects of a silver currency, and on one of the newspaper offices of Chicago is a large placard with the words "Report of a commission sent to Mexico by the press to investigate the condition of the country: Beware of free silver." Such a commission, if sent at all, could only have been sent to misrepresent facts. Mexico is conspicuously prosperous. Her advance in recent years has been phenomenal, though Mexico is no criterion for the United States, as the value of her imports formerly exceeded the value of her exports about \$20,000,000 annually, and silver was sent as a commodity to pay it, while with the United States the exports of wheat, cotton, and other products largely exceed the imports, and gold must be returned to settle balances. (The condition in Mexico has since been changed.)

Thomas T. Crittenden is consul general of the United States to Mexico, and as a Cleveland appointee cannot be charged with a bias in favor of free silver, but he is in a position to know the facts, and is honest enough to state them. His report is found in the *New York Journal* of Sept. 17, 1896, in which he says:

Viewed from any standpoint, the country has made marvellous strides in the last ten years. It has risen to a point where its exports are in the neighborhood of three times its imports. The balance of trade was last year nearly \$60,000,000 gold in favor of Mexico. Old industries have improved and new ones been established, public schools have been established and education made compulsory, banditti have wholly disappeared. One may travel from the Rio Grande to the Southern border without an escort, without a weapon, and without danger to life or property. My inquiries show that there has been no increase in the prices of provisions, clothing or agricultural produce by means of the fall in the price of silver; the only increase has been in the cost of imported merchandise. Wages are higher, caused by improved industrial conditions.

The depreciation in silver values and the increase in price of foreign articles have had the effect of reducing importations and greatly stimulating and strengthening domestic manufactures. Wages paid to laborers and artisans are largely improved. The labor is as well paid as in the United States in proportion to the amount and kind of work, and the cost of living is much less.

There has been a great increase in the number of woollen and cotton mills and in factories of all kinds. There are three thousand factories for the manufacture of sugar; other industrial concerns — paper mills, tobacco factories, smelters, etc. — will reach four thousand. There is a great demand for skilled labor, now supplied by foreigners, but the coming generation will show a marked improvement. There is no lack of work; on the contrary, on the windows and doors of more than fifty establishments in the city of Mexico is posted the notice, "Help wanted." Thousands of acres have been reclaimed, and a great development has been made in fruits, coffee and other products.

Does this look like poverty? Compare Mexico with the United States under free trade and gold monometallism. The statements of the press would be incredible had not practice for years developed proficiency in mendacity.

THE DUMPING OF SILVER UPON OUR SHORES.

Where is it to come from? Europe has no silver but has silver money, which is from 3 to 7 cents on the dollar higher than ours, and could not be exported without loss. Asia is a sink for the precious metals and none are now exported. There is not any silver to be dumped.

We are threatened with the sudden retirement of \$600,000,000 of gold with the accompanying panic, causing con-

tractions and commercial distress unparalleled. The answer is that the total stock of gold other than about ten or fifteen millions is already in retirement. All our gold is held in the treasury or by banks, — it does not circulate. The gold in the treasury will remain there if the Secretary avails himself of his option to redeem United States notes in silver. The gold in the banks constitutes the undisturbed portion of their resources against liabilities, and will continue to do duty as such after free coinage for silver. A premium on gold, if it existed, would not contract the currency, but it would tend to increase our exports by causing a higher rate of foreign exchange, and would diminish our imports by increasing cost. This will stimulate manufactures, increase wages and promote prosperity.

The tendency of increasing our exports and decreasing our imports will be to establish a credit balance in favor of the United States, which must be paid in gold, as European silver is overvalued by from three to seven cents on the dollar. With the instant that European trade settlements with the United States are made in gold, parity for our gold and silver money is established in the markets of the world. (Hon. W. P. St. John.)

INTERNATIONAL BIMETALLISM A PRETEXT.

The money power does not desire bimetallism, international or otherwise. To wait for England means indefinite postponement. Bimetallism would instantly reduce the purchasing power of English gold in labor and its products to one-half, and render corners, contractions and stock manipulations difficult.

THE 50-CENT DOLLAR.

If the connection of silver and gold by a fixed ratio maintained the parity of the two metals from the establishment of the mint until the demonetizing of silver in 1873, why should the repeal of such fraudulent legislation now produce disaster? Remonetization of silver by the United States would be promptly followed by remonetization in France and Germany; consequently, the public sentiment of Great Britain would soon force its adoption. Labor in all gold-standard countries is reduced to a condition of pauperism. A powerful bimetallic league has been formed in England, with which hundreds of the most prominent citizens, members of Parliament and bankers are connected. The only opposition apparently comes from bondholders and

money lenders, whose interests are promoted by the inflation of gold and contraction of currency. There would be no 50-cent dollar if silver was remonetized.

HOW BIMETALLISM IS REGARDED IN ENGLAND.

The *Financial News*, of London, of March 10 contained most extraordinary and unexpected admissions. It said:

The condition of affairs in the United States Congress demands the immediate attention of British financiers and statesmen. The trade of the world is now in our own hands, but it will not long remain there if the United States goes to a bimetallic basis with free and unlimited coinage of silver.

The success of free coinage will bring down the rate of interest on money, and cause an immediate rise in the price of all commodities. When silver becomes primary money the American mines will pour their products into the mints, and a new era similar to that produced by the issue of greenbacks during the Civil War will begin. Gold will leave the banks and enter into competition with silver in the avenues of trade, and the manufactories of the United States which have been shut down or crippled since 1892 will again resume that fight for the English market.

Why are not American citizens intelligent enough to perceive that which is so obvious to Englishmen, that bimetalism will bring great prosperity, and continued monometallism a still lower depth of ruin?

The silver dollar is the honest dollar; the gold dollar has been artificially inflated to double its normal and proper purchasing power by unjust legislation.

IS NOT THE PRODUCTION OF SILVER GREATLY IN EXCESS OF THAT OF GOLD?

The Treasury Circular of July 1, 1896, answers the question:

Gold produced in the world since 1873.....	\$2,729,834,800
Silver at the ratio of 16 to 1	2,980,454,900

LABOR AND CAPITAL.

It is claimed that the silver agitation is intensifying the antagonism between labor and capital. This is a great mistake. The capitalist, even if he is a millionaire, who uses his capital to employ labor, pays fair wages, and seeks to promote the comfort, well-being and improvement of his employees is a benefactor to his race and to the country. Between such a millionaire, who is the user, and Shylock, who is the lender of money, there is a distinction as wide as the antipodes. The operations of the one are beneficent, of

the other destructive. The one produces and increases wealth, the other appropriates it by means which, if not made criminal by laws that he has helped to frame, are nevertheless gigantic robberies and crimes against humanity. For every million that Shylock gains by corners and contractions, his victims lose tens of millions, and the general public still more, by shrinkage of values and impaired confidence. Although three-fourths of the war debt has been paid in gold, the effect of gold monometallism and contraction has been such that it requires more wheat, cotton and other products of labor to pay the balance than it did originally to pay the whole!

Such are, in brief, some of the evils of monometallism from which we are now suffering. It is a "condition, and not a theory, that confronts us."

There are men who are credited with at least an average amount of intelligence, who, like Secretary McCullough, are afraid of too much prosperity as leading to speculation and extravagance. They probably think that those who labor should not be permitted to indulge in luxuries, and that generous diet, ownership of homes, pictures, books and music should be reserved for the fortunate possessors of fixed salaries or incomes. They say keep to hard-pan, honest gold, and avoid inflation.

As to speculation, if speculators borrow and lose money and become bankrupt, somebody else generally profits by the investments, and the damage to society is infinitely less than the bankruptcies, pauperism and crime caused by contraction and deficient circulation.

STARTLING FACTS.

As a fitting close to this article some startling facts will be presented. Similar statements have been published elsewhere, but their importance will justify repetition.

On the first day of May, 1867, the total national debt was \$2,827,838,959.

By the close of the year 1895, we had paid upon it in interest alone, in gold or its equivalent, in commodities at gold prices, \$2,635,000,000, or a sum very nearly equal to the total original principal of the national debt.

But by contraction of the currency during thirty years and gold monometallism, the value of gold, measured by its purchasing power, has doubled, hence the interest paid has been

nearly equivalent to double the original debt at the time when it was contracted.

The bonds, on account of which the debt was chiefly incurred, were not purchased for gold, but with national non-interest-bearing currency, which, owing to unwise legislation forced upon the government by the banks, had been depreciated to such an extent that the bonds cost the purchaser only from forty to sixty-five cents on the dollar.

If it be assumed, approximately, that the bonds cost fifty cents on the dollar, then we have paid, for interest alone, four times as much as the bonds cost the banks who purchased them.

In addition to these immense sums paid on account of interest, \$1,700,000 has been paid on account of the principal, making an aggregate cash payment at the nominal value of gold of \$4,400,000,000, which is now increased by the inflation of the gold dollar to double its purchasing power. That is, it would require \$8,800,000,000 of cotton, wheat or other commodities at the prices of 1865 to pay at the present time the \$4,400,000,000, if no part had been previously paid.

Consequently we have paid more than three-fifths of the entire principal of the debt, besides the fabulous sum in interest, and yet the less than two-fifths of the debt remaining is worth more to the holder of it than the entire debt was at the time when it was contracted!

The history of the successive acts of legislation, in the interest of the bondholders but ruinous to the prosperity of the nation, has been given. Acts were passed to depreciate the market value of the non-interest-bearing greenbacks and permit them to be received at their face value for interest-bearing bonds, which acted injuriously in two ways, by contracting the currency, and creating an interest-bearing debt. Next, the interest was made payable in gold; then the principal, which was originally, when the bonds were purchased, payable in lawful money of the country, was made payable in coin, either gold or silver; next, silver was demonetized in order to make the bonds payable in gold only.

It is usually claimed by writers that in striking down silver one-half of the basic money of the world was destroyed. This is an error: it was much more than half. It is true that the quantities of gold and silver in the world are practically equal, but the amount of gold in the war chests of Europe and otherwise hoarded is so enormous that there cannot be one-

fourth of the world's supply available for money to meet the demands of commerce, consequently the demonetization of silver has cancelled not one-half merely, but four-fifths of the basic money of the world. The amount of gold available as currency in the United States has been estimated at \$150,000,000 and the debt at fifty-five billions, consequently there would be one dollar of gold to pay \$300 of debt. However excessive this estimate may be considered, it is manifestly absurd to suppose that contracts to pay mortgages on farms and other property in gold can ever be fulfilled; there could not be commanded gold enough to pay ten per cent of such gold mortgages or other time contracts, and if an attempt should be made gold would command a fabulous premium.

The loss to the nation as a consequence of yielding to the demands of the money power is as nothing in comparison to the loss to debtors. A conservative estimate of the debts of the nation is thirty billions, and if this debt should be increased even twenty-five per cent by the inflation of the standard dollar which measures the payment required the increase would be over seven billions.

Have we reached the end of the evils inflicted by demonetization and contraction? By no means,—the worst is to come. In consequence of the large foreign debt incurred by selling bonds in England, wheat, cotton and other products must be expected to pay interest. In London they come in competition with the cheap labor of the East. The London prices fix the prices in the United States; hence it follows that not only are debtors rendered insolvent, but all others must suffer from depreciated prices, all producers of wealth, all manufacturers, and especially all agriculturalists, whether in debt or not, must suffer from low prices, which cripple industry, retard production and prevent new investments and development. To estimate the losses in crops and industries is next to impossible and will not here be attempted.

Are we now at the end of this dark category of woes? Not yet. We have not considered the enormous losses from shrinkage of values of real estate, of farms, live stock, manufacturing investments, etc. It is not unreasonable to assume that, great as the profits of the bondholders may have been, every dollar of such gain may have been purchased by a loss to others in the aggregate more than twenty times as much.

Gold monometallism benefits bondholders, money lenders and non-producers generally, who enjoy fixed salaries or

incomes from investments. It injures all producers of wealth, all manufacturers, miners and tradesmen, cripples industries and pauperizes labor, but is especially ruinous to the agricultural interests.

In conclusion let us quote the words of John G. Carlisle, the Secretary of the Treasury, the present advocate of the single gold standard, and of the payment of bonds, principal and interest in gold, notwithstanding the laws and the contract permit them to be paid in silver.

In 1878, Feb. 21, John G. Carlisle used this language:

According to my view of the subject, the conspiracy which seems to have been formed here and in Europe to destroy, by legislation and otherwise, from three-sevenths to one-half of the metallic money of the world, is the most gigantic crime of this or of any other age.

The consummation of such a scheme would ultimately entail more misery upon the human race than all the wars, pestilence and famine that ever occurred in the history of the world. The absolute and instantaneous destruction of half the property of the world, including horses, ships, railroads, and all other appliances for carrying on commerce, while it would be felt more sensibly at the moment, would not produce anything like the prolonged distress and disorganization of society that must inevitably result from the permanent annihilation of one-half of the metallic money of the world.

NINETY-THREE.¹

BY SUSAN BUELL HALE.

What shape art thou, that through the abyss of Time,
Fleeing, yet ever backward turn'st thy head,
As gazing on some vision dark of crime,
Wrought by thine hand, form beautiful but dread?
The star upon thy brow yet sends its light
Down through the ages, and thy sword's swift gleam,
Like Truth's resistless flash, divides the night,
But stained and darkened all thy white robes seem
With dust of years and carnage of the field.
Blinded our eyes, nor know we if to greet
An angel who the avenging sword may wield,
Or wandering Cain, the slayer, for thy feet
Through streams of blood have waded, as they trod
The bitter wine press of the wrath of God.

"Yea, both," the flying shadow answered me,
Turning a fair, marred face, where speechless woe
Strove with a joy as fierce. "Still mayst thou see
Mine were the keys of Life and Death below,
And to my chariot were the twin steeds lashed,
Freedom and Anarchy, in whose mad flight,
O murdered king and tortured queen, were dashed,
Not yours alone, but thousands' life and light!
Yet when, at the last day, I yield account
For these my dead, remember well what she,
Whose white hand drove the sharp knife home, hath said:
'To save I slay; from Death springs Liberty!'
Dark Years long past, my sword your chains hath riven,
And Years to come, your light from mine is given!"

Suggested by Victor Hugo's "*Quatre-vingt Treize*."

DANIEL WEBSTER'S SCHOOL DAYS.

BY FORREST PRESCOTT HULL.

It is doubtful if, among that group of intellectual prodigies whose efforts in the courts of justice and in the national halls of legislation have been materially felt during our career as a nation, there can be found one whose early school days were associated with such humiliating and unfavorable circumstances as were those of Daniel Webster, the foster father of our American nationality. Nor is it easy to believe that the rustic, homely youth who struggled so hard against pecuniary as well as natural disadvantages for a higher education developed into the skilful jurist, the revered senator, the judicious cabinet officer, the brilliant statesman who left his name "like a wild flower all over his dear country."

Born of humble parents in an isolated district among New Hampshire hills, in what is now Salisbury Centre, Webster passed his early days, "those halcyon days of youth," which he often referred to in later life. His companions, rude, coarse country boys, inured to the hardships of a life in the wilderness, cared nothing for intellectual improvement and were continually making derisive attacks on Webster for his knowledge of the Bible and Shakespeare. But the youth withstood it all with a calmness that was agonizing to his companions, and in a short time those poignant parries were no longer forthcoming and he lived in peace.

The district-school privileges in those days were decidedly meagre, the nearest schoolhouse being nearly two miles from Webster's home, and that being open only a few weeks during the year. We learn that the frail country youth was unable to attend school with the regularity of the other town boys, and was thus thrown on the intellectual strength of his mother for the greater part of his boyhood training.

Young Webster was continually thirsting for knowledge, and it was by a steady application to the books which comprised the family library that he found himself at the age of twelve years possessed of broader mental resources than the other boys in the village. He had no desire to assist his

father and his brother on the farm, but enjoyed hunting and fishing as most boys do. Wherever he was he improved his idle moments in thinking and studying. So anxious was he to enter college that it was for a long time a perplexing problem for his parents, as they were of scanty means and needed Daniel's help on the farm. But after months of planning and deliberation it was decided that he should be sent away to school in order to "develop what was in him," in the words of the kind-hearted sire.

Bright and early on the morning of May 25, 1796, Daniel and his father set out for Exeter. They were obliged to pick their way through the forest, and it was a long and tiresome journey. Young Webster was placed in charge of a Mr. Clifford, who kept a house for the accommodation of a large number of boys.

This house is still standing at the corner of Water and Clifford Streets, and is the pride of the town. The external appearance of the building has been changed; the protruding logs in the rear were covered with planed boards, and the large old-fashioned chimney removed some years ago, but the interior remains in about the same condition as it was one hundred and fifty years ago. If the visitor ascends the narrow stairway to the second floor, and turns to the right, he will see the little room that, one hundred years ago, was occupied by the greatest orator that America has ever produced.

The room is in its pristine condition. The windows have been removed only when necessity required it, and at the present time there are several lights through which Webster looked during many nostalgic periods. The long narrow table which he used is still kept in the room. It is a valuable relic of the past, and the owner would not part with it for any price.

When Daniel was given in charge of the worthy Mr. Clifford it was the first time that he had ever been away from home, and his feelings cannot be better described than by himself:

The change overpowered me. I hardly remained master of my own senses among ninety boys who had seen so much more and appeared to know so much more than I did.

It is not to be wondered that the change overpowered him, a rough, untrained country boy, at fourteen years of age.

It is said that Webster, upon leaving his son at Mr. Clif-

ford's house, remarked to this gentleman that "he must teach Daniel to hold his knife and fork, for he knows no more about it than a cow about holding a spade." It seems that the comparison was a good one, for his manners at the table were so rude that the other students requested the landlord to send him away. But the kind-hearted man would not consent to this and refused even to remonstrate with Daniel, for he knew that the boy was sensitive and knew no better.

He hit upon a plan, so the story goes, which resulted in teaching the boy how to use his knife and fork. Webster was accustomed to hold them in his fists. Mr. Clifford one day held his in the same way, and continued to do so until Webster saw how ungraceful it was and corrected himself. The knife-and-fork episode is not much in itself, but it shows how ignorant Webster was when he came to Exeter, and under what adverse conditions was his struggle for an education.

As to his studies his success at Exeter was not great. He himself says so. He seemed unable to recite in a room filled with boys, and though he studied hard, and was far from stupid, he could never make a good recitation. But what is to be wondered at most of all is that he could not be induced to speak in public. When the day came on which the class was to declaim, although he had learned his piece, he was utterly incapable of rising from his seat when his name was called. "The kind and excellent Buckminster," says Daniel in his autobiography, "sought especially to persuade me to perform the exercise of declamation, like other boys, but I could not do it. Many a time did I commit the pieces to memory in my room, yet when the time came when the school collected to hear declamations, when my name was called, and I saw all eyes turned to my seat, I could not raise myself from it. Sometimes the instructors frowned, sometimes they smiled. Mr. Buckminster always pressed and entreated most winningly that I would venture, but I could never command sufficient resolution. When the occasion was over I went home and wept bitter tears of mortification."

And now, when we think of Daniel Webster, the orator whose speeches have become classic and who towered above his fellows like the peak of Teneriffe, we cannot help smiling at the picture of Daniel Webster the boy blushing and stammering before his schoolmates, and unable to pronounce

a word of the speech which he had learned and studied for the occasion.

It is said that Daniel was so much discouraged by his inability to declaim in public and by his treatment at the hands of his fellow students, that at the end of the first term when Dr. Abbot called him up and asked him if he intended to return after Christmas, his answer indicated something like reluctance. The principal well knew that Webster's rustic manners and coarse clothing had drawn upon him the ridicule of the boys, who, says Mr. McGaw, "in every respect except habiliments and external accomplishments were greatly his inferiors."

It must be admitted that Webster was slovenly and untidy in his appearance. It is said that he rarely washed his face and hands. Many stories are told concerning this noticeable habit of youth, and the following instance illustrates very clearly Webster's unkempt appearance and also a sally of wit:

Day after day Daniel appeared in class with his hands besmeared with dirt, paying no attention whatever to the urgent appeals of the teachers to keep them clean. Finally the climax was capped. One day Webster presented himself in the classroom with his usual unclean appearance. The teacher could stand it no longer, and quickly calling the boy to the desk, took up his dirty hand and exclaimed in an enraged tone, "Webster, if you can show me another hand in this room as dirty as this one I will not punish you."

Webster quickly drew up his other hand and said, "Here's one, professor."

The teacher was wholly taken aback by the brightness of his young pupil and admitted that he was beaten. Webster took his seat without the thrashing.

Webster was assured by the kind principal that he was a better scholar than most of the boys, and that his constant application to his books coupled with a prodigious faculty for labor was surprising. He also told him that he should be placed in a higher class where he would no longer be hindered by the boys who cared more for play and dress than for solid improvement.

"These were the first encouraging words," says Webster, "that I ever received with regard to my studies. I then resolved to return and pursue them with diligence and with so much ability as I possessed."

And he did. He came back after the vacation and studied, if possible, harder than he had done before, but he always labored under the disadvantage of being unable to make a good recitation.

Daniel Webster remained in Exeter only nine months. In February, 1797, his father took him away, and placed him under the Rev. Samuel Wood at Boscawen, N. H., who prepared him for college. Here Webster's success cannot have been very great, for the reverend gentleman, after having taught Webster for a year, said to him, "I expected to keep you till next year, but I am tired with you and shall put you in college next month."

What can have hindered Daniel under Rev. Mr. Wood's instruction is not known, but it is thought that he lacked the faculty of classifying his knowledge. He is known to have labored hard, but that keenness of perception and rare insight which characterized the maturer days of his life were not in evidence.

After Daniel got finally settled at Dartmouth his work was much better and he managed to speak in public. By degrees his later intuition was developed, and at the end of his freshman year he was a power in the college, and throughout his four years' course he was esteemed by all who knew him.

Everybody knows the later career of the rustic youth whose progress at Phillips, Exeter, was so slow.

OUR OWN SHIPS FOR OUR FOREIGN TRADE ESSENTIAL TO PROSPERITY.

BY CAPT. WILLIAM W. BATES, EX-UNITED STATES COM-
MISSIONER OF NAVIGATION.

For peculiar reasons, maritime nations have ever regarded the foreign carrying-trade with much concern. History affords interesting examples of the rise and fall of states conditioned upon the use of shipping. When the Norsemen of Europe had developed their naval skill, they became undisputed masters of the sea for trade or warfare, and for centuries afterward prospered in commerce or preyed upon the countries that built no ships and had no seamen, as fancy prompted. They ceased to carry and to conquer when other nations built shipping and took the sea in competition and defence. Since then the rank of maritime powers has depended greatly on keeping the sea in the carrying-trade — the starting point in naval ascendancy. Armed fleets have been built and desolating wars waged to hold or gain this point. At the present day, the secrets of science have been applied, and money by the millions expended, that one nation may excel another in navigation. What is the explanation of this conduct? Surely it is not alone ambition. It looks like the love of acquisition.

The famous Sir Walter Raleigh laid down this maxim: "Whosoever commands the sea commands the trade; whosoever commands the trade of the world commands the riches of the world, and consequently the world itself."

The acuteness of the commercial instinct was harshly expressed by Admiral Monk in 1665. Asked for the cause of the war then raging against the Dutch, he replied: "What matters this or that reason? What *we* want is more of the trade which the Dutch now have." The Dutch, then the chief carriers and merchants of Europe, had ultimately to give up to the English their command of commerce.

Since the time of Cromwell the British have been convinced of the advantage of ship-owning. In 1651, Parliament passed an act that no goods should be imported into England,

or exported abroad, except in vessels belonging to British owners, built by British builders. An English historian has made this record :

The result of that act far transcended the wildest dream of Lombard and Venetian avarice, or the grandest schemes of Spanish and Portuguese conquest. It not only secured to the people who enacted it the greatest share of the world's carrying-trade, but the trade also knew its master, and followed with becoming servility.

Thanks to their government, of the world's commerce the British carriage and control is about 65 per cent. Supremacy was attained more than two centuries ago. For the command of the sea, and of trade, and of the richness of the world, Great Britain has fought bloody wars, overcome inferior powers, trapped rivals into treaties, spent millions of treasure in supporting steam lines, and scores of millions more for an unequalled navy for general intimidation. Vast sea power, immense wealth, and prevailing prosperity have been the reward. All these with other advantages have been gained by the use of shipping, and without this agency could nothing have been secured.

But we are not confined in illustration to the history of a single nation. France and other powers of Europe soon followed England in advancing the shipping interest. They were obliged to do so for economic, if for no other reasons. The latest organized power—the German Empire—took immediate steps to create a merchant marine. Great subsidized corporations have been intrusted with the work, and it is succeeding in every line of trade. Turning to our own country, we have an experience that ripened more than a century ago; in fact it taught the founders of our Republic what their descendants seem to have forgotten, to wit: that shipping of our own in our foreign commerce is essential to national prosperity. In the judgment of the fathers, shipping of our own held equal importance with the Union itself. On this point there was no disagreement. A statesman of South Carolina expressed the general view in these words:

A great part of the riches gained and revenue raised by England through the monopoly of our trade may be saved to these states by our becoming our own merchants and carriers.

While much was said of "regulating trade" to encourage manufactures, it was kept in mind that our commerce must be Americanized, by ceasing to employ British navigation, or one day these rebel states, overwhelmed by commercial debt abroad, would one by one return to their allegiance and

former dependence. The prospect of establishing independence through the medium of an American marine went far toward reconciling the people to a closer union and a national government. In the first Congress, Fisher Ames declared that the Constitution was dictated by commercial necessity more than by any other cause. When its adoption was before the country, an orator of Pennsylvania argued thus:

The people of Pennsylvania in general are composed of men of three occupations, — the farmer, the merchant, the mechanic. The interests of these three are intimately blended together. A government, then, which will be conducive to their happiness and best promote their interest, is the government which these people should adopt. The Constitution now presented to them is such a one. Every person must long since have discovered the necessity of placing the exclusive power of regulating the commerce of America in the same body; without this it is impossible to regulate their trade. The same imposts, duties, and customs must equally prevail over the whole.

Whence comes it that the trade of this state, which abounds with materials for shipbuilding, is carried on in foreign bottoms? Whence comes it that shoes, boots, made-up clothes, hats, nails, sheet iron, hinges, and all other utensils of iron are of British manufacture? Whence comes it that Spain can regulate our flour market? These evils proceed from a want of one supreme controlling power in these states. They will all be done away with by adopting the present form of government. It will have energy and power to regulate your trade and commerce [transportation], to enforce the execution of your imposts, duties, and customs. Instead of the trade of this country being carried on in foreign bottoms, our ports will be crowded with our own ships, and we shall become the carriers of Europe.

If we inquire whence it came that the use of foreign shipping deserved so much deprecation, and a marine of our own had a general request, we must point to a ruinous experience still endured. After the War of the Revolution the British soon engrossed our richest commerce, both in transportation and in trade. In a few years we were deeply in debt abroad. The adverse balance of commerce, caused mainly by the preponderance of British carriage, began to crush the country in all its parts. The imports in 1784 and 1785 amounted to \$30,000,000, carried almost wholly by British shipping. Thus it resulted that the monthly London packets carried off our specie, a quarter of a million at a time, until no more could be collected or paid, and ruin ruled on every hand, and debts made beggars of the best in the land. For six hard years free trade and foreign transportation had full control. It was realized then, as it should be now, that our adverse balance of commerce, whether for goods or for freights, is equally distress-

ing. The difference between the use of a foreign and a home marine was well exemplified in this ante-union commerce. With British transportation the account stood as follows:

Dr.	BRITISH.		AMERICAN.	Cr.
Merchandise imported,	\$24,000,000		Merchandise exported,	\$9,000,000
Freightage on same,	6,000,000		Adverse balance of commerce,	21,000,000
Total,	\$30,000,000	Total,		\$30,000,000

With American transportation the account would have stood thus:

Dr.	BRITISH.		AMERICAN.	Cr.
Merchandise imported,	\$24,000,000		Freightage on same,	\$6,000,000
			Merchandise exported,	9,000,000
			Freightage on same at 25%,	2,250,000
			Adverse balance of commerce,	6,750,000
		Total,		\$24,000,000

If the transportation had been half and half, the adverse balance would have been \$13,875,000. Is it any wonder that the very first act of Congress contained provisions for creating and maintaining an American marine? It was seen then, as it does not appear to be now, that, *in commerce, a ship serves two purposes*: First, that of transportation for the merchant; second, that of earning and saving for its *nation* a competence of wealth and power. The merchants' use of shipping is beneficial in making employment for labor, but the national service is essential to prosperity and power: first, in balancing foreign commerce; and, second, in creating the means for maintaining independence of foreign nations.

The advantage of using shipping of our own, and the disadvantage and loss of employing foreign, may well be dwelt upon. Suppose there are two cargoes in New York and two other cargoes in Liverpool, each valued at \$100,000. Let the freightage be the same sum both ways. An American ship takes one of the New York cargoes to Liverpool, and returns with one of the Liverpool cargoes to New York; and a British ship takes the remaining Liverpool cargo to New York, and returns with the remaining New York cargo to Liverpool. We build, equip, man, provision, insure, and run our own ship, and the British do likewise by their own ship.

We do the banking, insurance, and commission on our cargoes, and the British do likewise for their cargoes. There is a fair exchange of merchandise and a just reciprocation of services, and the balance of *commerce* is even between the two countries, thus :

EACH COUNTRY'S ACCOUNT.

Two cargoes at \$100,000 each	\$200,000
Freight on one cargo at 12% of value.....	12,000
Freight on one cargo at 8% of value.....	8,000
Insurance, commission, etc., two cargoes, 4%	8,000
Total.....	\$228,000

Now suppose there are two British ships, one at Liverpool and the other at New York ; each carries one of the British and one of the American cargoes. The value, freightage, and charges are the same as above. Then the accounts will stand as follows :

BRITISH ACCOUNT.

Two cargoes at \$100,000 each.....	\$200,000
Freight on two cargoes at 12% of value.....	24,000
Freight on two cargoes at 8% of value.....	16,000
Insurance, commission, etc., four cargoes, 4%.....	16,000
Total.....	\$256,000

AMERICAN ACCOUNT.

Two cargoes at \$100,000 each.....	\$200,000
Adverse balance of commerce.....	56,000
Total.....	\$256,000

Thus it may be seen how foreign shipping makes adverse commerce, and why a shipless nation is always in foreign debt. Its exports and imports may balance, while its commerce, as a whole, is shortcoming, the balance to be paid in precious metals — gold coin, if demanded. The explanation is this : Commerce consists of *transportation as well as trade*. The charge for freight follows the cargo. It is a virtual *export* or *import*, as the case may be. By our own ship abroad, it increases our credit there. By our own vessel home, it saves debt here. Transportation must needs be balanced as well as trade, either by trade itself, by transportation, or by exports or imports of coin or bullion.

Seeing it is the business of shipping to supplement or convert balances of trade, it is a wonder that a principle so plainly underlying all navigation laws has missed the attention and application of our modern statesmen. Had this

principle been kept in the Congressional mind, the present "hard times" had never come. But it is not my purpose here to trace the course of the American ship in history and politics;¹ only to note briefly the statesman's care and the politician's neglect. Before the enactment of the protective laws which built up quickly our early marine, foreign vessels, British mainly, were doing seventy-five per cent or more of our transportation. In six years thereafter, and then for seventeen years following, they did but *ten* per cent of it. Then came the war of 1812, which was purposely provoked with the object of wrecking our navigation. After that outrageous war, however, under our ship-protection system, in five years' time we regained much of our lost business, and until after the stripping of protection (1828) held again an average of *ninety* per cent of carriage in our foreign commerce. Thus, by the action of wise laws, our shipping business was built up a second time. When the third occasion came, however, — after the Civil War, — no protective system existed, and none has been enacted.

In 1789 we had 123,893 tons in foreign traffic, with a proportionate carriage of about 25 per cent of value; in 1790 our carriage had increased to about 40 per cent, and in 1791 to 55 per cent. Having attained to a preponderance of transportation, we held it until 1862. The falling off began in 1827, and by 1861 it had reached 25 per cent. At the same rate of decline, if the Civil War had never come, the loss would have been 50 per cent. It has really been 81 per cent. As we stood in 1865 at 28 per cent, and now touch 12, it may be seen that since the war the decline is barely greater than before it, so there is nothing for party pretension, but very much for general discredit.

The author has recently prepared a statement in tabular form of "Our Experience in Navigation and the Balancing of Foreign Commerce," showing the gain or loss, every year from 1790 to 1896, of using our own shipping, or employing foreign, in commerce abroad. From this it appears that our *commerce* began with adverse balances, the first one favorable occurring in 1793, of sixty-six cents *per capita*, our trade balance being adverse by \$1.18, but transportation favorable by \$1.84. Our first favorable balance of *transportation* occurred in 1791, to the extent of twenty-five cents *per capita*, but

¹ See "American Marine," by the author. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1893.

that year trade had an adverse excess of \$2.51. The case was similar in 1792. The first favorable balance of *trade* did not happen until 1811, induced by decreased trade with England, in view of the pending war. That year commerce showed a favorable balance of \$3.68 *per capita*, equalling \$27,508,000. In 1799 our commerce had the largest favorable balance *per capita* that it ever had, viz.: \$4.80, converted from an adverse excess of trade of eight cents by a favorable balance of transportation of \$4.88. Our greatest excess of transportation *per capita* occurred in 1807, viz.: \$6.90. In that year our exports were \$16.25 *per capita*, and our imports \$20.78, with a commerce balance of \$2.37. For a thirteen-year period preceding, our exports had averaged, *per capita*, \$14.07; our imports, \$16.37; our average adverse excess of trade, \$2.30; our average favorable excess of commerce, \$2.46; thanks to an average excess of transportation of \$5.24. Than during this term our country never had greater prosperity. We could import with impunity, almost. During the seventy-one-year period, while our carriage preponderated, we had only twelve favorable balances of trade, and they were small, averaging but sixty-seven cents *per capita*. As against these there were fifty-nine adverse balances, averaging \$1.99 *per capita*. Without shipping of our own largely preponderating in carriage, this would have been a most disastrous period for our foreign commerce. As it was, forty-seven of the fifty-nine adverse balances of trade were converted into favorable. The average favorable balance or excess of transportation having been \$2.74 *per capita*, there remained, after deducting the adverse trade balance of \$1.99, the average sum of seventy-five cents *per capita* favorable for commerce. In every instance where our shipping failed thus to convert adverse balances of trade into favorable balances of commerce it was owing to a state of war, to tariff changes, or low duties. Where unconverted, adverse balances were minimized. The favorable balances of commerce for the seventy-one-year period sum up to \$807,481,210; and the adverse to \$419,701,656, or as two dollars to one, greatly to our advantage.

Thus was fulfilled the intention of the fathers when they legislated for the creation and profitable participation of the American flag in our foreign commerce. Is it any wonder that the author of our Declaration of Independence took pride in declaring at a later day that "Agriculture, Manu-

factures, Commerce, and Navigation constitute the four pillars of our prosperity"? and not the least bit of shame did he ever manifest that his own hand had aided in formulating the protective system, under which the shipping of the United States ploughed its way through every sea, creating a prestige of skill and power wherever our flag was flown.

Thomas Jefferson's appreciation of navigation endears his memory to every intelligent shipowner, builder, and master. When Secretary of State, in 1791, he made a masterly report on shipping and the fisheries, — interests then under the charge of his office. The following paragraphs may well be quoted here :

The produce of the United States which is carried to foreign markets is extremely bulky. That part of it now in the hands of foreigners, and which we may resume into our own without touching the rights of those nations who have met us in fair arrangements by treaty, or the interests of those who by their voluntary regulation have paid so just and liberal a respect to our interests, — the proportion, I say, of our carrying-trade which may be resumed without affecting either of these descriptions of nations will find constant employment for ten thousand seamen, be worth \$2,000,000 annually, will go on augmenting with the population of the United States, secure to us a full indemnification for the seamen we lose, and be taken wholly from those who force us to this act of self-protection in navigation. . . .

If regulations the exact counterpart of those established against us would be ineffectual, from a difference of circumstances, other regulations equivalent can give no ground of complaint to any nation. Admitting their right of keeping their markets to themselves, ours cannot be denied of keeping our carrying-trade to ourselves; and if there be anything unfriendly in this it was in the first example.

The loss of seamen unnoticed would be followed by other losses in a long train. If we have no seamen, our ships will be useless, consequently our ship timber, iron, and hemp; our shipbuilding will be at an end; ship carpenters will go over to other nations; our young men have no call to the sea; our products, carried in foreign bottoms, be saddled with war freight and insurance in time of war, — and the history of the last hundred years shows that the nation which is our carrier¹ has three years of war for every four years of peace.

We lose during the same periods the carriage for belligerent powers, which the neutrality of our flag would render an incalculable source of profit. We lose at this moment the carriage of our own produce to the amount of \$2,000,000, which, in the possible progress of the encroachment, may extend to \$5,000,000 or \$6,000,000, with an increase in the proportion of the increase of our numbers. It is easier as well as better to stop this train at its entrance than when it shall have ruined or banished whole classes of useful and industrious citizens.

In 1792, a few months after this report was considered, Congress passed the navigation law, still extant, which requires a vessel for American registration and privileges to be built in the United States. While this protected shipbuilding, it caused its improvement, and has greatly conduced

¹ Then, as now, the British principally.

to its survival. Without this act American vessels could not have reflected the national characteristics, nor would the native skill have proved its superiority in architecture and seamanship,—the very thing for success.

Mr. Jefferson also favored encouraging the fisheries, and bounties were given for that purpose down to a recent date.

The wisdom and goodness of our early policy for developing the resources of the sea were not exceeded in any other legislation. It was in force intact for twenty-six years, then for thirteen years following exerted a diminishing power, but has in part come down to the present day. It gave to our country the business of shipbuilding; of producing all materials for the same; of building dry docks and repairing vessels; of making spars, blocks, and pumps; of fitting rigging and making sails; of forging anchors and making chains, windlasses, and capstans; of building boats and making oars; of equipping and outfitting vessels; of supplying clothing and provisions for crews, and of many other minor trades. It gave to our country the business of ocean transportation in vessels of our own building and navigation, secured the coasting, lake and river traffic to our own people, induced the early application of propulsion by steam, the erection of engine and boiler shops, and gave impetus to the new trade of marine engineering. It vastly enlarged the field and increased the number of mechanical pursuits, opened new avenues of labor of many kinds on ship and shore, provided fresh opportunities for enterprise and skill, raised the wages of labor and the rewards of industry in every employment and occupation of the people.

A farmer's son could learn the shipwright's trade and become a builder and perhaps an owner; a laborer's son could follow the sea and become a shipmaster and perhaps a merchant. Under this policy the rising generation of town and country found the hard conditions existing in their parents' time greatly modified and improved. Our merchants, shipowners, builders, mariners, underwriters, and all classes of commercial men rose from the ranks of the people. They all served the country with credit. Our merchants are said to have been princes in liberality; our shipowners were never surpassed in enterprise; our architects and builders led the world in naval improvement; our mariners excelled all others in skill and energy; our underwriters were liberal and spirited.

Under our early policy our seaports became cities with docks, wharves, and ferries, warehouses, lighthouses, buoys, pilots, and towboats. Eligible farms became town sites, land everywhere rose in value; even in the distant West the soil appreciated because our ships sailed the sea with benefit to every national interest, thanks to the wisdom of the fathers. They all agreed with Humboldt, that "contact with the ocean has been one of the chief influences in forming the character of nations, as well as adding to their wealth and power."

Let us now examine our recent experience and see how we have wasted our wealth on rivals and enemies. From 1862 to 1896, both years inclusive, is a period of thirty-five years in which the balances of transportation have all been adverse, reversing completely the situation in the seventy-one-year period. We have had twenty favorable balances of trade, but nine of these were converted to adverse, reducing our favorable balances of commerce to eleven, as against twenty-four for foreign benefit, in spite of ample exports and the tariff that has prevailed. Of our favorable balances of trade eighteen occurred beginning with the year 1876. The twenty favorable balances of trade averaged *per capita* \$2.16; the fifteen adverse balances, \$2.02. Upon the trade of the period we had a favorable balance of \$1,203,945,992. This was converted into an adverse balance of commerce of \$1,674,572,921, by the preponderance of foreign adverse transportation, aggregating \$2,878,518,913. The annual adverse balances of transportation were small at first. Beginning at \$4,277,000 in 1862, they enlarged irregularly, as our carriage declined, until in 1892 the maximum sum was reached, \$183,782,430. In that year our vessels carried but 8.11 per cent of exports, and 17.66 per cent of imports. Of the one thousand two hundred and thirty-eight millions of commerce between our country and Europe, foreign carriage was in lavish proportion, 98.75 per cent, while American was pinched to 1.25 per cent, showing that the only commerce in which our transportation amounts to anything is with countries having few, if any, vessels, and where our merchants still control a little trade.

The gradual manner in which foreign shipping has been surpassing ours, and the dangerous extent to which foreign transportation enters our commerce, have never been fully realized by our people. Only two favorable balances of com-

merce have occurred in the last *eleven* years, though in that time we have had eight favorable balances of trade. Dividing this adverse period into five equal parts, and making a few calculations, we have a statement that may enable us to see where we have been drifting, and the reef on which we may be wrecked :

GROWTH AND EXTENT OF ADVERSE TRANSPORTATION.

Periods.	Minimum.	Maximum.	Average.	Sum.
1862-68	\$4,277,000	\$32,670,120	\$18,835,413	\$131,847,890
1869-75	24,163,840	65,016,120	47,598,265	333,185,859
1876-82	50,553,440	138,553,200	89,083,286	623,583,000
1883-89	96,734,880	126,715,480	111,540,737	780,785,080
1890-96	120,079,520	183,782,430	144,150,681	1,009,117,072
1862-96			Total,	\$2,878,518,913

Is it any wonder that our gold goes abroad ? Since 1885, in an eleven-year period, nine adverse balances of commerce in merchandise have aggregated \$835,194,000 ; deducting \$135,635,040 for two favorable balances, we have \$699,558,960 net, when the Bureau of Statistics tells the country that we have had a favorable balance of *trade* of \$749,051,154 net, with the public supposing that the term *trade* means commerce. In other words, we have had an average annual adverse balance of \$63,596,269, when we supposed we had a favorable balance of \$67,913,741, in our ignorance of the consequence of permitting foreign transportation to exceed the proportion of *half* in our carrying-trade.

It has hitherto been shown that we have had in thirty-five years an aggregate adverse balance of commerce of \$1,674,572,921. How has it been paid ? We find in the government statistics of the movement in gold and silver coin and bullion for thirty-three years past there was a net export of precious metals to the amount of \$1,366,755,000 toward its payment, — a waste of wealth at once perfectly needless, absolutely dangerous, and ruinously exhausting. In doing without shipping of our own for our foreign commerce, and prospering foreign countries by the employment of their shipping, we are sacrificing our interests on the altar of liberality. Is it strange or wonderful that currency contraction has become the order of the day at the Treasury and the banks ? Does it pay thus to suffer for our goodness ? — and when no nation reciprocates our generosity ?

HELL NO PART OF DIVINE REVELATION.— GEHENNA.

BY REV. W. E. MANLEY, D. D.

II.

In a former paper we considered three of the words translated *hell* in our Bible, namely, *sheol*, *hades*, and *tartaros*. We showed that the first two have the meaning of *grave*, the last the meaning of *hell*, as used and understood by the Greeks and other Gentiles who used the Greek language. *Hades*, too, is once employed in a parable in its pagan sense. The word *gehenna* alone remains to be considered. If this word is found to have no such meaning as *hell*, it will follow that "hell is no part of divine revelation."

I. Some writer has said that the Old Testament is the dictionary of the New. This is indeed true, though the fact is but little understood or appreciated. Upon the basis of this fact it is a very easy matter to disprove eternal punishment. There are no terms or expressions that are quoted to prove this doctrine in the New Testament that are not found in the Old. If these passages in the New prove the doctrine, they prove the same in the Old. If our learned exegetes, who hold that the doctrine is taught in the gospels and epistles, would consult their "dictionary" and honestly follow it, they would readily see and confess their mistake. The word "everlasting," on which reliance is placed to prove the endlessness of punishment, is as often employed to express the duration of punishment in the Old as in the New Testament. As it does not denote endless duration in the former, neither does it in the latter. Our late revisers have sought to weaken this argument by employing *eternal* in the New, and *everlasting* in the Old, when in the old version the two words are employed interchangeably in both. This would be amusing if it were a less serious matter. "Everlasting punishment," in the important proof-text of Matt. xxv. 46, did not quite satisfy our venerable committee, and so they changed it to "eternal punishment." They probably said to themselves and to one another, "It is well known that 'everlasting' is

often used in the Old Testament in a limited sense, as 'the everlasting priesthood,' 'the everlasting possession of Canaan,' etc. This being so, why not understand the same word in the same way in this passage, our chief dependence for proof of eternal punishment? The only way to prevent this construction effectually is to leave out 'everlasting' and put in 'eternal.' This might help the doctrine a little, if there were none to make known the fact that the original is the same in both sections of the Bible. It may be added as a part of the same strategy, that when the revisers came to the word *aidios*, Rom. i. 20, which has truly the meaning of "eternal," but never denotes the duration of punishment, they changed the rendering to "everlasting," as if this were not as strong a term as *aionios*.

The word *gehenna* occurs in the Old Testament as well as in the New, only in a slightly different form. In the Old it is *qu-Hinnom*, which is shortened in to *gehenna* in the New. Hinnom was the name of the owner. It consists of two words in Hebrew and but one in Greek. The true rendering is the same in both, namely, "valley of Hinnom." It is sometimes called the valley of the son or sons of Hinnom. This is when the owner had recently died, and the property had passed into the hands of his son or sons. This will be better understood when it is recollected that real estate was not bought and sold among the ancient Hebrews as with us. It might be alienated for a limited period not exceeding fifty years. At the jubilee, which occurred every half century, the property came back to the family of the original proprietor to whom it was allotted on the first settlement of Canaan. The valley in question was *always* the land of Hinnom, or of his son or sons.

LOCATION.

It was long a matter of dispute whether the valley of Hinnom was east of Jerusalem or south. From Jer. xix. 2 it would seem to be east. But the translation "east gate" is incorrect. The true name of the gate, as the revisers have given it, would place it in the south wall of the city, near what was afterward called "the potter's field." *Gehenna*, or valley of Hinnom, was on the line that separated the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. Josh. xv. 8. This line ran east and west, and was therefore south of the city; and there it is found at the present day, while the Kidron is the name of the eastern valley. The two localities unite at a point not

far from the southeast corner of the ancient city wall. The city is now about half a mile north of the valley, while once the south wall ran along its northern border.

The valley is more properly a *deep cut* through the high ground, about fifty feet deep, with sides nearly perpendicular, not far from one hundred feet apart, and about half a mile in length. The ground north is called "Mount Zion," and south the "Mount of Corruption." The portion of this channel nearest the Kidron is called Tophet, so named because a drum (Hebrew *toph*) was beaten to drown the cries of children once sacrificed in that part of the valley. The way this valley is spoken of in the Old Testament will give us some hint of the usage of *gehenna* in the New.

USAGE.

The prophet Jeremiah (chapters vii. and xix.) speaks of the valley of Hinnom as having been defiled by the abominations of idolatry. Men in authority and others had "caused their sons and their daughters to pass through the fire to Moloch." He then proceeds to foretell the destruction of Jerusalem. During the siege of the city, dead bodies should be buried in the valley till there should be no place to bury; and the carcasses should be food for the fowls of heaven and the beasts of the field. In harmony with this prediction is the following language of Isaiah: "And it shall come to pass, that from one new moon to another, and from one Sabbath to another, shall all flesh come to worship before me, saith the Lord. And they shall go forth, and look upon the carcasses of the men that have transgressed against me: for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh" (lxvi. 23, 24). The last part of this passage is quoted by our Lord in Mark ix. 43-48. But a portion of verse 43 and all of 44 and 46 are found to be spurious, and are rejected by the revisers. They are used in connection with *gehenna*; and this is proof that the prophet Isaiah has reference to the valley of Hinnom, and the dead bodies thrown into it, according to Jeremiah. This valley, or at least a part of it, is called Tophet; and we distinctly remember hearing this word employed in the sense of hell in our boyhood. Such expressions were not uncommon as, "Go to Tophet," "hot as Tophet," "foul as Tophet," etc. As these people made a wrong application of this term, we shall show that learned men are no less mistaken when they use *gehenna* in

the same way. In no instance do the prophets use "Tophet" or "valley of Hinnom" to denote any other than temporal punishment.

"GEHENNA" IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

II. *Gehenna* occurs twelve times in the New Testament, and is uniformly translated "hell." All the places but one (Jas. iii. 6) are in the synoptic Gospels (Matthew, Mark, and Luke). The common opinion is, that *gehenna* denotes the final and never-ending abode of the wicked. Their residence in *sheol* or *hades* is temporary, continuing, however, as long as the present world shall last, a few millions of years, or until the resurrection. No one, of course, can tell how long this will be. When souls are again clothed with their physical bodies, their residence must be enlarged to give them room for locomotion. Souls without bodies can exist and find room almost anywhere, even in the earth, especially as some of the early theologians in the church argued that some millions of souls could stand on the point of a needle without jostling one another. But in the resurrection they must have more space. To meet this want, heaven will be provided for the righteous, and *gehenna* for the wicked. Some, however, maintain that *gehenna* is a part of *hades*, or *sheol*, the same as the Greek *tartaros*, and will end when that does. The foregoing assumes that the resurrection of the body is an article of the orthodox church, but that it is generally believed by its intelligent members in this age of light is doubtful.

1. GEHENNA WAS A PLACE OF DEAD BODIES AND OTHER FILTH CONSUMED BY PERPETUAL FIRE.

III. Matt. v. 22: "Whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council: but whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of *gehenna* fire." This appears to be the language of our Lord, but we are convinced that this is not the case. Jesus is quoting from "them of old time." He stops for a single brief remark of his own, and then *resumes his quotation*. This view ascribes all the absurdity of the sentiment to those who lived in an ancient and dark age, from whom such things might be expected. Jesus is criticising the oral and not the written law; and hence what is here censured may never have been executed. Jesus had no control over the council or *sanhedrin*, nor of the *gehenna* fire. The last is either

capital punishment by fire in the valley of Hinnom, or more likely, it is casting the dead body of a criminal into the *gehenna* fire as disgrace on his name. He may die of disease, or be stoned to death, after the Jewish manner of inflicting capital punishment. It is not to be supposed that eternal misery in the future world is the punishment for doing what Jesus himself did; for he called the Jews fools, and even his own disciples. See Matt. xxiii. 17, 19, Luke xi. 40, xxiv. 25.

Matt. v. 29, 30: "And if thy right eye causeth thee to stumble, pluck it out, and cast it from thee; for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not thy whole body be cast into *gehenna*." The next verse has the same illustration, but it is the right hand instead of the right eye. In Matt. xviii. 9, the same words essentially are spoken of the hand and foot; and in Mark ix. 43, 45, 47, the words are repeated of the eye, the hand, and the foot. In these three passages the illustration occurs six times, and the word *gehenna* the same number. The purpose of our Lord, in each instance, is to show that the evil one may suffer from doing right is much less than that from doing wrong. It is the application to moral conduct of the old adage, "Of two evils choose the least." Jesus says that this is the true principle to guide us in choosing the right rather than the wrong.

The loss of a member of the body is the evil on the one hand; the loss of the whole body is the evil on the other. There is no reference to continuous suffering. The lesser evil is the perishing of a limb; the greater evil is the perishing of the whole body. This is the more evident from the fact that in two of the passages the same evil as the casting into *gehenna* is casting the offender into the sea with a mill-stone about his neck. Taking the passage first noticed along with these last, and we have seven passages out of the twelve, in all which the *gehenna* punishment is the death of the body, one of them perhaps implying also *post-mortem* disgrace.

There is one more passage that comes under this head. It is found in Luke xii. 4, 5: "And I say unto you, my friends, Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do. But I will warn you whom ye shall fear. Fear him, which after he hath killed hath power to cast into *gehenna*." To get the real meaning of

this passage, especially the latter part of it, we will read a portion of it over again, supplying the elipses: "Fear him, which after he hath killed the [body] hath power to cast [the body] into *gehenna*." With the prevailing views of *gehenna* it would be expected that the *soul* would be the part of man cast into *gehenna*. But we cannot accept this view, with all the passages we have noticed against such an expectation, as well as the grammatical construction of the text itself. As there is no mention of the soul in the other passages, we have no right to suppose that the soul is implied in this. Nor is the casting of the dead body into *gehenna* without a consistent and important meaning in the view of Jews, though it may not seem so to us. The Jew would sooner die a hundred times than to suffer what is implied in these words. It is an appeal to the strongest motive that can influence the human heart, and the appeal was peculiarly appropriate on the then present occasion.

The disciples were in danger of forsaking their Master and joining his enemies through the fear of persecution. If faithful to him, they might suffer death; but if they were unfaithful, death was quite as certain, and in addition to that, they would bring an everlasting disgrace on their name and reputation. This thought was the most revolting of any that could enter the mind of a Jew; and it is the same to most people of intelligence and refinement. All this is comprehended in the words under examination—to the Jews perfectly intelligible, but to us hard to understand from being so different from our customary modes of speech. As none but capital crimes and those of the basest character were submitted to this after-death punishment, so Jesus conveys the impression that apostasy from the gospel is a crime of equal baseness, to be punished in the same way—*by death and post-mortem infamy*.

The filth of *gehenna* was not confined to dead bodies, but from the time of good King Josiah (see 2 Kings xxiii. 10) this place had been made the cesspool of the city, with a view to stop the practice of sacrificing children to Moloch. The object was secured in this way without any express command. The filth was burned by a perpetual fire, often referred to as an unquenchable fire, an everlasting fire, etc. To allow this fire to go out would endanger the health and life of the citizens. This fire, therefore, was a very suitable figure of divine punishment. As the fire consumed the filth and offal

of *gehenna*, so divine punishment consumes the filth of sin. In both cases the fire would not go out so long as the fuel was furnished. An unquenchable fire is not one that burns forever, but one that cannot be extinguished till it consumes the fuel. Nor is it then extinguished, but goes out of its own accord. So an everlasting fire, in the Bible use of the term, is no longer than an unquenchable fire; nor does the original term stretch itself out to an eternal duration because the revisers saw fit to make the rendering of the word *eternal*.

IV. 2. GEHENNA WAS A PLACE OF FILTH.

More properly, this feature shows itself in the usage. It was a fit emblem of a foul character. Such was the character of the Pharisees, whom Jesus likened to whited sepulchres — beautiful outside, but within full of all uncleanness. Matt. xxiii. 15. "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is become so, ye make him two-fold more a son of *gehenna* than yourselves." To be a son of anything is a Hebrew idiom for *resemblance* or *likeness*. The scribes and Pharisees were sons of *gehenna*, as corrupt morally as *gehenna* was literally, and they made their proselytes worse than themselves. Surely there is no need of going into the future world for a meaning when we have one nearer home.

Verse 33, the same chapter, "How can ye escape the judgment of *gehenna*?" How can ye escape the punishment of so vile a character? Not unlikely, however, our Lord had in mind the terrible judgments then coming on the nation, foretold under the image of Tophet by the prophets. Hence he adds in the context, "All these things shall come upon this generation." A future hell does not come to us. The language of Jesus is not adapted to the common ideas about hell. This passage reminds one of an anecdote told of Rev. Hosea Ballou of Boston, commonly known, when living, as "Father Ballou." It is said that if he had any business in the city, no matter what the distance, he commonly *went on foot*. But on one occasion he stepped into the omnibus. Being addressed by one who knew him, as Mr. Ballou, an old lady present recognized the name as that of a Universalist minister of whom she had heard; and so she turned her attention to him, with the inquiry, "Mr. Ballou, are you the Universalist minister?" "I am," was the reply. The next

question had a little more emphasis: "Mr. Ballou, do you preach as Jesus Christ preached?" "I try to, according to my feeble abilities," said Mr. Ballou. The next and last question was delivered with great force. "Mr. Ballou, do you preach as Jesus Christ preached to the scribes and Pharisees, Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell?" The answer was, "I do not think I do, madam; for the scribes and Pharisees don't attend my church." The old lady was silent.

Jas. iii. 6. "And the tongue is a fire; the world of iniquity among our members is the tongue; which defileth the whole body . . . and is set on fire by *gehenna*," by the polluted flame rising from the burning filth of *gehenna*. The Jews could understand and appreciate this, though its imagery is quite foreign to our accustomed modes of speech.

3. IN ONE PASSAGE GEHENNA IS A PLACE OF DEAD BODIES AND AN EMBLEM OF A BAD CHARACTER.

V. This combines the two features already noticed. The passage is Matt. x. 28, and is the only one that has the word *soul* in connection with *gehenna*. "And be not afraid of them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in *gehenna*." This text is generally considered decisive for the common opinion. But really it is decisive against it, as the reader will soon see. The original of *soul* has often the sense of *life*, even when the rendering is *soul*, both in the Hebrew and the Greek. But in the passage before us, *soul* is the true rendering. The word here denotes the immortal part of our nature. The word *destroy* is to be taken as the synonym of *kill*. The passage itself is proof of this. Men can kill the body, but not the soul; God can do both. This is the meaning. The Jews often sought to destroy Jesus; to kill him, of course, is what is meant.

We need not explain the meaning of killing the body. This is plain to all of us; but killing the soul will require some discussion, and we must go to "the law and testimony" and settle the question by divine authority. This is an important matter, nor can we go a single step forward in our discussion till this point is settled, and settled right, by clear Bible usage. We often read of death in the Scriptures when there is no reference to natural death or death of the

body. Our first parents were informed that in the day of transgression they would surely die. No doubt they did die as foretold, but not the death of the body. "The soul that sinneth it shall die." It is the soul and not the body that dies this kind of death. In all such passages the death is moral. When a man was converted to the gospel he was said "to pass from death to life," or as the revisers have it, "out of death into life."

No man was ever dead without being killed; and in some cases the word *kill* is used of moral death. "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." This refers to the soul and not the body. But there is another passage that is more to the point. Paul says that sin deceived him and *slew* him, using the same Greek word as *kill* in the passage before us. Let the reader observe that Paul was in this world, "alive and well." But his soul had been killed and restored to life. To kill the soul is to bring it into a state of moral death. This death is here and now. If Paul could be killed in this life, so may we and so may all sinners. We are addressing Christian men and women; and let them not complain so long as we adhere closely to the divine oracles. This we have a right to ask.

Let us look again at the passage under examination. It is addressed to the apostles of Christ, who, like Paul, had once been morally dead, but are now alive. They are, however, liable to the same death, if they should renounce their faith through fear "of them that kill the body." It is this which Jesus is trying to prevent. He shows them that apostasy has greater evils to fear than fidelity. Besides, there was no certainty of death from persecution. Men *could* kill the body; but it was not certain they would. And with all their sufferings of this kind, they had much to comfort them. Paul gives us the true principle as he understood it. "As the sufferings of Christ abound unto us, even so our comfort also aboundeth through Christ." 2 Cor. i. 5. The only suffering which came from persecution was that of the body, which to the Christians was compensated by the peace and joy of the soul. On the other hand, if they deserted the cause of the Master, all this happiness was lost, and in its place were humiliation and self-reproach. They might suffer natural death in either case. It was quite as likely to come to them as apostates as it was if they continued faithful. In the latter condition only could they enjoy peace of mind.

We are now in a fair way to understand the passage before us. God was able to destroy (kill) soul and body in *gehenna*. He was able to bring moral death on the soul, and physical death on the body in *gehenna*. Though soul and body are closely connected in this passage, there is reason to believe that the clause "in *gehenna*" was designed to refer to the body only; as if Jesus had said, "God is able to destroy the soul by bringing moral death upon it; and he is able to destroy the body in *gehenna*." As in every other passage the body alone is joined with *gehenna*, so it should be in this if no violence is done to its language. It is not, we confess, the most natural construction. This may arise from a slight variation in the words of Matthew from those actually spoken by our Lord. But there is no need of insisting on this point, as the passage admits of a rational interpretation without any change. We have seen that *gehenna* is the image of a foul or bad character. Such is the condition of the morally dead. To kill the soul in *gehenna* is to bring upon it moral death in a corrupt condition such as this foul place represented.

The great question to be settled is whether this moral death belongs to this world or the next, to time or eternity. This is easily settled. *There is no place in the future world where soul and body are destroyed.* To make this passage answer the purpose of the popular theology, the word *destroy* must have an interpretation directly the opposite of its true meaning; instead of *destroy*, we must give it the sense of *preserve alive in perpetual misery*—a sense forbidden alike by the passage itself and the general usage elsewhere. We insist that the passage is as directly opposed to the common ideas of hell as it well could be. The soul dies a moral death in this state of existence; the body dies a physical death here. The soul is killed and the body here. But the evidence is wanting that these things occur after death.

The fire that was kept burning in *gehenna* is called unquenchable and everlasting, and is used as an emblem of punishment by our Lord. But the fire went out many centuries in the past from the want of fuel; and the fire of divine retribution, represented by it, will go out when sin, the fuel, is no longer supplied. This will be when Jesus, the Lamb of God, has "made an end of sin" and "taken away the sin of the world."

How long, dear Saviour, O how long,
Shall this bright hour delay?
Fly swiftly round, ye sun and stars
And bring the welcome day.

VI. The following considerations will help confirm the views of *gehenna* presented in the foregoing discussion :

(1.) The argument commonly employed to prove that *gehenna* denotes a place of eternal punishment is the following: It is assumed that the Pharisees believed in endless punishment for the wicked and called the place of suffering by the name *gehenna*. Jesus used the term without any explanation, and therefore he meant it to be taken in its customary acceptation. This assumes two things that are not proved. One is that the Pharisees called the place of future punishment *gehenna*; another, that Jesus used the term as they did, or enough so to be understood as having the same views of the place. To give the argument any force these two things should be proved, and *not taken for granted*. There is no evidence — *not a particle* — that the Pharisees called the place of future punishment *gehenna*. There are no writings of Jewish authors, that date back as far as the time of Christ, having this usage of *gehenna*; there is none of it in the Targums, nor in Josephus, nor in Philo, both eminent Jewish writers, nearly contemporary with Jesus of Nazareth; nor in the Talmud till long after the time of our Lord. The place of future punishment, as the Pharisees believed, was a part of *hades* called *tartaros* by the Greeks, but not named by the Jews till at least two hundred years after our era, and then called *gehenna*, in imitation, as they say, of the Christians, who used the term as a place of *limited future punishment*.

We have seen how Jesus used the word *gehenna*, and how the Pharisees could have supposed him teaching their doctrine is more than we can comprehend. The two things are as wide apart as the poles.

(2.) If *gehenna* has the meaning of *hell*, it is the first time that hell is mentioned in the Bible. Is it likely that the great and adorable Creator and Governor of the universe gave existence to the human race, prompted by his own will alone and without their knowledge or consent, and thus exposed them to eternal torment, with no hint for thousands of years of the terrible doom that awaited them, or many of them, when they should leave these mortal shores?

The idea is as absurd as it is revolting — as unreasonable to men as it is slanderous to God.

If the doctrine of an eternal hell be true, it should have been written on almost every page of the Jewish Scriptures in language too plain to be misunderstood or misinterpreted. Nor this only. It should have been written in blazing characters of light on the face of the broad heavens for all men to read and ponder. If the doctrine be true, untold millions of men made in the image of God have gone down to death and eternal misery with no intimation of their doom. IT IS NOT TRUE. No one who believes it can approach the Eternal One and say, "*Our Father*, which art in heaven."

(3.) The Talmud, which is the storehouse of Rabbinical learning and theology, does not contain the doctrine of an eternal hell. *Gehenna* is the word employed by both Jews and Christians in the early ages of the Church. Justin Martyr is the first of the church fathers who uses this term to denote a place of future punishment; and this was about the middle of the second century. Others after him used the term in the same way. But there is no evidence of the use of this term in the sense of an endless hell, save in a very few instances, while most of the fathers for several centuries are known to have discarded that idea, holding that all punishment is reformatory and must come to an end.

Jewish writers did not employ the term *gehenna* to denote hell till the Christians had used it in this way, and probably not before the third century; neither held it to be endless. The fires of *gehenna* were used as a figure of divine retribution by our Lord without any specification of place. The early fathers did the same, with the understanding that the future life is the place. This is not surprising when we consider that nearly all the early converts to Christianity were believers in a future hell before their conversion.

(4.) If the Bible teaches the doctrine of hell, the place of so much importance should have a name. But the place has no name in the Scriptures. *Sheol* is not the name, *hades* is not the name. *Tartaros* was the pagan name, but that is nothing to us. What is the Bible name? Not *gehenna*; for learned men agree that this is not the name, but simply a figure of hell. So it appears that hell has no name in the Hebrew or Greek Scriptures. There can be but one reason for this. It is, *there is no such thing to be named*. "Hell is

no part of divine revelation," and therefore it has no name. It is useless to give a name to a nonentity.

(5.) Another thing should be noticed in this connection. *Gehenna* being a figure or emblem of hell, and not the name, it was wrong to translate it *hell*. If it was the business of the revisers to translate the figures of the Bible, they omitted a large part of their duty. They should have translated hell, the furnace of fire, the outer darkness, the lake of fire and brimstone, and all other figures of hell as they understood them. But this was the business of the expounder or exegete, and not the translator. It is true that there is some danger that the readers of the New Testament might fail to get the precious information that *gehenna* or "valley of Hinnom" is a figure of hell, if the translators and revisers had not put the thing in black and white. It was all for the good of the Church. And yet we may question as many men as we will, Christians or sinners, whether they ever refrained from an evil deed or practised a virtue from the fear of hell, and they will say emphatically, No. But they are quite sure that others have been made better by this motive.

(6.) The proof that *gehenna* is in the future world is utterly wanting. There is scarcely a passage that has not some feature entirely at variance with such an application. The prophets of the Old Testament locate the place and make it the receptacle of dead bodies thrown into it during the siege of Jerusalem. Jesus quotes a part of their language and so gives his sanction to the same usage. In most of the places in which the word occurs in the New Testament, it is associated with the body and not the soul; and the only after-death punishment implied in any of them is the disgrace and infamy on the name of a criminal indicated by casting his dead body into the filth of the place as food for worms and fuel for the flames. In the only passage in which the soul is mentioned, the soul and body are so spoken of as to exclude all reference to the world of spirits.

(7.) *Gehenna* was a Jewish locality and all its peculiarities were Jewish. *The term was never addressed to Gentiles.* Paul never uses it. John, who wrote his gospel after the destruction of Jerusalem, does not use the word. These are significant facts.

CALVÉ'S HOME AND A FEW OF HER FRIENDS.

BY GEORGE E. COOK.

There has been recently at Hôtel Rosien, Gorge of the Tarn, France, a party of three pedestrians of unusual interest. They were Madame Calvé, Mademoiselle A. de Walski, and Miss Post. These three ladies have together been touring through the mountains, doing the Gorge of the Tarn unattended and experiencing many hazardous encounters. Mme. Calvé has bought an old castle with some thousands of acres in the heart of the Cévennes. It was built by the Cabrières family in the eleventh century, and had been held by them for many succeeding generations. Of dark yellow stone, grayed with the accumulated moisture of centuries, perched on an almost inaccessible rock between seven and eight hundred feet above the valley of the Tarn and overlooking the village, it is a very picturesque object in the wild landscape. Here Calvé makes her home high up among the vultures and the eagles. All about stretches her domain. She raises vegetables and sheep, and has a dairy, for the estate comprises vast plains, and three great mountains that she has named respectively "Carmen," "Cavalleria," and "Navarraise," these three operas having provided her with means to purchase the estate, which she calls a souvenir of America, as it was in that country she earned the money to buy it. The "Château Cabrières," as it is called, has many towers, and clustered about it is a collection of low outbuildings that give it a look of great size, although in itself it does not contain more rooms than do the handsome homes of our American country gentlemen. By removing the floor between two stories, she has built a music room that has not its equal in acoustic properties, as well as in extent and elegance, in any country. In this room she gathers the souvenirs of her artistic triumphs, gifts of monarchs and of the people; a room replete with works of art and *vertu*.

A peculiar story goes with her possession of this château. Mlle. de Walski, who is the intimate friend of Calvé, is at the head of psychological matters, as it were, in France.



EMMA CALVÉ.

BY PERMISSION OF
M. AIMÉ DUPONT, PHOTOGRAPHER,
NEW YORK.

Many Catholics are extremely mystical, and among all the devotees of mysticism one cannot be found more thoroughly imbued with it than is Mme. Calvé; in fact, she attributes her marvellous success to the aid of unseen forces. At the commencement of her career, Mlle. de Walski made her take a vow that, if she should succeed in her art, she would devote a certain portion to some charitable purpose. Now, in fulfilment of her vow, she is building on her estate an orphanage for forty little girls, whom she gathers from the slums of her own country and places under the care of a Catholic sisterhood. They are taught gardening and other employments of a kind to make them useful citizens of the country in which they live. Here too Calvé is building a church in the Roman style of architecture, the motto of which is, "Suffer little children to come unto me." In her castle is a beautiful chapel where the employees on the estate can attend service; but the church is for the children and people of the surrounding country. Besides the three mountains I have named there are four others of lesser importance on her estate, and she grows grapes and almonds, so that the resources of the property will support her when her voice has lost its freshness and the public are looking for a new *prima donna* to fill her place.

But to return to this tour, which took eight days on foot, the ladies doing the rapids of the Tarn in a boat, clambering among the mountains with only an *alpenstock* — a most hazardous undertaking for three women alone — and after this trip making a pilgrimage to Lourdes, that wondrous shrine at which so many devotees pay homage. Here at this time was a blind Boston boy, who had travelled a long distance on foot, and whom they saw cured of his blindness.

Miss Post resides in Paris. She is a wealthy American girl, who is a devoted friend of Calvé; and Mlle. de Walski is the daughter of Calixt de Walski, a famous Polish patriot. She is an exile from her native country, but is hard at work for the advancement of humanitarianism. In the village of Ploubazlanec in Brittany, which Pierre Loti has described in his "*Pêcheur d'Islande*," she has founded an orphanage for the poor of that locality. She owns a large estate there, and is now about erecting suitable buildings, having brought the institution to such a state of advancement that she is to receive government aid. This is one of the most beautiful spots in all Brittany, with its lovely

"pink islands in an azure sea," visible from the Côtes-du-Nord. These children learn lace-making, besides useful domestic employments, and Mlle. de Walski finds no difficulty in disposing of the work they do.

Mlle. de Walski has always associated herself with artists. It was she and her father who first discovered Paderewski's wonderful genius, when he was a poor young fellow playing from house to house, and she interested in his behalf her great friend Helena Modjeska, who first helped Paderewski to the place his genius merited (and who afterward, by the way, married Mlle. de Walski's cousin, the Count Bozenta). Modjeska, like Calvé, is interested in occult sciences, and with Mlle. de Walski she has taken pedestrian tours in the Carpathian Mountains. These occultists like the high mountain fastnesses. There, in the pure exhilarating atmosphere, in seclusion and far remote from the distractions of the busy world, they think they find freer access to high spiritual forces; whatever may be the opinion of those who do not believe in these influences, all are willing to acknowledge the marvellous genius of those who, like Calvé and Modjeska, profess to draw their inspiration therefrom.

There is no part of France, and in fact there are but few parts of Europe, so retired from the tourists and yet so full of interest and beauty as is this country on the border of the Pyrenees. "Montpellier le vieux" is extremely interesting, and the way the rocks are piled up resembles a Druidical city; it is not unlike the "Garden of the Gods" in Colorado, especially when illumined by the setting sun. The peasantry too are picturesque and interesting, following in the same lines as they have done for generations, slow to grasp a new idea or to utilize a labor-saving invention. One questions, if such methods as Americans find indispensable to agriculture were to be introduced among them, whether the country would on the whole be benefited, for it is so densely populated that there is no more employment than there are hands to do with; in fact, there is not labor enough for the masses. One sees squalor and poverty combined with simplicity and ignorance, but the people seem to be happy — a result not always attained in more advanced stages of civilization, and which material prosperity does not always bring.

Calvé is revered by all the people of her country. She is the greatest daughter of her land, and they turn out *en*

masse to see her. The mayors of the towns through which she passes give her ovations. The only class who are reserved about receiving her are the rich *bourgeoisie*, which is amusing since, without recognized position or place themselves, they hesitate about receiving those "whom the king delighteth to honor."

The first of December Calvé began another American engagement. Continually she is called to St. Petersburg and declines to go. Not alone for the golden appreciation it accords her does she like America — because of the artistically cordial welcome she receives there she loves the American public. She says there is greater discrimination there than in any other country in the world.

However that may be, I find that among the extreme low-down classes here, the poor and neglected, there is a dormant passion for art, whether it be expressed in music, in painting, in poetry, or in sculpture. Sometimes you will meet a group of peasants looking at some piece of ancient sculpture, enjoying its artistic beauty and expressing as much interest as any student of art might do. Here in this land of the Middle Ages is a wholly undeveloped field for the artist, the student of nature, the poet, and the observant traveller. The varied atmospheric effects, the manners and customs of the people, their dress and dwellings are replete with interest. It is so rare a treat to find a country that preserves its individuality and ancient customs in the very dawn of the twentieth century! It is not strange that Calvé finds in this her native land the very stimulus for artistic development, as well as that atmosphere of rest, which are so essential at times to all whose vocation exacts lavish and exhausting expenditure of vitality.

THE CASTAWAY.

BY H. M. WILLIAMS.

Will no one sing, will no one say
Words for the utter castaway?

Will none raise measured chant for her
For whom no parents' heartstrings stir,

For whom no brother's strong right arm
Is swiftly raised to ward off harm;

Whose sisters meet her with a rod
To drive her off from home and God;

Who hates the world with bitter hate—
For whom all life is desolate?

Will none point her to star of hope,
Toward which ev'n she may wildly grope?

Yes, I, who know her, dare to say
For her too dawns the coming day

When men as brothers will arise
And, looking in each other's eyes,

Vow that the reign of creed is done,
The fight for heaven fought and won;

Shall say, "Come, sister, here is free
The bread of life for thee and me;

"A little work, a little care
Shall give thee food and make thee fair.

"Then mayest thou once more arise,
And gladly greet th' impartial skies."

ENGLAND'S HAND IN TURKISH MASSACRES.

BY M. H. GULESIAN.

Recent events in Zanzibar show that England is unchangeable and that she will act for her own interests whether in accordance with justice or not. Her bombardment of the city after a short ultimatum shows how much she believes in peace and arbitration. If any country wants to arbitrate with England it must not forget the necessity of a strong army and navy. The events of the last two years in Armenia, with the killing of one hundred thousand persons committed under England's indirect supervision, are too well known to the public to need description here. The power of her army and navy would have been better employed in aiding her *protégés*, rather than in destroying the throne of a defenceless African prince. Lord Salisbury said last winter in his speech at the banquet of the Nonconformist-Unionist Association concerning the Armenians :

When you are dealing with a population situated in mountainous regions far from the seashore, you are deceiving yourselves if you imagine that the arm of England, strong as it is, could have done anything to mitigate that sorrow.

But the Rev. Canon MacColl says in his pamphlet entitled "England's Responsibility to Armenia" :

No state in the world is so vulnerable by sea in vital parts as Turkey. By taking possession of the principal Turkish ports, not including Constantinople, and seizing the customs, the Sultan and his Pashas would soon be brought to submission without the firing of a single cannon ball.

Every one who knows the country of Armenia and England's national policy toward Turkey must believe that Lord Salisbury's assertion was simply a false one. Here for the last three months the Cretans have been suffering the same fate as the Armenians, and yet this island, though most favorably situated, lying between Malta, Egypt, and Cyprus, where England's strongest fleets are lying, has not been aided in any way. Lord Salisbury in the same speech acknowledges that he himself drew up the treaty of the Cyprus convention, which reads as follows :

If any attempt shall be made at any future time by Russia to take possession of any further territories of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan

in Asia, as fixed by the definitive treaty of peace, England engages to join His Imperial Majesty the Sultan in defending them by force of arms.

Was Armenia less mountainous then than now? Has there been any volcanic action to change the condition of the country during the last eighteen years? Or is the English army and navy less powerful than at that time? It was soon after this treaty was signed that some conscientious Englishmen realized the selfish policy their country was pursuing, and in a speech at Croydon, in 1878, the late Lord Sherbrooke declared that "English policy had turned the keys of hell upon the Christians of Turkey." Certainly it is not the difficulty of a situation that checks England's progress, but the lookout ahead, whether more land or additional power will be the result of her efforts. In my opinion England is infinitely more criminal in the massacres that have been perpetrated in Armenia than are the Turks themselves. I believe that if the Armenian, Bulgarian, Greek, and Syrian massacres were brought before an impartial jury, with all the evidence of the last seventy-five years, England would be charged with murder in the first degree, while the other powers would go free. The more I study the question the less I blame the Turks and their government, for the Turks do not know what they are doing. Surely the action of the Sultan and of his fanatical followers is not the act of a sane potentate or government, because not only have they foolishly massacred the very best of the population, the educated men and the business men who would have been welcomed in other countries for their commercial enterprise and intelligence, but, after massacring these, they have most foolishly destroyed and ruined their property which would have been of great value to themselves. I know in my native place, Marash, where many families were entirely wiped out, and yet the Turks then burned their houses and destroyed their orchards and vineyards. But if I do in a measure excuse the Turks on the ground of ignorance and fanaticism, no such excuse can be found for England, and I most strongly blame a people who, pretending to civilization and Christianity, have maintained and upheld the Turks for more than a hundred years in their barbarous outrages simply for their own selfish interests, regardless as to the fate of the poor Christians.

Lord Palmerston said, "We support Turkey for our own

sake and for our own interests." Many friends during the last three years have blamed me for my denunciation of England, and have thought I was unduly prejudiced. Perhaps my friends will become convinced of the truth of my assertions on reading the following extracts from the pen of an Englishman, His Grace the Duke of Argyll, taken from the admirable book just published, entitled "Our Responsibilities for Turkey." The author's authority no one can doubt, he being the sole survivor of Lord Palmerston's cabinet of 1853. He gives the facts, treaties, and memories of the last sixty years, and in my opinion he has put upon England as little blame as possible, and yet sufficient, I think, to convince anyone that England's humanity and civilization are not so great as one may have supposed. In speaking of the insurrection in the Island of Crete, he says:

It was suppressed with their usual brutality by the Turks. We, the allies, had in 1830 given back that island to Turkey when, in sympathy with the general struggle in the Levant, it had almost achieved its independence, and we had, therefore, a special right and duty to insist on at least civilized modes of warfare. But public sentiment in this country happened at that moment to be fast asleep, and the government of the day, represented by Lord Derby, refused to interfere, or even to allow women and children refuge in our ships. Lord Lyons, the gallant sailor who represented us at Constantinople, and a brave consul, alone, defying their instructions, represented the humanity and the duty of England. They shipped a number of refugees to Greece.¹

What part did England take in the events leading up to the Bulgarian massacre? From the first moment of the rising in the Herzegovina and Bosnia, the immediate interests of the great central and northern powers — Austria, Germany, and Russia — led them to combine and to consult on remedial measures. Here was a splendid opportunity of reviving that concert of Europe on Turkish affairs which it had been the great aim of the Treaty of Paris to establish, but which unforeseen events had practically broken down. In one case only, as we seen, — of the Lebanon, — it had worked well. But here was an opening for a renewal of that most successful experiment on a greater scale. Without supposing that it could be applied to the whole Turkish Empire, it was clearly applicable to all its European and to some, at least, of its Asiatic provinces. Every circumstance of the case seemed combined to afford for this solution a splendid and most hopeful opportunity. Austria, Germany, and Russia were all anxious to act together, and to act, too, with extraordinary moderation. The first action taken by the three imperial governments was most cautious and reluctant. They began by combining only to mediate between the insurgents and the Porte, and to advise the rebels to lay down their arms. Yet even from this combination we stood determinedly aloof. It was not until Turkey herself asked us to join that we consented to take any part whatever in any transaction

¹ "Our Responsibilities for Turkey," pp. 42, 43.

which could imply, however indirectly, that Europe had any right whatever to interfere with the internal affairs of Turkey.

We had been wrong in 1856, I sadly confess, in trusting at all to the promises of the Porte in the matter of reforms. We had been wrong in trusting vaguely to the concert of Europe for the discharge of functions to which it is not adapted. The concert of Europe, in a matter of this kind, is, and of necessity must be, fitful and occasional. It can only be brought into play when no special jealousies are at work, and when some great common emotion has roused its cabinets into common action. It cannot be brought to bear as a remedy to the daily grind of a vicious government upon its unfortunate subjects. But it was a worse mistake to repeat the same error now—twenty years later—when long and continual experience had proved the bad faith of Turkey, and when the concert of Europe had been again achieved far more completely than before, in the awakened alarm of the powers, whose common interests were nearly affected by risings in the Balkan peninsula. Now was the time to remedy the defects in the Treaty of 1856, and to coerce the Turks into the adoption of reasonable reforms with all the force and authority of a united Europe. But, instead of doing this, we set our face against the counsel of all the other powers, and did everything we could to discourage and divide them. We did more than this. Although we knew that the insurgents had frightful grievances, and that they demanded nothing more than the most elementary benefits of a civilized government; although we knew that the Turks were, as usual, committing against them acts of perfidy and deeds of butchery, we actually implored the Porte to hasten to put down the insurrection with their own forces, so as to prevent it from being made the subject of foreign intervention.

In addressing such an exhortation to the Porte we did not remember that the Turks have only one way of dealing with all revolts against their own misgovernment, and that is by raising irregular troops, the greatest ruffians in their dominions, and by allowing and encouraging them to butcher men, women, and children, as the sign and pledge of victory. Of course we did not mean this ourselves. But this is what did actually happen,—what does always happen,—and what we ought to have known would inevitably happen. Accordingly the horrible massacres in Bulgaria were perpetrated in May, 1876, at the very time when we were again urging on the Turks the necessity of energetic action to suppress the revolt.

The Turkish massacres in Bulgaria began in May, became more or less certain in June, but were not authentically known till August, 1876. Mr. Gladstone's celebrated pamphlet denouncing them was published early in September. The effect of those massacres on the public mind is one of the events of history. We were all horrified, with the rest of Europe. But not even then would we join the rest of Europe in active intervention. We simply told the Turks that if they were attacked by Russia it had now become practically impossible, owing to the state of public feeling, for us to intervene to save them. It is needless to say that this purely negative attitude was sure to be fatal to the whole policy of the Crimean War and of the treaty of 1856. That policy was to insist on the fate of Turkey being taken out of the exclusive hand of Russia, and on it being acknowledged as a matter of concern to the whole of Europe. Russia behaved with perfect frankness. She told us that if we held back she would act alone. But again she begged us, backed by all the other powers, to act together and in concert. She proposed that Austria should occupy Bosnia, that she herself should occupy Bulgaria, and that the combined fleets of Europe should occupy the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. We

absolutely refused. Russia then asked if we would join a combined action of the fleet without any territorial occupation. We refused even this.¹

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Our declared policy was peace at any price, and at any price, be it noted, not to ourselves, for we incurred no risk, but to the helpless millions over whom we had so long upheld a "profoundly vicious government."²

Fortunately Russia stood firm, and in a series of replies each more temperate and yet more conclusive than the last, she told us that she could not and would not any longer tolerate the complete abandonment by Europe of its duty toward the subjects of the Porte.

Then followed the war which proved more than ever, if there was need of any proof, that Turkey could not stand before Russia and could not have existed for a single year if we had not been her patron and protector. After a few transient successes Turkey was beaten both in Asia and in Europe. In a brilliant campaign in the depth of winter Russia poured her armies over the Balkans, took Adrianople without a struggle, and stopped only when the defensive lines of Constantinople itself were surrendered at discretion.

Such was the result, the natural and inevitable result, of our policy. Russia was seen by all the world in practical possession of the great Eastern capital, and dictating terms of peace to the defeated Sultan. This was the outcome of our refusal to act with the other powers when all of them without exception had invited and almost implored us to do so. And if the ultimate results were not so disastrous as they might have been, no thanks were due to us. If Russia had been as disloyal as we were to the concert of Europe and to the legitimate objects which that concert had in view, she might undoubtedly have occupied Constantinople and announced her resolve to keep it. It would have been very difficult for us to turn her out, and the struggle to do so must have involved a tremendous war. But it is a memorable fact that in the treaty of San Stefano, which she dictated before the open and undefended capital of the East, Russia belied the suspicions with which we had been so long inflamed. Directly for herself she asked nothing, except a portion of the Asiatic provinces of Turkey, which she had wrested in the war by hard fighting and by one decisive victory. As regards the greatest of all European interests,—access to the Black Sea,—Russia stipulated simply for the equal access of all nations, both in time of war and in time of peace. For the rest she did, indeed, gain immensely, but only in reputation and in corresponding influence among all the Christian subjects of the Porte, by a series of clauses which substituted for lying Turkish promises the substantial guarantees of autonomous, or protected, political institutions.

It is impossible for any man who cares for the happiness of humanity to read without exaltation the list of great steps taken in the Russian Treaty of San Stefano toward the redemption of a large part of Christian Europe from the desolating dominion of the Turkish government. Nor is it possible to read of them without the sorrowful remembrance that we not only had no share in this great deliverance, but that we had done everything we could do to discourage and to prevent it. It was in spite of us, but with the full sympathy of the rest of Europe, that the Russian treaty secured immense results, blessed at the time and fruitful of consequences yet to come. The gallant Montenegro closed her long centuries

¹ "Our Responsibilities," etc., pp. 46-52.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 55-60.

of glorious struggle against the Moslem with a full recognition of her independence. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, where we had urged the Porte to put down the insurgents, it was compelled to grant more than all the securities which we had demanded at the conference, but which we had weakly allowed Turkey to refuse; moreover, they were put under the protection of Austria, and two years of the revenue payable to Turkey was to be appropriated to the relatives of the victims of her brutality. But there were greater things than these effected. Servia was declared to be an independent state. Roumania was declared to be another. Bulgaria was constituted into an autonomous principality, only paying a fixed tribute to the Porte; and the boundaries of this new land of freedom were immensely extended, so as to reach and embrace a large part of the coast of the Egean. An army of fifty thousand was to be kept by Russia in Bulgaria for two years until the new government was established. In Asia, Turkey was made to engage that the Armenians should be guaranteed against the Kurdish and Circassian tribesmen. Even Crete was not forgotten, and engagements were exacted from the Porte for the reform of its administration.

But this is not the whole of the responsibility which falls on us out of the international transactions connected with the Treaty of Berlin. After that treaty had been concluded we entered by ourselves into a separate and, for a while, a secret convention with Turkey, by which we undertook to defend her Asiatic provinces by force of arms from any further conquests on the part of Russia, and in return we asked for nothing more than a lease of Cyprus, and a new crop of Turkish promises that she would introduce reforms in her administration of Armenia. No security whatever was asked or offered for the execution of those promises. We simply repeated the old mistake of 1856 of trusting entirely to the good faith of Turkey, or to her gratitude. But this time the mistake was repeated after twenty-two years' continued experience of the futility of such a trust. As to gratitude, it must have been quite clear to the Turks that we were acting in our own supposed interests in resisting the advance of Russia at any cost.¹

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With Russia deeply offended and estranged, and the rest of Europe set aside or superseded — such were the conditions under which we abandoned the Christian subjects of the Porte in Asia to a government incurably barbarous and corrupt.²

* * * * *

No other power in Europe, therefore, was in a position to do, or to attempt to do, what Russia could do with comparative ease. But we had, by our Cyprus convention, put Russia under the fear that any invasion by her of Turkish Armenia might be construed as an act calling for the military intervention of England in support of the Ottoman power.

We might or we might not consider ourselves absolved from such an obligation by the non-fulfilment by Turkey of all her promises. But Russia could not be quite sure of this. Russia therefore had a right and was under every temptation to say to us: "You took into your own hands the obligation under which we placed Turkey by the Treaty of San Stefano. You did this partly by the Treaty of Berlin, in which you associated yourselves with the other powers of Europe, and in which you declared that you, conjointly with them, would superintend the execution of the promised Turkish reforms. You did so still more specifically by your separate convention with Turkey, in which you pledged

¹ "Our Responsibilities," etc., pp. 74, 75.

² *Ibid.*, p. 78.

yourselves to support Turkey against any invasion of her territory by us. You took Cyprus expressly as a basis for such operations. Under these circumstances we are absolved from all responsibility. Let us see what you can do now to save the Armenians from 'Turks and Kurds.'

We have insensibly slipped into the atrocious doctrine that it is for our own individual interests, as a nation, to maintain the execrable government of Turkey over its subject millions, at whatever cost of misery to them. If we can get their condition ameliorated more or less, and from time to time, by what is called making representations to the Porte, well and good — that useless operation we have been always ready to try as often as we were required to do so. But the recent doctrine has been, that the proved incorrigibility of the Turkish government is to be no bar to our continued political support, and that the massacres from time to time of thousands of men, women, and children are in comparison with our own political interests as nothing in the balance. This, and nothing else than this, is the wicked and really infamous doctrine into which we have lapsed.¹

The above is sufficient to show what England has done in the past. Now let us see how she has conducted herself toward those whom she was bound by every law of right and duty to protect during the last two years, freighted with such agony and terror for the Armenians. I have before me five of the recent British blue books concerning the Armenian question. They are of large size and filled with cablegrams and letter despatches, one book alone ("Turkey, No. 2, 1896") containing seven hundred and seventy-two despatches. I have looked them through with the utmost interest, and it seems as if nine-tenths of them were unnecessary, being merely repetition of similar cases and each despatch being instrumental in making our lot harder. In the first place the sending out of the Sassoun Commission of Inquiry in the fall of 1894 was most unnecessary. There was not the least need of it, for prior to the massacre the English government knew that it was coming from the reports given by their consuls. As early as 1879 Sir A. H. Layard said :

Unless the Porte takes care, and acts with prudence and forethought, there will some day be an Armenian question in Asia similar to the Bulgarian question.²

Then again, just before the Sassoun massacre of 1894, Consul Graves wrote the following to Sir Philip Currie :

I learn that the notorious Kurdish chief Hussein Pasha of Patnotz, who has been under surveillance here for the last three months, has been allowed to leave Erzeroum this week, and it is generally believed that he is to join the troops at Moush with a large force of Hamidiyé cavalry of the Haidaranli tribe, though the civil and military authorities maintain silence on that point. I have no hesitation in saying that these barbarous

¹ "Our Responsibilities," etc., pp. 98-99.

² "Turkey, No. 10," page 98.

auxillaries are entirely inefficient, except for purposes of rapine and atrocity, and if it be true that they are to be employed for the repression of internal disorders, the most disastrous consequences may be confidently anticipated. I have communicated the substance of the above to your Excellency by telegram to-day.¹

Then in the fall of 1894, after receiving letters and despatches from Consul Halward and others stating that the massacres had actually happened, they sent out the Commission of Inquiry, of which the Duke of Argyll writes as follows :

The inquiry was a farce from beginning to end, and the Italian government were so impressed by its evidently fraudulent character that they would not submit to the indignity of taking even a nominal part in connection with it.²

English statesmen certainly knew, with all their former experience and knowledge, that no results worth the paper they were written on would ever be gained by an investigation made under Turkish supervision. Then the effect of such a proceeding upon the fanatical Moslem mind, and also upon that of the poor trusting Armenian, should have been taken into consideration, as well as the horrors of the tortures the Armenian witnesses would be compelled to endure for giving their testimony before this farcical commission to be then abandoned by the English. Again, the constant prodding the Turk to make him accept the scheme of reforms which was proposed and the sham demonstration of their fleet, all these things tended to irritate more and more the already frenzied Moslem, until the effect was that which any sane person would naturally suppose it would be, namely, to arouse Moslem fanaticism to an almost unprecedented pitch, so that, instead of being content with the massacre of Sassoun as at first planned, they organized for the wholesale slaughter of all the Armenians, a plan only too easily executed. Even the most ignorant Turk while he was clubbing and killing his victim shouted, "Why don't you call on your England to help you?"

The British blue books are full of the phrase, "making representations to the Porte." Turkey would not care if England were to go on making representations till the day of judgment, so long as she stopped short of active interference. What should have been done, is to have seen to it that from ten to twenty-five of the leaders of the massacres

¹ "Turkey, No. 1, 1896," Part I.

² "Our Responsibilities," etc., p. 92.

in each village where a massacre occurred were hung up in the public squares. If that had been done after the Sassoun massacre it would have ended the massacres and restored confidence more quickly and surely than could have been effected by having Europe keep a standing army there all the time.

But some claim England wanted to interfere, but was powerless under the circumstances. Now it seems that English statesmen ought to have known by this time what was possible to be done and what was impossible. After the massacre of 1894, if England had honestly intended to help the Armenians, believing as she did that she alone could do nothing practical to help them, in case the Turks were found guilty, why did not she consult with Russia and with the other powers, if necessary, and come to some definite understanding so as to know how far she could coerce Turkey? All this should have been settled before making any diplomatic representations whatever. Then, if she had become persuaded that she could do nothing for our cause, she would better a thousand times have abandoned us entirely and given up her representations and demonstrations then, instead of two years later, thus saving us thousands of lives.

Some Englishmen say that England was willing to help Armenia, but that Russia was in the way. This I cannot believe. Russia has more sympathy with the Christian subjects of Turkey than England has, as is shown by history in the many times she has tried to ameliorate their condition. If she has been indisposed to help in this instance, — and it seems that she has been somewhat so, — the only reason for her indisposition is her utter distrust of England. If England honestly and sincerely had assured Russia that all she had in view was the safety of the Armenians, that she did not care to gain an inch of territory or a dollar of Turkish money, Russia, I have no doubt, would have put an end to the horrors at once. But England did not and would not express any such opinion. How could one expect Russia to step in, when there was the menace of the treaty of the Cyprus convention facing her, and knowing England's characteristics, her cunning hypocrisy, knowing, too, the foolish way in which she had been carrying on her negotiations with Turkey? Russia as well as Turkey could see she did not mean business, and could not help thinking there was some underhanded scheme about it all. Then again, Eng-

land's sudden desire to champion the Armenians was suspicious, while Russia remembered the many previous instances when she had been implored to help them and had absolutely refused, as shown in the foregoing quotations.

Moreover, there were in England a number of organizations in sympathy with the Armenians, notably the Anglo-Armenian Association, including among its members such eminent Englishmen as Rt. Hon. James Bryce, M. P., Mr. Francis F. Stevenson, M. P., and many others. With her usual craftiness, Turkey represented this association to Russia as being the head of the Armenian Revolutionary Society, and Russia, being well aware that England's sole aim while the sick man of Europe was slowly dying was to establish an independent principality between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, had good reasons for mistrusting England. Then as England had agreed to protect us, we naturally made our appeals to her and turned our faces away from Russia, which displeased her. And further the late Prince Lobanoff had a special dislike toward England, which was another potent factor. Taking everything into consideration, it was hard for Russia to accept England's proposals. Alas! we now see what a mistake we made in expecting any help from England. If we Armenians are desirous of her help, we must do one of two things — either discover a number of rich gold mines in Armenia, or by some miracle cut a canal from the Black Sea to the Caspian, and thence to the Persian Gulf, leading to the gates of India and large enough to float a first-class Russian ironclad. Then the hills and mountains of Armenia would become as level as the Desert of Sahara, and as easy of access as the English Channel. Since these things are impossible, we must turn our hopes and aspirations toward His Majesty the Czar and his government, which is the only country that will help us without first thinking "What shall we get out of the transaction?" We remember Russia's noble act eighteen years ago, when our Patriarch Nerses with other Armenians went to the camp of the Grand Duke and begged him to do something in the name of God and humanity. The Russians then and there had pity and compassion, and inserted the following clause in the Treaty of San Stefano: "Russia will keep her armies in Armenia until the reforms are carried out." That was the only practical way of giving the Armenians any aid, and Russia knew it, and England knew it; yet it

was this very Lord Salisbury who insisted that this clause be erased. On the other hand, in spite of England's solemn responsibility and in spite of the hundreds of petitions and prayers we have sent to her, she has turned a deaf ear, even when Mr. Gladstone was in power.

Here is another instance of England's cruelty. When the other powers proposed that the Armenians, as well as the Moslems and Kurds, should be allowed to carry arms, Lord Derby as Secretary of Foreign Affairs insisted that there was no need for the Armenians to carry arms, thus practically tying our hands and feet and telling the Turks to do as they pleased. If the Armenians had been armed the massacres would have taken an altogether different character and would not have been committed on the large scale they were. The Armenians are not cowards. They love peace, but they can fight as bravely as any other nationality, as they showed last winter at Zeitoun. The defence of Zeitoun was as great a siege as any in history, and a number of Turkish soldiers who had served in the Russo-Turkish war declared after the siege that such fighting was unequalled even among the Russians. In the midst of all these horrible massacres, while the groans of old men and of women, and the shrieks of maidens and of children in the Turkish harems, and the cries of thousands of children and of babes were ringing in their ears, and while Her Majesty the Queen knew positively that these deeds of shame, intended to result in the extermination of one of the most ancient and civilized nations, were ordered and directed by the immoral, fanatical, and barbarous Sultan, yet she only a few months ago exchanged compliments and presents with this barbarian. I realize that the Queen has very little power, but if she had natural human instincts she would at least have avoided exchanging presents with such a fiend. This humane England will criticise most bitterly a few negro lynchings that take place now and then in the United States, and will introduce a resolution in Parliament to stop slave trade and human sacrifices in Africa (which it is the duty of every government to-day to do); but she utterly overlooks the fact that she has sacrificed one hundred thousand souls in Armenia in the last two years alone, simply for her own selfish interests.

The Duke of Argyll puts it better than I can :

Among the papers lately presented to Parliament there is a so-called treaty or agreement with an African savage king, by which we held him

bound to give up the practice of human sacrifices. This is quite right, but had we not better begin at home? Let us recollect that every human life among the thousands which have been sacrificed in Armenia — which we could have saved by any exertion on our part, and which we have not saved because of the doctrine I have traced — has been nothing less than a human sacrifice on our part to our feticf god of the "balance of power" in Europe or in Asia.¹

A friend of mine wrote me recently from England of an interview she had had with a member of the late Liberal Government who gave it as his opinion that the Sultan of Turkey ought to be hanged to the highest tree in his dominions. It is true that he ought to be hanged, but that would not help the Armenians any, as there is not a Turk living to-day who is fit to rule. They do not understand modern civilization, nor what methods should be used to build up their country. The Turks do not realize that to maintain an empire successfully there must be equality before the law, regardless of race or of religion. Since the Turks are corrupt beyond redemption, there are three ways in which Christians can be benefited: Either dismember the Turkish Empire; take the power from the Sultan, making him merely a figurehead, and placing Turkey under the protection of the European powers; or let Russia come in and take possession of the country.

There are over one million Armenians left under Turkish rule, more than two-thirds of them dying in prison and from starvation. England can save them yet, either by coercing Turkey single-handed, or, if she would expect the coöperation of the other powers, by doing three things, namely: First, settling the Egyptian difficulty with honesty and in a manner satisfactory to France. Second, declaring off the treaty of the Anglo-Turkish convention and giving up the island of Cyprus to be governed by the powers. Third, giving her word of honor, with guarantees sufficient to convince the other powers, that she has no selfish object in view this time. If she cannot comply with these conditions, let her stand aside and invite Russia to occupy Armenia.

¹ "Our Responsibilities," etc., p. 147.

HEREDITARY INFLUENCES AND MEDICAL PROGRESS.

BY J. J. MORRISSEY, M. D.

The subject of heredity in its general and special applications has assumed within the past decade an importance commensurate with the splendid advancement made in psychological and pathological studies. The latter particularly have made splendid strides and now rest upon a scientific basis never hitherto attained. The wonderful revelations of the microscope, the discovery of the bacillary origin of a multitude of diseases, and the consequent removal of the principles underlying medicine from the realm of empiricism to a finely accurate scientific atmosphere have given to collateral and kindred subjects an impetus which has awakened renewed interest in their investigation. The spirit of inquiry thus aroused has eliminated many theories held to be facts, and it has also served to point out to the progressive physician that his best efforts should be directed toward the prevention rather than the cure of disease. Here his noblest endeavors will find their finest compensation, and the best results accrue from a thorough devotion to the propagation of the principles of hygiene. Cleanly surroundings will produce a healthy environment. So that it will not be so much in the domain of therapeutics that the future physician will seek for assistance, as in the enlightened intelligence of the people demanding sanitary homes.

Looking at this broad and liberal interpretation of what the future practice of medicine promises, we can easily perceive how essentially important it will be for those afflicted with what are called "hereditary diseases." Environment has much to do with their development, and when that has reached the perfection of sanitation to which we hope to see it attain in the near future, we shall not hear so much about this class of diseases.

But unfortunately the ravages of disease still afflict our households despite the existence of a philosophy that acknowledges its presence and yet begrudges the financial aid

necessary to eliminate from our cities the class of zymotic diseases which to a great extent are preventable. It is in the prevention of this class of diseases that medicine will reach the exactitude of a science, though, to speak correctly, we can never have an exact science of medicine until we arrive at an exact science of man.

Yet, despite the limitations imposed upon us by individual peculiarities, let us look forward to that period when the imperfect reparative capacities we have now to deal with will be so strengthened and matured by careful living and sanitary surroundings as to prove irresistible against the encroachment of many diseases, and form a barrier antagonistic to the development of untoward hereditary tendencies.

The importance of hereditary influences, and the prominent position assigned to them by writers in all ages, clearly demonstrate what an important factor they were considered to be in the development of youth.

Nor was this influence confined solely to a consideration of the disease-tendencies manifested by offspring whose parents were afflicted with various transmissible diatheses, but even extended beyond the strict limitations of science and embraced the moral and intellectual attributes. Thus Homer represents Minerva as addressing Telemachus in language which doubtless embodies the views of that period :

Telemachus, thou shalt hereafter prove
Nor base, nor poor in talents. If in truth
Thou have received from Heaven thy father's force
Instilled into thee, and resemblest him
In promptness both of action and of speech
Few sons their fathers equal ; most appear
Degenerate ; but we find, though rare, sometimes
A son superior to his sire.

Hippocrates, whose clear judgment and excellent powers of observation combined with a happy faculty of expression have made physicians in every age his debtor, noticing the resemblance of children to their parents, concludes that this does not so essentially consist in the formation or organization of the body as in the habit or condition of the mind.

The Orientals, whose profound researches into the secrets of nature have met with such unqualified success, fully acknowledge the power of heredity, and carry its principles, particularly in family resemblance, almost to a mystical identity of personality. So that it may be affirmed that we are

not always as we make ourselves, for beneath our daily activities and high inspirations there lies a power subtle, yet forceful, displaying itself at potent crises of our life either for our welfare or degradation. And while environment is a powerful factor in producing marked modifications of hereditary tendencies, yet the influence of heritage has still greater power in the formation of character. So far as our direct knowledge regarding the ways of heredity is concerned, it must be acknowledged that it has eluded our researches. We know that such a fact as heredity exists, we strive to give to it the proper relation when introduced as a factor in our calculations as to the ultimate outcome of certain diseases, but beyond that we are unable to go. We cannot answer satisfactorily the question: Why, such things being so, are they not always found under similar conditions?

And here stress may be laid upon the point that the most successful physicians do not now treat the disease so much as the patient. The manifestations of disease are not the same in every system, because some people disclose an apparent vulnerability toward the encroachment of diseases not found in others. The virulence of disease, its intensity, may be modified from peculiarities of tissue structure or of other causes.

In other words, there are certain powers or potentialities implanted within us that enter into the composition of the most infinitesimal structures of our systems, that are, as it were, sentinels that point out to what extremes we may go either in health or disease.

There is in the first place the potentiality of the stock whence the individual has sprung and the potentiality of the person himself; but the former, as will be readily seen, is of vastly more importance both from a physical and intellectual standpoint. Thus if we belong to a family distinguished for its longevity, other things being equal, the chances of reaching a ripe old age are favorable, even though we should indulge in excesses of one kind or another, since it has been said, and evidently with truth, that the good tissues of long life are apt to be hereditary. So also it may be affirmed of a particular class of diseases from which our ancestors suffered — by careful living and the judicious use of therapeutics we can eliminate many of the predisposing causes which led up to those diseases and secure immunity from them. In successive generations the tissues become to some extent habituated and

suffer less severely, though at times there would seem to be an intensification of the original disease.

From a consideration of disease manifestations let us turn to another interesting phase of the question of heredity, namely, the transmission of qualities. It has long been a popular idea that clever men have fools for children rather than the reverse. Historical illustrations are cited by mentioning the families of Pericles, Thucydides, Phocion, Socrates, and other well-known characters mentioned in Plutarch's Lives, while in more modern times Henry IV, Louis XIV, Cromwell, and Napoleon are cited. Be this as it may, there can be no doubt that the development of the intellectual faculties of parents renders their children more susceptible to educational influences. And the more closely allied the parents are in the higher stages of intellectual development, and the longer such periods of development have extended even to later generations, the better the opportunity of the descendants for mental progress. Thus we have the two Pitts, Charles and James Fox, Torquato Tasso,—in whose family there were eight poets,—Thorwaldsen, the son of a poor sculptor, who rivalled Canova in the sublimity of his conceptions, Raphael the son of a poor painter, Beethoven the son of a tenor, while in our own country numerous examples might be adduced of families noted for the possession of rare intellectual gifts. Innumerable instances might be brought forward to prove that the heritage of great qualities is not only transmissible, but even intensified and made richer by the process of transmission. In this connection it should be noted that there is a period in the scale of intellectual development when there is no further advancement. The lowest grade of intellect, the perfect idiot, is unfruitful; the highest genius is unfruitful as regards its psychical character. True genius does not descend to posterity. There may be talent and ability in the ancestry and in the descendants directed to the same pursuits, but from the time the development culminates in true genius it begins to retrograde. Thus one author has remarked that the ascending movement of the higher faculties of a great number of founders of races is generally arrested at the third, rarely continued to the fourth, and scarcely a solitary instance is found in the fifth generation.

There is no doubt that education and the continued cultivation of the intellectual faculties for successive genera-

tions tend to exalt the mental powers, individual examples to the contrary notwithstanding. From what we have noted above it would appear as if the ordinary intelligence as now constituted can reach a certain limit of self-perfection and then gradually wanes. There may be a question in the minds of some people as to the truth of the above statement concerning development culminating in true genius. For genius stands alone without any qualification. If I were asked to define what is meant by genius I should answer, Genius is that sublime force which elevates the minds of some privileged men to a plane not occupied by their contemporaries, whence they survey the limitations of human knowledge, and by some occult power, oftentimes exercised unconsciously, they transcend the circumscribed bounds by which ordinary mortals are enclosed. Considered in this strict acceptance of the word, genius cannot be said to be cultivated *de novo*, for it is a spark of the divinity which raises its possessor above his fellow mortals.

Men of intellect may be bred, but not those of genius. In this connection it would be an interesting problem to solve, what would be the outcome if the highest intellects of the world as represented by the sexes could be mated. But, fortunately or unfortunately as the case may be, humanity cannot be bred like horses, and such a question must remain in a hypothetical condition. Men and women will not be willing in our practical age to be mated by another's choosing and on a purely intellectual basis. As one writer has remarked, would the earth ever have been peopled had cool reason been potent enough to quench the hot passion of love?

The resemblance between parent and offspring is the experience of every-day life. Yet a child may strikingly resemble one parent at one period of development, and the other at a later age, or on the other hand he may not resemble either, but some remote ancestor. And while apparently there may not be a distinct resemblance between two brothers, so that two strangers in external features would look more akin, yet when brought into contact with the brothers we find the essential identity which lies at the root of their nature inevitably disclosing itself. Not only this, but how often do we see or hear of some latent quality known to be possessed by an ancestor transmitting itself to the third or fourth generation, while it remains concealed in the more direct descendants. This dormancy of ancestral qualities, as

Maudsley remarks, that afterward make to open activity, which is known as atavism, is proof that the effect of the union of two persons may be to hold special qualities of one another in a sort of neutralization, released from which they show themselves again, somewhat similarly to an element in a chemical compound exhibiting itself and its own properties again as soon as it is free. Aside from this it is interesting to note the way in which some feature or characteristic is handed down from one generation to another. This is more evident in the royal houses, which by intermarriage are more liable to intensify such characteristics. Thus the Bourbons have an aquiline nose, the house of Austria is distinguished by a thick lip which is said to have been introduced more than three hundred years ago by the union of the Emperor Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy; while, to go back still further in history, Plutarch relates that all the members of a certain family in Thebes were born with the mark of a lance head upon the body; and it is only necessary to mention the gypsy to recall his distinctive physiognomy. The union of a Caucasian and a negro has often resulted in offspring partly black and partly white, not mixed, but each color occupying separate parts of the body. The resemblance of internal organization is oftentimes as striking as external, though of course not so frequently recognized.

In some families there is an hereditary liability to certain diseases such as apoplexy, epilepsy, mental aberration, special inflammations, while it is an ordinary experience in the practice of physicians to find families afflicted with the hemorrhagic diathesis. One generation may suffer from headaches, the next from convulsions, the third from insanity; while the tendency to a free effusion of blood may be extraordinarily well marked in the female members of a family, the male portion escaping entirely. There is also what might be called an hereditary idiosyncrasy against certain kinds of drugs and certain articles of food, in which individual susceptibility becomes unexpectedly revealed when we make use of opium, belladonna, quinine, and other therapeutic measures. Very often, too, in the administration of chloroform, and after a most careful examination of the heart and kidneys, we come near to a fatal termination, unfortunately too frequently fatal, without exceeding the bounds of moderation in administering the anæsthetic. In these cases after a few inhalations there ensues an overwhelming depression of the

heart, probably due to some peculiarity of nervous organization.

Thus we see what an infinite multiformity is presented in a consideration of the human system, making it one of the most complex combinations to be found. Types of diseases are constantly changing, and the higher tension of a more crowded and restless age, such as ours promises to be, must of necessity generate diseases of a special type. Yet the fact that hereditary diseases change their form in descent from generation to generation shows that they arise from a subtle faulty condition of the constitution which can be, as was observed in the beginning of this article, combated by prophylactic medicine. In no way can we do so much for posterity as by transmitting to it impulses of better and longer life. Constitutional taints of disease may be altogether eradicated by the recognition of certain elementary rules of health, and the physician will be performing the highest offices of his profession in pointing out how health may be conserved. In doing this he will be performing the specialism of his art, and not of his learning, which in medicine is ever to be deprecated.

It is impossible to predicate what the mental qualities of a child will be, no matter how intimately we may know his parents. The same assertion may be applied to twins, who, though ludicrously alike in features, may be entirely different in character. Nor have the halves of double monsters always similar dispositions. For example, the Siamese twins, who died some years ago, did not live happily. One became addicted to drinking, and indulged his appetite to such an extent as to seriously inconvenience his brother, who did not at all care for liquor. Apart from this, they took opposite views of our Civil War, and so acrimonious grew the debates that they consulted the most eminent surgical authority as to the advisability of separation. And in medical history we have the case of the famous Hungarian twins Ritta and Christina. One was of an exceedingly agreeable disposition, with quite handsome features and pleasant manners. The other was plain, ill-tempered, and quarrelsome, developing on the slightest provocation so much acerbity and violence against her inseparable companion that they could not be trusted alone. After their deaths the blood vessels of both were found to communicate so that the same blood flowed through both brains.

Thus we see that though the bodies may be intimately

connected the temperaments are diverse. This diversity precludes the possibility of accurately predicting results. No two voices are exactly alike, nor are two faces exactly similar, and the same may be said of the gait and attitude. Most of these peculiarities die with the individual, but some are propagated and become permanent qualities of the family stock, for the qualities of the stock are deeper and more stable than those of the individual, and the qualities of the species deeper and more stable than those of the family. The law of heredity is most evident in the preservation of the species, the law of variation in the determination of individual characteristics. (Maudsley.)

Here it might be well to inquire: Is the moral nature subject to hereditary law? and are all persons born with equal capacities, and must we ascribe the actual difference of intellectual status to education and environment? We have asserted above that, other things being equal, successive generations of intellectual men and women are apt to produce children possessing a high degree of intellectual capacity. With regard to the moral nature we have to distinguish. The propensity toward vice or virtue may be unmistakably transmitted, but not the acts themselves. Man's freedom is not obliterated, but it is his destiny in life to have more or less strife and temptation according as his inherited dispositions are active and vicious or the contrary. The passions may be distinctly hereditary, such as anger, jealousy, libertinage, and the vice of drunkenness. In speaking of the latter, Plutarch says, "*Ebrii gignunt ebrios.*" As to the great influence drink exercises on the offspring of drunkards there can be no question. There appears to be in this hereditary disease of inebriety structural weakness of the most degenerate character, and so firmly implanted is the terrible desire that it only requires the slightest provocation to burst forth into a virulent disease so overpowering in its influence, so disastrous in its consequences, that it would seem to demand more than the natural means and aids of medical science to overcome it. There are some diseases, as a witty writer has remarked, which should be treated a hundred years before the patient is born. Inebriety in many instances could be embraced in that classification. It is doubtful whether any therapeutic measures will be ever successful in reaching that class of cases. As the progressive educator of the present day attains the highest results in seeking to develop the individuality of the child, so does that

physician accomplish his best purposes in the treatment of inebriety who seeks to develop by environment, by moral restraint and strict abstinence, the manhood of the patient. The cure lies more in the latter's power than in the adoption of measures tending to allay the thirst for a time, only to have it break forth with intensified virulence. The tendency to suicide is highly developed in some families. Remarkable instances of this hereditary affliction are found in current literature. A case in point has been lately brought forward by Dr. Brouardel, a French physician, in which in three generations of a family sixteen had committed suicide. The heritage of drunkenness is often associated with a tendency toward suicide. Four brothers inherited a passion for drink and all indulged excessively. The eldest drowned himself, the second committed suicide by hanging, the third cut his throat, the fourth threw himself out of a window. Moreover, it is oftentimes startling to see how trivial a cause will light up the suicidal spark and stir it into action. Children after being reprimanded frequently commit suicide. The reports of the press are filled with examples of this character of degeneracy. For the cause of such an extravagant deed we must look into the family history, and frequently we shall find a line of suicidal tendencies or melancholic depression.

Of the diseases which our daily experience teaches us are directly inherited some it is scarcely necessary to dwell upon, while there are others, like phthisis, in which several children of a family are attacked while others escape. Here it would appear as if the predisposition was more evident, though the environment may be the same, in one or two of the children than in the remainder. A strange factor met with in the transmission of the predisposition to this terrible scourge is the modification met with often in the same family. Members of the same family may have phthisis, while others may be epileptic or directly deficient in intellect, — for variations may occur in morbid heredity as they do physiologically. Disease manifestations change not only in themselves, but in the individual, so that it is at times exceedingly difficult to definitely indicate just how any one particular disease is going to declare itself. Beneath the newly acquired or rather newly developed disease we can see the original stock, as it were, but so different is the after-grafting that we are often in doubt as to its nature.

It is a source of the greatest satisfaction to the physician that scientific investigation appears finally to have placed within his hands the power of mastering phthisis. In this relation it may be observed that one of the brightest jewels in the crown of medicine is the unselfish spirit which prompts men of the highest intellectual endowment to forego the pecuniary rewards of their profession, in order to dedicate themselves in the laboratory to the causes of diseases. It is not only health, but life itself that is often sacrificed in the pursuit of such investigations. Much has been accomplished in the past,—the swift revolution of the circling years has winnowed the chaff from the grain,—still more remains to be done in the future. What has been done proves that the physician can no longer be considered a mere prescription writer, but that his highest and noblest duties are fulfilled in striving to reach and prevent the causes of disease.

There are very few of us—are there any?—who are entirely free from some lurking tendency to a special disease, and when that subtle faulty condition of the system declares itself, it is only by the adoption of the most stringent measures that we can maintain a fair standard of health and at the same time prevent the transmission of a heritage of disease to posterity. Our duty then is not entirely embraced in the narrow limits projected for the preservation solely of our own health; it transcends such limitations and extends to the future welfare of our progeny. The proper application of the principles of sanitation, a recognition of the preservative powers of healthy environment, and above all a thorough system of scientific education, by which the people at large, and municipal authorities in particular are brought to a strict realization of what hygiene can do for the eradication of many diseases now unfortunately too prevalent,—these all come within the proper domain of the physician.

Let us hope that the future will prove the glorified sequel of the present, and that the twentieth century, so full of brilliant promises in every sphere of intellectual labor, will not find medical science unable to cope with the problems suggested by a consideration of the transmission of hereditary diseases.

RESTORE METZ TO FRANCE!

HOW TO CELEBRATE THE BIRTH OF THE TWENTIETH
CENTURY.

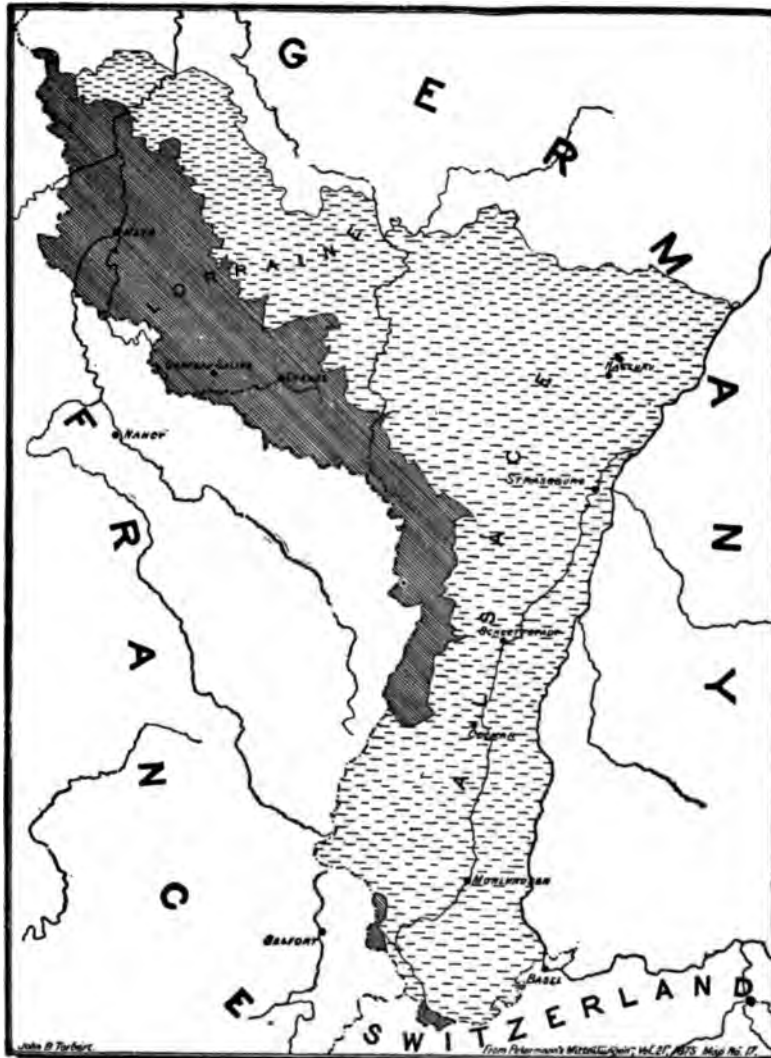
BY "PAN-ARYAN."

In the *Review of Reviews*, December, 1894, the present writer suggested as a means of reconciling France and Germany, and thus making the most important advance toward universal peace, that Germany restore to France one-sixth of Alsace-Lorraine, namely the French-speaking districts around Metz. Having announced himself as a native of Prussia and a naturalized American, he fancied that this circumstance might, in a measure, lessen the force of two natural objections, — the Germans could not quite regard the suggestion as the obtrusive advice of a foreigner, and the French could not taunt Germany with showing the white feather, since the author was not a German citizen. The proposal had the good fortune to be commended by Mr. Alfred H. Love, president of the Universal Peace Union, in a circular sent to peace societies and newspapers in America and Europe. The author had no doubt that he would be hailed in Germany and France alike as a white-winged angel of peace. No doubt every German would thank him for suggesting a means to relieve his fatherland of a crushing burden and a grievous check to her progress, and at the same time secure for her the foremost place among the nations as the leader in a new era. Similarly, every son of France would reward him with "*Pas mal du tout!*" for having demanded an apology and amends for that country by means of a compromise which a Frenchman could hardly afford to suggest.

Imagine his surprise when both parties denounced him as a mischief-maker. Quoth Franz Wirth, socialist, president of the Frankfurt Peace Society :

What! say our people, should we have shed our blood and risked our lives in the most wanton of wars, forced upon us, for nothing, and shall France, who began the war, not bear the penalty, but retain the provinces stolen from us? No, never! The good-hearted gentlemen who make such proposals seem to have forgotten what history says. It seems, indeed, that in foreign countries the public spirit of Germany is quite unknown. It would therefore be better to study it and relinquish such thankless tasks as the "study of the Alsace-Lorraine question."

"An Alsace-Lorraine question," said another advocate of peace, "does not exist for us, and therefore cannot be



ALSACE-LORRAINE.

(Annexed to Germany in 1871.)

This map is reprinted, by permission, from the *Review of Reviews*, December, 1894, page 637, where it illustrates the article here referred to in the opening paragraph.

The dark shade on the west indicates French-speaking, the lighter shade on the east, German-speaking territory.

solved. We beg you, therefore, to desist from your endeavors, as they would only bring the cause of peace into discredit."

"To you, indeed," said the *Leipziger Tageblatt*, "it is an easy matter to tear Alsace-Lorraine in two along the language boundary, for the sake of a *phantom*. We Germans, however, are prevented from so doing by the bones of our fathers and brothers, who sealed with their blood the safeguarding of the western frontier of Germany, by the acquisition of Alsace-Lorraine."

"Phantom" apparently means universal peace.

That veteran champion of peace, Mr. Hodgson Pratt of London, while declining to express an opinion on the proposal, thought it worth while to point out to his indignant German friends two facts: first, that the proposal did not call for the restitution of *all* Alsace-Lorraine, as had been somewhat hastily inferred, but only of the French-speaking *sixth*; second, that the refusal to discuss a question may sometimes indicate that one's position on that question is weak.

The replies that came from France were hardly less severe. "The Alsace-Lorrainers," said Jean Heimweh, "repel it [the proposed division along the language boundary] with indignation. None could think of recommending it at this date but one who has lived far from the scene. To him it matters little whether the proposed remedy suits or does not suit the Alsace-Lorrainers. It is unworthy of true friends of humanity to make so little of the feelings of fifteen hundred thousand people."

"The proposition," said Frédéric Passy in the *Revue des Revues*, "found no favor either with the Germans or French whom Pan-Aryan had consulted, or with the Alsatians or Lorrainers whom he forgot to consult."

Truly glad was the culprit then of the inspiration which had led him to hide his bashful head under a pseudonym.

The American comments, with few exceptions, proved true to the pacific spirit of our people by applauding the proposal. A few Americans, it is true, deemed the occasion suitable for glorifying Germany and denouncing France. This is an old trick of human nature, or, for that matter, of animal nature, as would appear from "The Light of Asia":

I now remember, myriad rains ago,
What time I roamed Himala's hanging woods,
'A tiger, with my striped and hungry kind;

* * * * *

Amid the beasts that were my fellows then,

* * * * *

A tigress, comeliest of the forest, set
 The males at war; * * * * *
 * * hot the strife waxed in that wood
 With tooth and claw, while underneath a neem
 The fair beast watched us bleed, thus fiercely wooed.
 And I remember, at the end she came
Snarling past this and that torn forest-lord
 Which I had conquered, and *with fawning jaws*
Licked my quick-heaving flank, and with me went
 Into the wild with proud steps, amorously.

Had another been conqueror she would have licked his flank just as fawningly.

The objection was repeatedly raised that, if the Alsace-Lorraine boundary is to be regulated according to language, the same *must* be done with all other boundaries. That does not follow. What everlasting generalizers we are! Every one of the cases cited presents peculiar features, and has to be decided on its own merits.

In the midst of his dread of having misunderstood human nature, and thus done more mischief than good, the writer drew especial reassurance from three approvals. Mr. Andrew Carnegie wrote:

The compromise suggested is the root of the whole matter. Such a compromise would ask but little from Germany, and yet that little should be satisfactory to France. It all seems so easy, so plain, so sensible. — but all truly great triumphs are so.

An authority without a superior in America wrote:

I will not say that I think your plan likely to be adopted, but I will say that it seems to me to be really the most simple and statesmanlike proposal yet made.

A third, not less distinguished, wrote:

Your remedy certainly goes to the very core of the difficulty, and it seems to me the most equitable settlement of the question I have yet heard advanced.

Flattering admissions were made by two French friends. "It would place France in an *impasse*," said one. "If Germany simply evacuated the French-speaking district," said the other, "without saying a word about it, she would give proof of very high diplomacy, and purchase transcendent glory at very cheap cost. She would place France in a position of cruel embarrassment." Whether, in this gentleman's opinion, Germany deserves such credit, may appear from a remark he made on hearing that somebody had encountered

difficulties in translating certain words into German. "I am not surprised at all," said he. "What were the words — justice, generosity?"

On the whole, the evidence seemed to show that whatever might be the merits of the proposal from the standpoint of pure reason, a public man who should venture to bring it forward in Germany would incur popular execration as a virtual traitor, and would have to deem himself fortunate if he escaped prosecution and imprisonment.

Yet this incredible thing has happened. Verily, it is easier to predict the weather than to tell what men will do. In the January number (1896) of the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, one of the most influential magazines in Germany, the place of honor is given to an article by "Vir Pacificus," entitled "Political Dreams," in which this very measure is advocated. The importance of the passage justifies its literal translation:

This [the incorporation of Luxemburg in the German Empire] is impossible without the consent of France. Now, Germany holds a piece of the old French domain, whose natural connection points to France quite as much as that of Luxemburg does to Germany. It is Metz. From the beginning opinions were divided as to whether it was wise, politically, to retain Metz in 1871. Prince Bismarck at first was opposed to it; for purely military reasons it was finally taken, upon the vote of General Moltke. No doubt Metz, from a military point of view, is a position of first rank. Nor can it be questioned that during the past twenty-five years it has been of the greatest service to us. Had we not taken it, the French would have thirsted for revenge none the less; but our position at Metz checked their warlike ardor. But now the reverse of the picture is gradually coming to light. The German position at Metz is so overwhelming a threat to the French that they could not abandon the idea of revenge even if they wished. Metz was of old part of the domain of the French language, and a great, honorable nation never pardons a robbery committed against the domain of its language. It merely awaits the favorable moment for reconquest. French national pride can forego Alsace and German-speaking Lorraine, but not French-speaking Lorraine. Metz is not more than fifteen days' march from Paris. That is about as far as from the present Russo-Polish boundary to Berlin. In and around Metz a whole German army corps is stationed. What should we say if the Russians were to establish such a place of arms at the point where the Warthe crosses the boundary? We should feel it as a standing and an unbearable threat.

If ever Germany and France are to reënter into friendly and neighborly relations, we must draw this thorn out of the flesh of the French. If we did it simply out of good nature, to-day or to-morrow, it would avail nothing; the French would regard it as a sign of weakness, and would hope to deal the revenge thrust with all the greater force at some time from the regained position. The case would be altogether different if the restitution took place in connection with the great political readjustment above described. . . . The French chauvinists, of course, would not cease to preach a war of revenge against Germany, and would represent Metz as a mere instalment. But a very large part of public opinion even now is notoriously not very zealous for war with Germany; and this element, which now keeps in the background, would then come for-

ward and would treat the restitution not as a mere instalment but as a compromise, and in this way doubtless exert a very pacifying influence on the expression of public opinion in France. . . .

If Germany offers to make such a sacrifice, she will thereby perform an act of great moral self-conquest; she will show how foreign to her are all designs of attack, and how anxious she is for the preservation of the peace of Europe, and that thus she has a right to expect sacrifices from others. . . .

Germany, being entirely free from mere greed of power, and desiring nothing else but her untrammelled national development, may risk the restitution, and, in particular, need not begrudge France her increase of power through the reacquisition of Metz. . . . France's population is stationary, that of Germany is steadily increasing. In 1870 Germany and France had each about thirty-eight million inhabitants. To-day France has still thirty-eight millions, while Germany has fifty-two millions. Other things being equal, it is hopeless to contend with an enemy twice as numerous. Now, this is the relation which Germany and France will eventually bear to each other.

In the March number of the same journal "Vir Pacificus" replies to his critics:

One more point of my dream needs a little consideration. The restitution of Metz to France is an integral and an indispensable part of the whole. . . . Metz and vicinity are part and parcel of the old domain of the French language. To put it in plain terms, we took that "glacis" for purely military reasons; from a national point of view it is a heavy burden. *Merely to get rid of it would be a gain*; and to get Germans . . . in exchange for it would be an incalculable gain. . . . But what has happened? A number of journals have been horror-struck at my dream — not for political or military reasons, but for national reasons! . . . The very idea of surrendering a *piece of land* which we had once got into our possession appeared abominable to them. Not a word is said of the *German brothers* now drifting away from us, outside the empire!

The force of these arguments is independent of the fact that "Vir Pacificus" advocates the restitution of Metz merely as part of his scheme for a general readjustment (which it is not necessary here to describe). For the present purpose it is sufficient to note that an article published in a prominent German magazine recognizes four things:

1. The retention of Metz by Germany is a standing insult and threat to France.
2. The object for which Metz was taken has been accomplished; the motive for keeping it has lost most of its force, since Germany, even without Metz, is practically safe against a French attack.
3. Metz is a heavy burden to Germany, and merely to get rid of it would be a gain.
4. It must be given back if Germany and France are ever to become reconciled.

That a certain number of German newspapers should have denounced the mere "dream" of restitution as abominable

is not surprising. It is simply another illustration of the fact which has been at the bottom of all wars, namely, that the violent minority always talks promptly and loud, while the peace-loving majority is dumb. The philosophic observer knows that the same infinite patience with which the French allowed themselves to be tricked into war in 1870 now causes the great mass of the Germans to continue staggering under their military burdens, and to stand scratching their puzzled heads while their jingoes heap abuse on one who tries to show them a way to get rid of the load — by restoring Metz. But if the infinite patience of the French was "incredible folly," why should the infinite patience of the Germans be called by another name?

At the same time, this helplessness of the public and the consequent exaggerated influence of the violent element are facts like any others, to be recognized by one who wishes to labor for the public good. It must be kept in view in estimating the chances of acceptance of the present proposal. In France, in 1870, there was one man, Thiers, who did not share in the general infatuation, who refused to drift with the mob, and was courageous enough to brave the taunt of having shown the white feather by protesting against the declaration of war; and he came near being torn to pieces by the populace. Will a man of like sagacity and courage be found in Germany to protest against the infatuation which causes Metz to be retained? The task is not inviting. Not only would he be jeered as having shown the white feather (most unjustly, for his would be the very highest courage), but he would expose himself to the far graver accusation of having placed his country in the same attitude. Well may a patriot shrink from such a prospect. Reasonable and well-meaning men are apt to be peculiarly sensitive to the coarseness and injustice of which they would inevitably become the objects if they entered on such a mission. What popular man would lightly resolve to shock and alienate his friends, to disturb all the pleasant relations he has woven around himself, to risk loss of influence and advancement, by advocating a measure so contrary to the "drift" of the past twenty-five years? If he failed, it would probably be his ruin; and even if he succeeded, it would involve years of arduous and mostly thankless labor and expense in arousing the great torpid mass of the indifferent and in silencing the blusterers; and when success came and credit was to be given it would probably

go to the minister who happened to be at the helm, and whose sole merit would consist in having given way to the pressure of public opinion. None but a man of considerable popularity could undertake this propaganda with any chance of success, and all such men have their hands too full of work which absorbs all their time. To interrupt a well-established work which has grown to be part of his nature, in order to enter on a new and startling apostolate in which he would for some time be alone, and which, to be successful, would claim all his time and attention for several years, is rather more than can be expected from an influential man. The moment one tries to picture such a campaign, difficulties are seen to spring up in all directions. One part of the press, after a contemptuous sneer, would ignore the subject as a nuisance; another part would (deliberately or inadvertently, it matters not) misrepresent the proposal as purporting the restitution of *all* Alsace-Lorraine. How under these circumstances could the apostle of reconciliation secure even his first and fundamental object—to din into the ears of the German masses the fact that Metz and vicinity belong to the domain of the French language, a fact which, despite all assertions to the contrary, the great majority of the Germans either do not know or do not appreciate in its full significance?

But could a man be found courageous enough to proclaim that fact from the housetops; one whose name had a good ring in the ears of the people; one of proved and unquestioned patriotism, who had contributed his share to the glory of the German name; one whose voice would be sure to reach every ear and cause the proposal to become the theme of general discussion,—can it be imagined that “the nation of reasoners” would be unable to perceive in the restitution its own manifest advantage? “*Vir Pacificus*” did not mention the strongest argument, perhaps from fear of wounding German pride. It is this: Germany is paralyzed in all her movements by the presence of an implacable and ever-watchful foe by her side. Having entered the ranks of the great powers at the eleventh hour, and ambitious to make up for the lost centuries, she finds herself doomed to inaction by the ever-present necessity of reserving her main strength to guard against attack from a quarter in which she has no possible chance of further expansion. Of course, even so her internal development has been wonderful; but what might

her external development have been if the enthusiasm and self-confidence inspired by her victories and her unification had been available for laying out new fields instead of guarding the old ones! The partition of the earth is well-nigh accomplished, and Germany, with her great surplus of colonists, has received only three modest slices of Africa and a strip of New Guinea, none of them suitable for extensive white colonization. She will probably have to stand by to see China partitioned among France, Russia, and England. Not less has been the paralysis nearer home. The large *Germania irredenta*, as large now as in 1871, with its millions of Germans meekly offering their cheeks to the alien smiters, is certainly not a flattering monument to German statesmanship.

Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?

* * * * *

So weit die deutsche Zunge klingt!

seems to have been forgotten in the Herculean labor of forcing the German language down two hundred and fifty thousand French throats. Rather than extract an irritating foreign body from her system, Germany declines to add a cubit to her stature in flesh of her flesh. Or must we believe that the cry for the union of all the brothers of German speech was always a mere sham? that the mass of the Germans, now as in the past, care less for national than for selfish local interests? that the *partial* union was brought about in 1871, not by statesmanship or public spirit, but by mere force of circumstances?

The reply will of course be made that all this would have been exactly the same if Metz had not been taken. Granted; but that is no reason why it should continue for a hundred years to come. It was fortunate, perhaps, that in 1871 Germany annexed something in whose restitution she might subsequently have a means of making amends without injury to her own national sentiment. Had Metz not been annexed French resentment would be just as great, and there would be no means of allaying it except by the restitution of some district of German-speaking Alsace-Lorraine, which it would be difficult to mark out. Now it is clearly marked out by the language boundary.

Let us picture the effect of the restitution. It is not to be expected that the feelings of humiliation and of detestation of their conquerors which the French have nourished for

twenty-five years will suddenly give place to contentment and friendship. On the other hand, it cannot be imagined that they would jeopardize the regained district by going to war immediately. Especially if *the restitution was made in 1899 or 1900*, France would certainly not stop in the midst of her preparations for the great fair, to draw upon herself the world's contempt and execration by using the fortress so nobly restored to attack the generous enemy. Some years will thus certainly pass in peace, during which certain currents of popular feeling will make for good. One is the feeling of chivalry, in which the French are notoriously preëminent, and which is certain to be deeply touched by the generosity shown in making the apology and amends, and in foregoing an immense strategic advantage. Another is pride, which will be gratified by so substantial a concession, the most striking expression of esteem and confidence that Germany could possibly give to France. Could France have the heart to prove to the world that that confidence was misplaced? Pride will hug the regained district to its bosom with special affection and be careful not to risk its loss again; it will feel that the "duty" of revenge (onerous even to the proudest) has become less stringent, to say the least. Then there will be the memory of the last war, in which the possession not only of Metz but of all Alsace-Lorraine did not prevent the Germans from overrunning France. If a loose German confederation could do that when its population was about equal to that of France, what assurance is there that a firmly united empire could not do it when it has twelve million inhabitants more than France? Again, there is the consciousness that the last war against Germany, on the most frivolous of pretexts, for the purpose of annexing German lands (without consulting their inhabitants), was an amazing folly, a crime, for which the loss of German-speaking Alsace-Lorraine (torn from the German empire some two hundred years before by equally wanton wars) is a just and singularly appropriate penalty. This is felt by all reflecting Frenchmen and openly avowed by some, and self-reproach is a great chastener. Lastly, no nation is more sensitive to the opinion of the outside world than are the French, and they would find it simply unendurable (especially under the prospect of another defeat) that their nation, by renewing the quarrel, should earn the name of "*polisson*," after Germany had by the restitution won the title of the most high-minded of nations.

It is probable, therefore, that in a few years, perhaps surprisingly few, the French, realizing that growls would simply render them ridiculous, will have grown accustomed to regard the new status as permanent. In the course of events situations will certainly arise in which the remembrance of the unprecedented act of generosity will be active in softening animosities and in making it easier to profit by opportunities for combined action. In the daily wear and tear the thought of the days of enmity, indissolubly connected with the remembrance of the apology and amends, will become less and less bitter, while the day of restitution will become more and more glorified in the memory of both nations.

That day will be a veritable convalescence to the German nation. Freed from the nightmare of war that oppressed her, she will then at last be able to devote her whole strength to the task on which her heart is set—to regaining the preëminence in Europe which she possessed in the days of Gutenberg (the five-hundredth anniversary of whose birth is to be celebrated in 1897). Then at last will the Fatherland, in her international transactions, especially in her attitude toward oppressed nations, be able to act on the good old German motto: “*Thue recht und scheue Niemanden.*”

And why should not then her dream of a colonial empire be realized? France has more colonies than she can manage. Having no colonists of her own to spare, she would have to people her vast protectorates with foreigners, who would presently declare their independence. Madagascar in German hands would soon have a numerous white population. At present it is totally beyond Germany's reach; but should the two nations become reconciled, it seems not improbable that France, having at her door in Morocco an incomparably more convenient field, might get rid of remote Madagascar to Germany for a consideration, all the more readily because nothing in the world could vex England more. Of course this bargain must come *after* the restitution of Metz, which must be entirely unconditional. The noblest act in history must not be sullied by sordid haggling over prices.

Above all, the restitution will be the most effectual means of attaching the German-speaking Alsace-Lorrainers to Germany. Mr. Jean Heimweh is at a loss to understand how this can be brought about. First, by making language the test of nationality, the fact of their speaking German will be emphasized to them and to the world, and they will be

more apt to ask themselves, " Might it be true, after all, that we *are* 'Dietsch,'¹ seeing that we *speak* 'Dietsch'?" Second, the reconciliation will take away their last hope of being reunited to France, and as instinct prompts every human being to ascribe to himself some nationality, they will have no choice but to look on Germany as their country. Third, as the act of voluntary restitution will make the German name the most honored in the world, they will be anxious to claim that name so as to share the honor. Lastly, if they retain any love for France, it will no longer be compatible with aversion to Germany, since the two nations will be friends. And when the German-speaking districts are reconciled to German rule the last pretext for enmity between the two nations will have vanished, for the main ground by which the French justify their schemes for reconquest is the desire of the Alsace-Lorrainers to be reunited to France. Especially will this be the case because then the Alsace-Lorrainers resident in Paris, who are the principal fomenters of the agitation for revenge, will have lost the text for their discourses. Every true German must grow sick at heart to think that the land he adores is detested by 1,300,000 German-speaking citizens, who for the last twenty-five years had to be kept in the empire by force. To convert them from bitter enemies into fervent patriots, — is not that an object for which almost any price seems too cheap? And if that object can be gained by getting rid of Metz, and thus winning the friendship of Germany's most powerful neighbor, would it not be incredible folly to continue carrying that " heavy burden "?

The two articles by " Vir Pacificus " may be the shadows of coming events. It may be that the sober men of Germany are beginning to doubt whether the policy of running a race with France in increasing the war budget is really so very wise; whether that money might not be more profitably spent on the *navy* and the *colonies*; whether Germany's intellectual and military position is compatible with her attitude of paralysis in matters where humane and manly action is called for; and whether the prospect of twenty-five years more of such paralysis is very cheering. Perhaps the technical question whether Alsace-Lorraine is a fit matter for arbitration is beginning to appear less important to them than the question as to what *common sense* requires. Perhaps those who point out an opportunity to be noble and wise

¹ The Alsatian pronunciation of the word *Deutsch*.

above all nations, and to unite all brothers of German tongue, may seem to them better counsellors than those who harp on technical rights to certain clods of earth inhabited by aliens, who turn down every noble idea with the reply, "We find our satisfaction in being mean," — the spiritual progeny of those who bragged before Jena and afterward fawned on Napoleon at Erfurt and Dresden. Perhaps the sober men are inquiring whether patriotism or treaties or any legal maxims whatever have any other sanction than the increase of human happiness. Having had occasion to become acquainted with the sons and daughters of the noble nation to the west of them, and finding that no treachery is to be apprehended from them individually, — that Frenchmen, too, love life and peace and order and reason, and occasionally admit that they have acted foolishly, — they may be led to inquire why the aggregate of these amiable persons could under no circumstances be trusted to keep the peace. Solicitous for their country's good name, the true German patriots are perhaps questioning whether there be really much honor in keeping two hundred and fifty thousand Frenchmen virtual prisoners. If so, they must perceive that it is the victor's duty to make the first advances toward reconciliation; that reconciliation is not possible if distrust continues; that the tremendous fortress of Metz, on French-speaking territory, is the very embodiment of distrust; and that therefore the restitution of that fortress to France is an indispensable prerequisite to reconciliation. "Vir Pacificus" thinks this an absolutely essential part of his scheme. Presently he may come to think it the only essential part.

Be noble, my Fatherland!

THE NEW OLD PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE.

BY S. P. COLBURN.

The command enunciated centuries ago by the Delphic Oracle to man to master a knowledge of self has passed into a proverb. Yet who has solved the riddle? "Man" is a Sanscrit word meaning "to think," and the proverb itself shows that it is a demand, made consciously or unconsciously by this very man or thinker, who has for his expression and use the human form. Has not every thoughtful person, at one time or another, on seeing his reflection in a mirror, suddenly stopped and, intently looking at this image or reflection, questioned who and what it was, whence it came and whither it tended, and looking still more closely into those reflected eyes — the real ones, called "the windows of the soul" — has seen heights and depths which could not be measured.

What is this thing, imprisoned in these bodies of ours, looking out of its windows with sadness and questionings unutterable? Did it come of its own free will to gain experience and knowledge upon the stage of objective life, or was it compelled? What is its mission and what its goal? These questions have been asked in all ages by the many or the few, with one answer and another. In our own time materialism says that man, who has builded great water palaces and harnessed with bands of iron that huge puffing and screaming monster called steam, and compelled it, though with many mutterings of anger and remonstrance, to plough the great waters, bearing his heavy burden from land to land; who has riddled continents with lines of steel, over which this monster, with its long train of living freight and one fiery eye, runs swiftly, patiently, and obedient to the master mind which directs; that man, who has girdled the earth with lightning and sends his messages under oceans and across continents at will; who has with his piercing eagle vision measured distances from star to star, of such appalling magnitude that the strongest imagination is paralyzed in its effort to follow the footsteps of the builder of space illimitable, of suns and worlds without number,—materialism

says this vision, this thought and will, are of the earth, earthy, builded of dust and to dust returning. The Church goes further and declares that with the first breath of the newborn child the "spirit of God" enters therein, and when the last breath is taken at the hour of death, it says "Dust to dust, ashes to ashes," but the spirit returns to God who gave it, that He may give to one eternal life in paradise, and to another of the same household eternal life in anguish untold.

Spiritualism proclaims with ringing voice, "There is no such thing as 'death,'" that which seems so is but another form of life, and the solid rock or wood upon which we stand is pulsing with life, if only our eyes were educated to see it. Moreover, it declares, with no uncertain sound, that there are those who long since laid aside the material body, yet they "thank the great Father that they may come to this little planet that men have named the earth, and reach down their hands to those who are looking up and asking for help;" and it prophesies that the new religion, which is to be world-wide, will not be called spiritualism, nor by any name known to the so-called religious world.

A week of years passed and the word theosophy was spoken. Another week of years, and nature herself, for very gladness, had carried that word on the wings of the wind to every country on our globe, and in every country men and women who have been seeing their reflection in the mirror and in the faces of others, and asking, Whence and whither? are forming themselves into classes or societies to study theosophy. What means this little word that carries with it such marvellous power or influence? It is derived from two Greek words, *theos*, *sophia*, meaning divine wisdom, or wisdom like that which is possessed by the gods, and the root wisdom, from which all philosophies, religions, and sciences have sprung, and to which I will add one science by name, since it is so little known to the western world, — the science of life.

What message does this theosophy bring to us of the nineteenth-century civilization? Is there anything that we can learn from the wisdom religion of the ancients? Does it answer the questions the human heart is forever asking? Does it explain the inequalities in the condition and development of humanity more reasonably and more hopefully than the creeds and *isms* of the day?

First of all, it predicates three fundamental propositions.

The first one is that there is a universal, omnipresent, boundless, and continuous principle from which all manifestation springs and to which it returns.

Second, the universality of periodicity, as the coming and going of the seasons, day and night, the flow and ebb of the tides, life and death, etc.

Third, the oneness of all life, running unbroken from God to man, from man to the lowest form of life that is known. With the understanding of the oneness of life comes the knowledge of universal brotherhood and the effort to make it a living factor in each individual, every-day life, and this is the very first aim and object of the Theosophical Society. It brings to us the message that we are of a seven-fold nature, like the seven colors of the rainbow or the seven tones in music; the first fold or principle being the lowest or most material, the physical body.

The second is called the astral body, astral meaning starry or luminous, or *linga saviva*, the pattern upon which the physical body is moulded. This is the perfect double or counterpart of the physical body, and it is this form which is often seen by clairvoyants. Death means for this form just what it does for its material counterpart, — disintegration and decay; but the particles thus set free return to their own plane of life, ready for continued service.

The third fold or principle is pranavitality or the life principle, and the *linga saviva* is the bridge over which it is conveyed to every atom of the living organism, whether it be man, animal, or plant.

The fourth fold or principle is the seat of all the desires, passions, emotions, sensations, etc., but it has no form or body until after death, when it is clothed with astral matter. It is then called *kama rupa*, *kama* meaning desire, and *rupa*, form, desire form, or animal soul. This form has more or less power but little sense, and lives longer or shorter in *kama loka*, or desire world, according to the tendencies generated and cultivated during the just-closed earthly life. It often manifests in seance rooms, and goes wherever it is attracted by like qualities in others. These four folds or principles are called the lower quaternary and are those which we have in common with the animals.

The three remaining principles are called the "Higher Triad," and these unite us with the gods and the "one universal soul."

The first of these, following the above order, is the fifth fold, called *manas*, not mind, because it includes *all* that the western world understands by "mind" and much more.

The sixth fold or principle is *buddhi*, the vehicle or bridge connecting the seventh, the highest of all, with *manas* the fifth, as the *linga saviva* connects the life principle with the physical body. These two principles, the fifth and the sixth, in close union, become the individual, or the thinker—the real self-conscious *I*.

Now *manas* is dual on *this* plane of life and informs to some extent the four lower principles, and in *that* union it is called the *personality*, and this *person* is the *garment* which the real actor in the great drama of evolving life wears during one scene upon the stage of objective life. He then retires for a period of rest and change of costume, and again reappears in another age and character to perform his part once more in the ever-changing scenes of the everlasting drama.

And this is what theosophists mean when they say "he is dead." The actor, the thinker, the individual, can never die, neither is he born.

The seventh fold or principle of our nature is called "the higher self," or *atma*, the inseparable ray of the universal or one soul." This ray, instead of being divided up into innumerable rays, one ray belonging to each individual, is *one*, like the sunlight shining through clear glass, but has the *appearance* of being divided as the sunlight has when shining through glass of many colors and shades of coloring.

The individuals through which the ray from the one soul is gaining experience in the worlds of form and matter may be likened to the sun ray shining through the colored glass. When it has shone or *been* through the *seven* primary colors and every shading of every color on every plane of his *seven* fold nature, the colors will again unite in the white, and this individual, who has gained all knowledge, wisdom, and power known to men or gods, will return to the source from whence it came, the "universal or one soul," carrying within its consciousness *all* the remembered past.

Now as this individual or thinker through which the ray from the one soul gains its experience had already gathered all that was possible in the lower forms and kingdoms of nature, the human form was evolved for his continued use; and just here, under the laws of reincarnation and *karma*, is

explained the reason for the inequalities, suffering, and sin in human life.

As the thinker, working through the body, which is his garment, machine, and instrument, and which responds more or less readily to his thought, gains experience in a certain phase of life, he withdraws his presence, and *men* say, "He is dead;" but he is just taking a rest from the toils and discords of life, in a state of bliss surpassing our imagination, where he assimilates, as I may say, the results of his just-ended earthly career and continues his interest and effort in all those pursuits which belong to the plane of the thinker, such as music, painting, poetry, philosophy, etc. This state is called *devachan*, and the period for remaining there varies, but is said to be from ten to fifteen hundred years. Then nature provides another infant body, and the thinker returns to earth to play another part upon the stage of objective or material life; and in this connection I will speak of that other law just referred to, *karma*, which operates in determining the condition into which this child is born.

Every thought, as well as every word and action, is both cause and effect; so his life will be in those surroundings and in accordance with the causes set in motion during his previous life and other lives which preceded that; or, in other and more familiar terms, the harvest must be of the same nature as the seed that was sown and reaped upon the same field.

Karma is a Sanscrit word which has been adopted by all theosophists because there is no word or phrase in the English language which conveys the same idea.

It is the law of action and reaction, cause and effect, not only upon this physical field of life, but also upon the field of each of the seven principles which make up that complex being called man.

Now the fields of action of these different principles are not separate and distinct like cities and towns, neither are they like an apartment house, one above another, although they are superior and inferior, but they are interblended and interwoven like the colors of the rainbow, or like the gases of which the air that we breathe is composed. Yet each has its own sphere and methods of action, and each acts and reacts upon the other, but, generally speaking, this is unconscious action.

Now when a person begins the study of *karma*, or action

and reaction, in the light of theosophy, and learns that every thought is a living entity for good or for evil, for help or for hindrance, he will begin also to control them as the horseman controls his unruly steed, with bit and bridle, of his determined will, and send out only such as will help himself and others to climb the steep mountain of knowledge whose summit leads out of rebirth upon the planes of Christlike self-sacrifice, with Christlike power, to aid those who are already struggling upward, as well as those whose hearing is not yet attuned to the silvery voice of the thinker bidding them come up higher.

These great souls, called masters, who live upon these higher levels are not gods, without knowledge of the weaknesses, temptations, and suffering in human life, but verily and truly our elder brothers, whose feet have trodden the same weary way, whose hearts have rejoiced in the pleasure of living and again have throbbed with anguish unspeakable, but by steadfast, unwavering purpose and unswerving, indomitable will they have transmuted the base metals of their nature, iron, lead, and brass, or the desires, passions, and emotions of the animal soul, into the priceless gems and pure gold of love, compassion, and power divine, and stand living realities of that old-time, much-ridiculed science, alchemy. And, thank God, what man has done, man can do.

THE PLEA OF LABOR FROM THE STANDPOINT OF A RUSSIAN PEASANT.

BY ERNEST HOWARD CROSBY.

"What justice is there in this, that a nobleman, a goldsmith, a banker, or any other man, that either does nothing at all, or at best is employed in things that are of no use to the public, should live in great luxury and splendor upon what is so ill acquired; and a mean man, a carter, a smith, or a ploughman, that works harder even than the beasts themselves, and is employed in labors so necessary that no commonwealth could hold out a year without them, can only earn so poor a livelihood, and must lead so miserable a life, that the condition of the beasts is much better than theirs?" — *Sir Thomas More*.

"Those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God, if ever He had a chosen people, whose breasts He has made His peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue." — *Thomas Jefferson*.

The complaints of the day-laborer do not often find their way into print, except as they are imagined by some sympathetic writer of another class of society. This is especially true of the farm-hand in America and of the peasant in Europe. They carry their heavy burden scarcely knowing why, and their own case against their fellows remains usually inarticulate. But now, at last, a Russian peasant has felt himself charged with the mission of protesting, in the name of his fellow-workers, against the oppression of the upper classes. His name is Timothy Michailovitch Bondareff, and he is a *moujik* (peasant) of Manoussinsk in Siberia, where he has a little house of his own. Until he was seven-and-thirty he was a serf on the estate of a landed proprietor of the Don. His master made him enlist as a soldier, — a fate which all peasants dread, — but finally he was allowed to settle in Siberia. Although he is sixty-five years old, he can do two men's work, and can support thirty people by his labor. He has a right therefore, he says, to rank as a general among laborers; he should sit at the same seat as a general.¹ Nay, a general should remain standing before him. "Why?" the reader will ask in alarm. "Because the general eats bread produced by my labor, while the converse is not true." His book is entitled "Work, According to the Bible."² It is really a petition to the educated classes, and, as I know of no more imperative duty than that of forward-

¹ The title of "general" is given in Russia to those who are far advanced in all the higher careers.

² "Le Travail selon la Bible." Paris: C. Marpon & E. Flammarion, publishers.

ing a petition to its address, I have undertaken to give an abstract of its contents, and I do it the more readily as it contains a great deal of truth, expressed with sincerity and force and marked by considerable eloquence and humor.

"I write," says the author, "in the name of all tillers of the soil and against all those, whoever they may be, who do not produce the bread which they eat by the labor of their hands." The human race is divided into two classes, he continues (I shall continue to paraphrase his words),—the rich, plentifully supplied with dainty food and fine raiment, and the poor, worn out with hard labor, standing in rags at the threshold, humble and sad. "Why," I ask my comrades, "why do we hold our peace before them like the beasts of the field?" I feel an unseen and mysterious hand impelling me to write, and I take up my pen in spite of myself. Heaven has marked me out to seal with my blood and bathe with my tears the truth which I preach. Perchance after my death the commandment which I proclaim will be accepted. Nay, I cannot believe otherwise.

How many millions of men since the creation have been trodden upon by you, masters of the world! An angel could not submit to such treatment, and I, who am a man, have been at fault in submitting in silence so long. Often have I wished to speak forth in peace and quietness, but as soon as I begin to write my heart is so kindled that I forget my resolutions.

Adam had hoped by eating of the tree of life to be able to live without work, but God cast him forth from the Garden of Eden and pronounced this judgment against him; "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou knead (*sic*) thy bread." This is the first, the fundamental commandment. What shall we say of those who wish to live with white hands under umbrellas and all their lives eat the bread of others' labors? We, the tillers of the soil, are near the tree of life, but you, who flee from labor, are near the tree of death. All the food that you eat, O upper classes, is produced by our toil. We nourish you as a father does his children. The tiller of the soil is your father. Before you sit down to your meals you should give thanks to him. If God sent you food as He sent manna to the children of Israel you would do well to give thanks to Him; but as you receive it from our hands you should give us thanks, who nourish you as if you were infants or sick people.

Did Adam try to place his punishment on others' shoulders, as many now do who think it a crime to take from another a wisp of straw or a grain of wheat, but who do not consider it a crime to take and eat the bread of others' labor which is served at their table? Adam accepted his penalty and was absolved. And thou, upper class, branch of the same trunk from which we spring, why dost thou refuse to submit and yet eatest thrice every day? They often arrest thieves in the world; but these culprits are rather rogues than thieves. I have laid hands on the real thief who has robbed God and the Church. He has stolen the primal commandment which belongs to us who till the fields. I will point him out. It is he who does not produce his bread with his own hands and eats the fruit of others' toil. Seize him and lead him away to judgment. All crimes such as robberies, murders, frauds, and the like, arise from the fact that this commandment is hidden from men. The rich do all they can to avoid working with their hands, and the poor to rid themselves of the necessity. The poor man says, "There is such an one who can live on others' labor; why should not I?" And he kills, steals, and cheats in consequence. Behold now what harm can be done by white hands, and what good grimy hands can make gush forth from the earth! You spread out before the laborer the idleness of your life, and thus take away the force from his hands. Your way of living is for us the most cruel of offences and a shame withal. You are a hundredfold more wise and learned than I am, and for that reason you take my bread. But because you are wise you ought rather to have pity on me who am weak. It is said, "Love thy neighbor as thyself." I am your neighbor, and you are mine. Why are we coarse and untaught? Because we produce our own bread and yours too. Have we any time to study and educate ourselves? You have stolen our brains as well as our bread, by trickery and violence.

How blind thou art, O wise man; thou that readest the Scriptures and seest not the way in which thou mightest free thyself and the flock committed to thee from the burden of sin. Thy blindness is like unto that of Balaam, who, astride his ass, saw not the angel of God, armed with a sword of fire, standing in the way before him. Thou art Balaam; I am the ass, and thou hast ridden upon my back from childhood.

Why did not God prescribe to Adam, as penance, some act of recognized merit, such as fasting, prayer, the sacraments, but only work, which men look down upon? And what punishment did He lay upon the woman? He said to Eve, "In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children." This penance is fulfilled to the letter by woman, and no attempt is made to conceal its meaning. The Czarina and the peasant's wife undergo their fate alike. If a woman of rank should say: "I have no time to have children; I have more important business; if I devote my attention to maternal duties, society would lose more than it would gain; I will hire another woman to have a child for me," would the child be hers? Nay, it would belong still to its own mother. And so it is of bread; the title to it cannot be bought, for it remains the property of him who produced it. Some women take poison to kill their children before they are born, and some even make way with them after. What punishment do they deserve? The same which should be meted out to men who do not produce their own bread. Now, why do women who accomplish their penance have to work besides? Because they have to do the work of the men who are idle.

My book is summed up in two questions: 1. Why, according to the first commandment, do you not labor to produce the bread that you eat? 2. Why in your books are the cultivation of the soil and the cultivator not only not regarded with favor, but, on the contrary, treated with the greatest contempt?

Throughout the world arise complaints against God. If God's mercy is infinite, whence comes the misery of the poor? But is it God's fault if we have rejected His law, which, if observed, would reëstablish equality among men? If all men knew this law they would hasten, as if driven by hunger or thirst, to fulfil it. If man could but penetrate into the profound mysteries of nature, he would not say, "Give me bread," but "Take of my bread," and no one would wish to eat the bread of others' toil. "But," you say, "there are many persons employed in factories in large cities. Where would you find land for so many?" Could you not build mills in the country, so that men could work alternately in the fields and in the workshop? That would be easy to arrange.

We should only give bread to women who fulfil God's command to bear children, to old men who have finished

their life's work, to the infirm, and to children who will in time be called upon to labor.

Make haste to teach the child the first commandment, however noble his family may be. Show him by your example how to produce his bread. Then, if misfortune comes upon him, he will not sigh; he will throw himself eagerly into the labor of tilling the soil. "For a long time," will he cry, "have I wished to work, but I have not had the strength to resist fortune; to-day I thank God for having delivered me from this heavy burden, which made me fall into sin," and rolling up his sleeves, he will take the plough, already familiar to him, and go singing to his task.

Enforce this law, that no one should eat the bread of others' labor, and men will draw nearer to each other. I often hear that they wish to unite men in one religion. Found religion upon the only primal law, without adding to it, and soon the world will be united. You cannot realize your dream otherwise.

"But," you will say, "our ancestors worked and have left us what they earned." Why then am I not rich? My ancestors were all honest working men. Where is the result of their toil? What robber has stolen our fortune? Tell me truly, O rich man, whence came your treasures?

All your precious labor, for which you pay each other so generously, is naught beside ours. The treasures which fill your houses have no value beside the bread in our barns. All your great wisdom is weak beside our little wits. Your millions are miserable beside our little possessions. Other work is indeed praiseworthy, but only after bread, that is, when one has fed himself with bread produced by his own hands.

The rich man excuses himself thus: "I give money to people so that they may work for me, and it is a good action on my part for which God will reward me. How could they earn money without me?" I answer: "You are claiming to help men by the fruit of their own labor. Who earned the money that you are spending? Why, the laborers themselves." Money makes men blind and mad. "I pay for my bread," is your only answer. Sometimes I go two months without a single one of your pennies, and yet I have enough to eat. But if you went two months without my bread, what kind of song would you sing? Now tell me, reader, which one of us is dependent on the other? Which of us is

entitled to the head of the table? Is it not I? Why, then, have you taken it? Make a good defence for yourself or stop eating our bread. Cultivate an acre of land and then sit down at the table. Before you pass on the merits of my book, O reader, I beseech of you not to eat of our bread for two days. But no; in an hour you will again stretch out your hand to our tree of life, forbidden to you, — I mean the bread produced by others' toil. If you despise us why do you eat our bread? If I were wise and learned as you are I should always eat money.

The peasants with their little children swarm in the fields like bees, but the upper classes are the drones who buzz about and eat the fruit of others' labor. The bees cut the drones' wings in order that they shall not eat their honey. Your turn has come, parasites, and we have cut your wings so that you may not eat the bread of our labor. I know that you will go on eating it, but when you carry it to your mouth your conscience will take you by the throat, and nothing will deliver you from its grasp. We must persuade people by good advice, but never by force. We should print these, our counsels, in primers and prayer books, charge the clergy of all nations and religions to preach the doctrine and to point out the merits of him who executes scrupulously the primal law of God, and the shortcomings of him who shamefully avoids compliance with it.

Labor includes love, which is therefore a secondary virtue, but love does not include labor. Love is hidden in work; work is the house that love lives in.

It is impossible to explain to the world this law of labor which I have learnt for myself. I feel this law through my whole being. You cannot see as I do how in a few days this law could bind all men in one belief, one church, one love, for it is the principle underlying all virtues. You would gain, O upper classes, if you held the head of virtue; but you hold its tail, — and by its tail I mean love. Love inspires in you words and not actions. Why? Because money has blinded you, and you cannot tell the head from the tail. We are poor by your riches, and you rich by our poverty. O rich men, have mercy upon us! How many thousands of years you have been galloping on our backs like a runaway horse! You have long since torn us flesh from bone. The bread that you eat is our

body; the wine that you drink is our blood. There is nothing more wicked, more infamous, than bread produced by others' labor; nothing more holy, more salutary, than the bread of one's own toil. And yet, nevertheless, you load men with burdens grievous to be borne, and you yourselves touch them not with one of your fingers.

Have pity on us, O upper classes; do not blot out my words. If they are contrary to law, make me to perish, but let my book be kept in the archives of state with the most precious documents. At some future day a man may be found just enough to publish it. May I die, if only the millions of tillers of the soil who will live after me obtain some relief from their labors.

I shall direct my son to bury me in the soil which, cultivated by my arms, has furnished my daily bread. On my grave till the end of time they will harvest bread. This is the monument that I prefer to all others.

And now, my readers, farewell until we meet again, if not in this world, in the other. I trust that by your eloquence and skill you will justify yourselves before God better than I could do it for you.

Such is the plea of the peasant Bondareff. I do not see how any conscientious man who reads it and knows that he himself is to a greater or less extent "eating the bread of others' labor," can fail to take his words to heart. Is there truth in them or is there not? Is it not a fact that this day, this hour, working men are wearing themselves out in all parts of the earth for us? Coolies are at work preparing our tea in the fields of China; fellaheen in the Delta, negroes on Southern plantations are toiling from sunrise to sunset to provide us with cotton; farmers in the West are, with the sweat of their brows, watering the broad prairies that give us the staff of life; factory hands in Great Britain and Germany and France, as well as here at home, are leading cheerless, steam-driven lives to supply us with luxuries; miners in Pennsylvania and Colorado and Cornwall are robbed of the light of day that we may have comfort or pleasure. These are all laboring for us (I do not speak of those of the higher ranks of society who may be also working for us, for they are amply repaid and have no grievance), these are all laboring for us. How can we avoid the question, What are we doing for them?

And, first of all, Bondareff is clearly right when he says that money makes men blind. We cannot discharge our duty to others by the payment of money, except where the money was earned by the useful and not overpaid labor of the person who spends it. In that one case the money fairly represents the labor of its owner, and he is entitled to dispose of it as if it were his labor. He is really giving work for its equivalent, and his money is confined to its legitimate function of facilitating the exchange of the products of labor. In all other cases, however, where the money spent was not fairly earned by the spender, but came from gift, speculation, exorbitant pay, or as the reward of useless or harmful work, money loses the moral foundation which justifies its use, and becomes simply the means of providing a substitute. I pay a man a dollar and a half of such money, and I merely authorize him to employ a third person to do a day's work; that third person is my substitute, and I only enter into the transaction as a man of straw, although I take all the benefit of it to myself. Such payments of money are not an equivalent — moving from me — for what I receive. I am put into the world, say for seventy years, to do my share of the work of the world. I am sent as one of the crew to man her, and I can lay no claim to being treated as a first-cabin passenger. When I render an account of my passage, and am asked what I did to help the world along, can I say that I provided substitutes? Can such a plea be proffered to the Creator? Can it be accepted in the forum of conscience?

We are morally bound, therefore, to give a *quid pro quo* in work and not in money for all that we receive from the laboring masses who toil for us. We must keep our balance of account with them and with the world at large in our favor. We are bound by every moral consideration to give as much as we get. Now, there are two ways to retain a balance in our favor: one is to keep down the debit side of the account, and the other is to increase the credit. We can keep down the debit side by taking as little as possible from others, by making as little use as possible of their labor, by dispensing with luxuries and by leading a temperate and frugal life. On the other hand, we can increase the credit side by being as useful to others as possible, and especially to those who need our help the most — the toiling classes. Above all we should choose a useful calling for ourselves and for those for whom we have the privilege of choosing.

Opinions will differ widely about the usefulness of any particular career, and every occupation will have its supporters and opponents. No hard and fast rule can be laid down, such as Bondareff's when he insists that we all should be farmers. A farmer's work is not always useful. Near my home there are many fields of rye where the ploughman and reaper can be seen in the proper season doing their work, and yet they know not while they toil whether the ripened grain will go into the loaf of bread or into the whiskey bottle. Neither can we draw any fine distinction as some do between manual and intellectual labor. Is the printer a manual laborer? And if so, are not the typewriter and the copyist? If we answer "yes," we must then also include the author who writes out his own manuscript, and the bookkeeper and the clerk. And how shall we classify the dentist? No; the true distinction is between useful work, and work which is useless or worse than useless. The usefulness must largely be left to each man's conscience; but one thing we must insist upon, and that is, that in estimating the usefulness he should disregard its market value. The fact that people are ready to pay for work is no proof of its usefulness. Nothing is too foolish or wicked to claim its price in this world; and many of the most approved occupations will not bear the examination of an unprejudiced mind.

In a society of natural tastes, and in which money was spent by those only who fairly earned it, the willingness of men to pay for a service might indeed justify such service, and the price that they would be ready to pay would be a just price, for they would know the value of money. But so soon as men begin to spend money earned by others, they lose all sense of its value, and they can no longer measure the value of labor. Then it is that they pay their thousands for tulip bulbs, give salaries to court fools, and waste their substance on all kinds of absurdities. It is to accumulations of wealth in the hands of those who did not earn it that the leading men in our professions, in finance, in business often owe their swollen incomes. I know of only one professional man whose pay is fixed by those who have a right to fix it, viz., the walking delegate, when he represents a useful trade and no undue influence is exerted on those who support him. He gets his money directly from those who honestly earn their bread, who know the value of their money, and are satisfied with the services rendered to them in return.

Yet I cannot altogether set aside Bondareff's preference for agriculture. It is after all the most necessary of all occupations, the foundation of them all, and the source of our very existence. I cannot but believe with Jefferson that those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God. There is much to be said, too, in favor of the Russian peasant's plan of establishing manufactories in the country where the factory hand would be near his base of supplies, and where the unemployed could cultivate the soil. Everything useful — food, raw material — all comes from the country. How foolish it is to attract the population into cities where all their supplies have to be sent after them!

Neither, in considering the difference between manual and mental labor, can I disregard the argument drawn from nature, that every man has brains and hands and was clearly intended to work with both. The folly of those otherwise useless athletic exercises which are necessary to keep men of sedentary life in health is evident when we consider how much useful work they could perform and attain the same end incidentally. Furthermore in deciding between the merits of labor with the hand or with the head, we must remember that as society is now organized a very large share of intellectual work is devoted to the task of outwitting competitors, of speculating in values, of securing and protecting unjust privileges and of reaping their fruits, and that a comparatively small proportion is of any direct benefit to the masses of the people. The brains which manage the machine of business with its mainspring in Wall Street are less occupied with the problem of meeting the wants of mankind than with that of living on other people's labor. Even if we admit that business is honest in the ordinary sense of the term and free from fraud, misrepresentation, adulteration, and perjury (which it is not), it is difficult for a scrupulous man to find within its system a career which will permit him so to work with his head as to satisfy the demands of his conscience. As for the higher planes of intellectual work, — philosophy, poetry, music, art, — there is something repugnant to any nice mind in the idea of disposing of the products of such labor for money. To write a poem wrung from the heart by the death of a friend and then sell it over the counter for cash, — could anything but the stern facts of every-day history make us believe that such things are possible? If all work of this kind

were done gratis, it is true that our artists and sages would be obliged to support themselves by other labor, and it is not likely that many of them could live in luxury. I am confident, however, that they would not lose by the change; nor can I bring myself to believe that Homer, feeling his way on the sands of the sounding Ægean, or Walt Whitman in his Camden garret, was a less dignified figure than Virgil growing rich at the court of Augustus, or Lord Tennyson on his estate at Aldworth. One thing remains to be said about brain work: much of it requires very little brains. A skilled mechanic uses his mind far more than many a clerk or small tradesman. If anyone supposes that cabinetmaking, plumbing, or marble-cutting requires intellect of a low order, let him try his hand at it himself.

But when you have begun to lead a useful life, and to dispense as much as possible with the labor of others, in short, when you have taken steps to assure a balance in your favor in the book of your life, you have only made your personal contribution to the welfare of society. What can be done to bring others into the same way of living? Are they to be frightened into it by dynamite bombs, or shall we pass laws in our legislatures, and make men act as they should by means of deputy sheriffs and policemen? Here again Bondareff's policy is the only true one. "We must persuade people by good advice, but never by force." It is the public conscience that must be reached. A public opinion must be created which will make it infamous for a man to get more than he gives. Such a public opinion would sap the foundation of all monopolies, including that of land, and of all speculation, for the only object of monopoly and speculation is to live on others' labor; and if such a life became disreputable, men would cease to make it their aim. Public opinion is all-powerful, and it could overthrow this twin hydra just as it has done away with the stake as an instrument of religious persuasion, and the duel as a means of healing wounded honor. That a public opinion of this kind can be created there can be no doubt, for it would be only the expression of a truth which is becoming visible to more and more of us every day, namely, that it is a great wrong to reap our brother's harvest. Each of us must work for himself and for those who cannot work; it is only in this way that we can show love to our neighbor, for, as Bondareff quaintly and beautifully says, "Labor is the house that love lies in."

THE HERB DOCTOR.

BY WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE.

The mountains touched the sky. Or so it seemed to the man standing upon the river's bank watching the unbroken line of purple walling out the very world beyond Clinch River, growing dimmer and dimmer, until, lost in the descending clouds, the mountains seemed indeed to touch the sky. Only one point, one solitary, mysterious peak, cut squarely in sunder by the river, cloven from base to summit, stood out brave and bold against the fainter outline of the further hills — Lone Mountain, that mysterious peak of nobody knows what, standing off and apart from the great range trending off to north and south among the purple distances.

The wind rose among the trees, sending a bright scurry of leaves, scarlet and gold and pale rose, sweeping down upon the river, making the current a bed of living light as it swept on and out to find the Tennessee a mile or so below. And full in the track of the scarlet leaves, rounding the base of the mountain, a boat came floating. Now and then the dip of an oar sounded faintly as the young man in the stern of the skiff lazily returned to his task of guiding the small craft.

In the centre of the canoe a girl was standing, balancing herself by a long, stout pole that she held in her hands. Her hat lay in the bottom of the boat, and her hair, loosed from its fastenings, hung in bright golden waves, among which wind and sunlight were playing some merry game of hide and seek, perhaps, if one might judge from the waving, glinting beauty of the golden tresses. As the boat came noiselessly down stream, the girl began to sing: a rich, nimble voice of the purest soprano, that came down the river like the tones of a silver bell. The boatman turned his head to listen.

The watcher upon the bank had not seen the skiff, however; he was watching the sunset, the gaudy autumn-painted forest, the leaf-flecked river. He was a tall, slender man with a figure like an arrow, straight, strong, unswerving, suggestive perhaps of the character it embodied. He wore the ordinary

dress of the mountaineer, and a large broad slouch surmounted his head. From beneath the hat, waves of silken sun-red hair fell against his neck and throat; an odd, unusual figure, but one whose chief claim to the unusual lay in the face turned to the sunset; a face never, never to be forgotten once gazed upon; a face in which the very gentleness of Christ himself seemed to slumber. Eyes of the softest blue; a low, smooth forehead against which the gold-red ringlets lay in pretty girlish grace that might have made the face effeminate but for a certain subtle power that lurked about the slender lips parted in a smile of admiration now, yet lips that spoke that peace above all dignities, — the “still and quiet conscience.” And when he spoke the winds themselves might well have hushed their murmurings to catch those gentle accents. He was a humble man, a mountaineer, and ignorant as man counts knowledge; but one whom nature had most graciously equipped for the most merciful of man’s callings, the physician’s.

“Now,” said he, his gaze fixed on the mountain, “it certain’y air fair, fair. And seems to me it gets more fairer every day, as though God favored it and it ware prosperin’. It gets more fairer all the time, Lone Mountain do.”

There was a sound of dipping oars, and the dreamer turned his head to see the boat bearing the man and girl come drifting down the river. The expression of his face changed, a smile parted his lips, the beauties of nature were forgotten for the nonce before that other, subtle beauty of humanity.

“Now,” said he, “I wonder if that ben’t the lady as ware ailin’ and have come to find her health at the cleebeate spring furnenst the Lone. I’ll be bound it air; else Bledsoe Creighton wouldn’t be a-hangin’ round her as he air. He bo’ds nigh thar, a-doctorin’ of the sick as comes to find their health. A measly cur as *ever* ware.”

Yet, despite his contemptuous words, the gentle expression of his face did not change; he was not thinking indeed of the physician whom old Cyrus Armstrong had brought from one of the valley towns below and installed as “resident physician” to the Eureka Springs, old Armstrong’s little resort among the Tennessean hills. He was nothing to this man, this dreamer upon the Clinch’s bank, nothing more than a name, a *somebody* whose taunts he had heard but not felt, seeing the man was nothing to him. He was looking at the girl — the fluff of muslin, rounded arms, golden hair.

"I declare to goodness," said he, "her face has got a kind o' glory look, comin' down the river in that track o' sunlight. Call that old Cyrus Armstrong's niece? I allow the boys were right when they let on as there ware a word give as how old Cy had gone and done some crime or 'nother in his younger days that he ware obleeged to leave his kith and kin and refugee to these parts. He ain't no mountaineer, that's certain. And he has his follerin' from the valley somewheres. But that gal —"

The boat slowly turned and drifted to the bank at his feet. The girl was laughing: the man had lost an oar. The skiff must anchor to suit herself, that was certain. And just at the moment when, within but two feet of the bank, she struck a jutting snag that sent her rounding to the current again with a force that must have started her fairly down to the more dangerous current of the Tennessee, the watcher above stepped nimbly down to the bank, grasped a long, loose, naked limb that lay upon the rocks and reached it out quickly to the boatman, who scowled, but seized the offered help and held on with a grip that brought his rescuer waist-deep in the water. As the boat lurched and steadied herself a moment the boatman called out sharply:

"Put your pole out, Miss Elisabeth, and steady her against the bed of bottom of the river; it's shallow here."

The girl obeyed indifferently, mechanically; her gaze was fixed upon the man who had hastened to their rescue with so opportune assistance. A moment and the stranger lifted his eyes to hers and smiled.

"Now, may be, lady," said he, "that you can hold the stick with me and let the doctor have the pole. I dassen't step no further out; the current goes right fairly strong out there."

The boat swung into place, and grated sharply against the bank. A moment and the two men stood confronted; neither spoke, though both stood waiting; one dripped from head to foot, the water oozing from his boots, when once more he stepped out upon the bank. There would be no introduction, if that was why he waited. Perhaps he understood this; yet the gentle benignity of his countenance never altered. It may have been this, perhaps, that angered the other so that the fire kindled in his eyes, his nostrils quivered. Still, the timely aid that had been rendered could not be ignored; the "doctor" pointed to the dripping boots and said with something of a sneer:

"You'd best go home and take them off. Then take four grains of quinine. Wait! I'll write it down, sir, if you can't remember."

The other smiled.

"Thank you mightily," said he; "I might may chance remember, if there ware need of your prescription. But there ain't: I have my yerbs, thank you; and maybe I would not be able to make out the writin' after it ware writ. Good evenin', lady."

He bowed with courtly grace and turned into the laurel lining the mountain's slope, leaving the gentleness of his presence with one, the sting of his dignity with the other. When he had disappeared the girl turned to her companion with eager interest.

"Who is he?" said she. "Or what is he? I know without telling that he is something extraordinary."

"Yes," said the doctor, "he's an extraordinary fraud."

"*That*," said she, "he *is* not. I'll venture my life there is no deceit there. Falsehood never yet wore such a front. Come, be fair; who is the man who dragged you out of Clinch River, and went off dripping wet to leave *you* warm and dry?"

"No, don't give him too much glory, Miss Rogers; he went off dripping wet to leave *you* warm and dry."

"So much the more is he entitled to my interest. Surely you will not refuse me the man's name."

"No," said the doctor, "it can't hurt *me* for you to know his name. Well, then, that odd, comical creature is no more nor less than the 'yerb doctor.'"

"The what?"

The doctor laughed. "Well now," said he, "it depends on whom you are talking to as to what that man is. The mountaineers, you know, are in grades, so to speak. To the very ignorant, his patients I should say, he is the '*yarb* doctor;' he calls himself 'the *yerb* doctor,' which is a grade more advanced than the 'yarbers.' Your uncle would doubtless call him 'the *herb* doctor,' which isn't mountaineer at all, but importation."

"And the shoddiest imitation," declared the girl. "Yerb doctor, — why, there's melody in that. Come, be generous; the man who is not generous never can be great. Your 'herb doctor' is one of nature's gentlemen. He resented your insult, for you were insulting, first to his ability as a physi-

cian, then to his manhood, since you refused to introduce him to me. Yet, at the same time that he tossed you back your rudeness in that quiet 'May chance I couldn't read the writin',' he did not forget to say 'Good evenin', lady.' Come, I like your 'herb doctor.'"

Her defence angered him for an instant; yet he realized that to say more would be only to call forth a more emphatic defence. So, smothering his feeling, he said:

"Yes, you like him; I see that. Well, if you want him —"

"Pardon me," she interrupted, "I 'want' no man. And if I were so unfortunate, still — perhaps you heard my uncle say the doctors regarded my case as hopeless."

He could have cursed himself for the thoughtless speech.

"Oh forgive me, Elisabeth," he exclaimed, "forgive me! I did not think what I was saying. I have been rude, thoughtlessly uncivil. But at the same time I must say I do not believe one word of what they say. This air, these waters will bring back new life to you. They shall, I swear it. Listen —"

She laid her hand upon his arm, lightly.

"Hush," she said. "You know nothing about it. I know that I am going to die. All the doctors in the world cannot alter that. It is something that I do not like to discuss, and that I am trying to learn to accept, though to the young life is generally sweet. Take me home now; this October air cuts like a knife through my thin muslins."

Silently they began the ascent of the mountain. As they approached that point upon which was located the little line of cabins known as the "Eureka Springs," he placed his hand upon hers lying against his arm.

"Elisabeth," he said in the low soft tone of the lover, "Elisabeth, I have known you such a little while —"

She stopped him with a gesture of impatience.

"Don't; it is of no earthly use. I have tried to prevent your speaking all along, and now I must tell you frankly that it is of no earthly use. I am doomed, dead, so far as this world is concerned, already. If it were not so, I am still dead to love, to love for all save my art. I loved one man at one time; all the passion of my soul lived and died in that. He never felt a throb of love for me, although he told me otherwise. The true woman, they will tell you, should scorn a man like that; but for me, I loved him so well that when he died my heart died too to love. I have no life outside

my art. I live for and in that only. Don't try to make a romance out of me. If you're going to fancy yourself in love with me, why I shall leave off going out with you; that's all of it. Now tell me something more about your 'herb doctor.' Has he no name? Is he merely the 'herb doctor'?"

He answered her impatiently, yet her threat of denying him her company made him afraid to show his real vexation.

"Oh, yes," said he, "he has a name, or one he goes by. His name is Youry, Stephen Youry; though you might live here a thousand years and scarcely hear it spoken. To the natives, among whom he tinkers with his herbs, he is merely the 'yarb doctor.' I must admit, however, they have a great respect for the poetic-looking gentleman, as well as great faith in him. They are quite ready to die by his 'yarbs,' as I've no doubt many of them have already done and will do before they learn the value of quinine and calomel. You can't understand, Miss Elisabeth, how such men interfere with the regular practice of medicine, retard science, spread humbuggery."

"Yes," said she, with a little flash that he could not quite interpret, "I think I can understand quite well what an *obstacle* such men must be. And now we are at the gate and I am going to run right in and get into something warmer. Good night. I shall see you again, *soon*." And before he could offer protest she had disappeared in one of the low-lighted cabins, designated for her use, of her uncle's miniature and picturesque "hotel."

The next day she went out alone, early, lest he should follow her. She went off to the little mountain graveyard near one of the highest bluffs overlooking the Clinch. She was very fond of strolling here among the old, old dead, whose tombs were standing like gaunt old ghosts in the twilight. It was, or had been, the burying place of the aristocratic Southerners who had once owned cabins near the wonderful chalybeate spring in the old days of long ago. There was one tomb that especially attracted her — a slab of gray marble that had once been white, two hands clasped in parting, and, above, the name "Clara" and the date "1830." She had found a stone, a flat, broad stone, nearer the bluff's edge, upon which the same name was carved, with several others: "Evelyn," "Ruth," "Edith," "Joel," "Aunt Eunice," evidently the chaperon; and underneath the words "Our party, 1830." And one of them had died and been left in

all her sweet young beauty to sleep under the moaning hemlocks and the gray old cedars that crowned the mountain top.

Elisabeth was fond of the weird old graveyard with its old, old tombs, and often stopped to rest under the sighing cedars, or to watch the Lone, that in the fading sunset seemed to keep a grim guard upon the ancient dead.

This afternoon she went over to the bluff upon whose flat top were recorded the names of the once merry party. She crept down among the ferns and scarlet leaves, watching the sundered mountain across the river sobbing at its base. After a while she began to sing; softly at first, then louder, until a step arrested her attention. Some one was coming up the trail, the little footpath leading up the mountain. A glance told her who it was; the slender figure, the loose, light hair, the slow, half melancholy step could belong only to the herb doctor. She felt a strange desire to run away that was inconsistent with the wish she had often expressed to know him. For from the first his very name and calling had had their fascination.

From the first moment she saw him he had interested her strangely, strongly. When she saw him now, coming toward her with that gentle smile that was half pity, half courtesy, she almost resented it; there was something in it so near of kin to pity. For a moment she felt that the keen eye of the herb doctor had probed her complaint and read the fear gnawing at her heart. But as he drew nearer she forgot everything but the gentle benignity of the quiet, boyish face. He drew the big slouch back from off his brow and said in tones as gentle as the face itself:

"Good evenin', lady."

She only started, a half smile parting her lips, while he brushed back the loose locks lying on his temple and, with another bow, by way of introduction said:

"I'm the yerb doctor."

Then she broke into a laugh, held out her hand without rising, and said: "Oh, you are, are you? Well, how do you do, 'Herb Doctor'? I think we'd best shake hands, because you're pretty sure to have me on your list of patients soon or late. I'm an invalid, you know."

He took the slight, white hand between his strong, herb-tainted fingers and pressed it lightly in the half-professional way that had become a sort of second nature with him, and without further ceremony seated himself upon the boulder at her side.

"Yes," said he, "I have heard about you. I heard about you all the way down to the Ford last week, how weakly you ware, all disencouraged like and run down." She started and set her small teeth in her lip. His quick, professional eye caught the look of fear that sprang into her face, and he hastened to reassure her.

"But don't you be a-worryin' 'bout that," said he. "It didn't come from any as knows anything about you. Jest one o' the mountain boys lettin' his tongue take exercise a bit, I reckon. Said there ware a lady come to stop a spell with Cyrus Armstrong at the Eureky. And he allowed as how you looked like one o' these here lily flowers he saw a-growin' once. Some one had brushed it hard in passin', and had broke the stem. Yet there it hung, a little broken flower, a pale white lily hangin' by a broken stem. There ain't no sech great harm in any one's a-sayin' that, I reckon. But to me you air more like one o' these here little purple vi'let flowers, the sassy things that bloom down underside the bluff in springtime, and God knows as they *air* pretty."

She laughed aloud, and, rising, made him a mock courtesy.

"You ought to know better than to feed the sick on sugar, sir," said she. "Yet it's pleasant treatment, I admit. You'll have me on your list of patients, I warn you. Be sure you get me wholesome herbs, Herb Doctor."

He regarded her earnestly, soberly, a moment, and then said in his slow melodious drawl: "If *I* ware *you*, I would jest let the herbs alone. I'd let all medicines alone, and learn jest to be happy. That's all you're needin' of. Not herbs, not medicine, jest happiness. That's all that ails most women, if only they could know it. Women air mostly right unhappy; I have noticed that. I have seen a many a woman die, and mostly they ware not unwillin' to be let to go. They ware mostly glad, *glad*. All but one that I remember of. There ware one as begged so hard to live I could 'a' mighty nigh died in her stead. She ware pore and humble, too, and had a man as beat and bruised her; yet that pore woman prayed to God to be let to live; she *fought* for life, fought as men fight for liberty sometimes. Not for her man's sake, not for life's sake, and not bekase she ware afeard o' death. There ware a little crippled idjit baby, a child that she had fetched into the world, a little 'flicted thing that man had set his heel upon. She ware afeard to leave the idjit boy. Life hadn't dealt her fair, life had been a hell to her; yet

that pore woman chose her hell before God's heaven for that little idjit's sake. Women need happiness mostly, not healin' yerbs, lady."

The melancholy story, the voice's wonderful pathos, touched her, thrilled her with a feeling that was almost awe. He saw the effect the story had produced and hastened to divert her thoughts.

"Look at that sunset, lady. I often come down up here to watch it, and yesterday I stopped down there under the bluff to hear you sing."

"To hear *me*?"

"Aye, and it ware like the angels in their glory. It certainly ware nice."

His simple praise pleased her. There was a tremble in her voice when she said: "You should have heard me at my best when I sang before the footlights. I have sung for thousands, thousands; half my life has been before the footlights, and I have had my share of praise. But I don't think anybody ever said quite so nice a thing to me as you have said, Herb Doctor. What is your name? I forget it. Or wait, *have* you a name?"

He smiled, and said, "Yessum, my name air Youry, Stephen Youry. But mostly they only call me 'Doctor,' jest 'Herb Doctor.'"

"And just 'Herb Doctor' it shall be," declared Elisabeth. "Nothing could possibly add to the name's great fitness."

"And yours air 'Lis'beth," said the doctor, "Miss 'Lis'beth?"

"Just 'Miss 'Lis'beth,'" said she. "And I am glad you like my singing, Herb Doctor."

"I like it mightily," said he. "I like all music mostly, though *I* can't sing a note to save me. I reckon I am like the niggers, I hope to sing when I get to heaven. But I reckon all the happy spirits will sing there?"

It was a question plainly. She had no chance of answering it, and she was not willing he should know just yet how little her thoughts had been upon heavenly things. She evaded:

"You believe in spirits, Herb Doctor?"

He hesitated, flushed, and said in low, earnest tones, "Yessum, I believe it air permitted to the dead to walk the yearth."

"And you believe in — *God*?"

He almost bounded from the bluff.

"Great God A'mighty, yes. Don't *you*?"

"I—I—don't know. I never thought of it till lately. I thought only of my art, my voice, until I lost my hold on art. And now I have nothing, nothing. I believe in nothing."

"Why, you've got God," said he. "And God's enough for any life. Now don't you fret and worry. Jest let it all slip, only hold on to God. He's enough for you. And don't you get afeard; jest you think of yourse'f as one 'God holds within the holler of His hand.' You're sech a little scrap, and His hand air large, large. It can hold you mighty safe. Jest think of yourse'f as helt there, 'in the holler of His hand.'"

What a thought for despair! The young face lost something of its restless pain. His quiet faith seemed to slip like a breath into her troubled spirit, sweet with all healing.

"It is a beautiful thought," she replied. "I will remember it, Herb Doctor. Before you came here I was watching those golden bars stretching across the sky and wondering what might lie beyond them, and I fancied that purple cloud the sea of death that must be crossed before the golden bars would lift. And I was afraid, oh! I was afraid of death and what might lie beyond the golden bars."

"Heaven lies there," said the doctor, "jest heaven. The Book says that. You believe the Book, Miss 'Lis'beth? The Book air true, you know."

She hesitated. Not for the world would she be the one to drop a seed of doubt in his great faith. "How do—you—know?"

His face broke into smiles. "How do I know? How do I know that boneset will cure chills? that steam o' chamomile will break up fever? I know because I have tried it. And I have tried the Book, and I know for sure that it air true. And now, lady, I be goin' to fetch you home. The dews air fallin'."

He rose and handed her the hat that she had thrown aside, and they together took their way home through the dewy mountain forest. Once, laughing, she said to him, as he pointed out an herb that he made use of in his practice:

"You are fonder of your herbs than your patients are, I'm afraid, Herb Doctor."

"Yes," said he, "I love 'em. To me they seem like that the Book meant when it said 'the leaves air for the healin'."

o' the nations.' God made the yerbs, and they air good because they air His handiwork."

A smile trembled upon her lips. "Don't you suppose that Dr. Creighton thinks God made the quinine too?"

Instantly his face clouded. She saw an expression there that almost made her fear.

"I don't like to talk about that man," said he. "He makes me forget myse'f sometimes. Miss 'Lis'beth—" He stopped, stepped aside into a clearing among the trees, and pointed to a tall, dead-looking tree that stood upon the summit of a distant bluff. "You see that tree there?" said he. "My father, miss, ware hanged upon that tree. I saw the deed done."

She shivered, screamed unconsciously, and drew away from him.

"Yes, lady," he continued, "I saw the deed done, with these eyes. He ware a good man; had helped his many a pore man on the road of life. But he had a temper like the devil. He knew it though and kept it careful under hand. I never saw him let his devil loose but once, and that once he killed a man. They hung him on that tree; a mob done it. And I, I have my father's spirit; *and* I have the tree."

Her heart ached for him, this humble man fighting against his "devil" thus, his inherited demon, that might rise at any time to dash his manhood to its death. She understood that he meant to tell her he was afraid of this man who could so goad and tempt him unto evil; that he was afraid of himself, and that he had that fatal tree as his reminder always. She felt for him with all her soul; involuntarily she held out her hand.

"Oh, you must never, *never* let him vex you!" she exclaimed. "Don't regard him in *any* way; let his taunts be as the wind, the idle wind, that's not worth noticing. I beg of you to remember, to forbear, to keep out of his way."

He sighed and turned again into the path. "I humbly pray God always," said he, "that He will stay my hand."

Her heart ached for him, struggling, alone as he was, with this terrible temptation always.

They had many talks and many quiet strolls together; always had his gentle patience soothed and helped her. And the while he, that evil genius that antagonized the better spirit of the man, grew more restless and more jealous of the humble healer of the hills.

And so the autumn drifted; winter locked the mountain in a frozen grasp; anon the springtime came again in robes of quivering young greens, abloom and all alive with beauty. And all the while the blood in the heart of the girl grew warmer, stronger, her step lighter, her voice echoing happily among the hills. She had followed the herb doctor's one prescription — "let medicines alone and tried to be happy." He had helped her mightily, allowing her to follow him into the woods where all the healing roots were hidden, explaining their powers, entertaining, amusing her always, amusing her at the expense of his own peace, his own heart's happiness. She suspected nothing. To her he was merely the humble, good man, the ignorant wise man of the mountains, a sort of faithful dog who guarded all her steps. She was ignorant of the lonely nights he passed her dwelling and stopped to watch at midnight a light that sometimes flickered from her window, and to wonder if she could be "ailing." One night while watching thus he saw a figure steal out from the shrubbery that studded the unkept yard and, stooping to the shadows, disappear down the path beyond the house. He knew that it was Creighton, the man who never missed an opportunity of humbling and of taunting him. For an instant his hands clinched, and he set his teeth hard in his under lip. Only an instant, however, and he was himself again. Yet, though the struggle had been brief, the drops stood out upon his brow and he breathed heavily as one who had fought a battle or had run a race. And indeed he *had* fought in that little space a mighty battle with his own rebellious spirit.

"Sometimes," he gasped, "sometimes I can skecely withhold my hand from striking. I could 'a' killed him then —"

Suddenly he lifted his eyes to the window, where a faint ray from a night lamp fell through the half-drawn curtains. Instantly he dropped his face upon his breast; his lips moved slowly: "Help me, my God! help me to remember always and to control my spirit."

The next day he came upon Elisabeth in her favorite place down by the old rock on the bluff. She saw him in the path below and beckoned.

"I was wondering if you might not pass," she told him. "I have waited quite a long time, too."

Smiling his old gentle smile, he took the seat beside her, placing upon the ground the bunch of herbs he had been

gathering in the forest. He had stopped at the mountain spring further up the path and bathed his hands, though the stain of the roots still soiled his fingers. It was always so. Elisabeth had learned to ignore the stains, or rather to accept them, since he had told her how they were the marks of his profession.

To-day the girl was nervous, restless ; something had disturbed her quiet. She began to talk rapidly as soon as he was seated.

"Herb Doctor," said she, "I am a failure, a great failure, do you know? Some women are born thus to be failures, in order to disprove the accepted order of things. I am one of those. Do you catch my meaning, Herb Doctor?"

Clearly he did not. The honest, earnest face was turned to her full of wondering confusion, as he answered simply, "No, lady, I'm no scholar."

She laughed aloud. "'Scholar'?" said she. "Why, it's the wise who never understand, Herb Doctor. Well, then, do you know what society means?"

He shook his head and smiled. "Not as you know it, lady."

"Oh, I'm not so familiar with it," said she. "I'm an artist, a singer. I have built my sand house, to be sure, as every woman does; but I have built in Art's name, rather than in Love's — a thing most women do *not*. As for society, there is but one key fits its doors — wealth. I never had it; never missed it, since I had my art, my sand house. A year ago the poor foundations trembled, and I fled, fled to these hills, where I found you, who helped to prop the structure to a new foundation. I am well again; my sand house sits upon the shore secure —

While Life's wild waves are lulled.

It was you who laid the new foundation. I owe you much, Herb Doctor, so much that I wish to save you something. And so I tell you frankly that I am a failure. Do you know what love is, Herb Doctor?"

She saw the flush rise slowly to his throat; his eyes were fixed upon the bunch of mountain herbs lying at his feet.

"That knowledge comes even to the humbles', lady," said he.

"A deadly foe to the sand house," said she with a mock effort at mirth. "Now society, Herb Doctor, expects its

children to do thus and so. Suppose I use *you* as example. Suppose that — *I—should—fall—in—love—with—you*; I who had built a passing fair house on the fickle sand. Society would say, for it has its interest even in a poor singer if she sings to suit it, 'What, cripple your career with love?' On your part now —"

She saw the blood slowly leave his lips, his throat, every drop. His face was set and pale as marble; even the band about his neck which the sun had scorched was bloodless, like a piece of parchment. It was as though his body had been drained of every ruddy drop. He understood her meaning at last, and with a readiness that almost startled her he gathered up the gauntlet she had thrown down at his feet. Yet was it rather in her defence than in his own he spoke, even then, to set her mind at rest.

"'On *my* part,' lady?" said he slowly, as one who feels his way over dangerous ground, "why I've no 'part' in it. They'd never surely think *me* such a fool to fall in love with *you*. Excuse my boldness, lady, but your sand house is secure from Stephen Youry. He'd never think to lift his yerb-stained hands to sech as you."

He lifted them as he spoke, those poor dumb fingers that seemed to call on God to witness they were clean despite the herb stains and the marks of daily toil. Involuntarily both rose, he and she, and stood for one mute moment confronting each other. His words had hurt her to the quick. Pale and silent she turned to leave him, when he placed himself directly in her path.

"Stay, lady," said the gentle voice, "and hear me out. Ye know me better than to so misjedge my words. I never lied to man nor woman in my life till jest this hour when I said how I did not love you. I can't leave that lie on my soul. Hear me out, Miss 'Lis'beth, and forgive me for my words. For what am I, a humble getherer of yerbs, to lift my eyes to you? And yet I love you, lady, more than life and next to God. I love you as the stars that shine o' nights above my cabin winder; far off, all good and bright and beautiful, givin' me light, helpin' my shaddered heart, lightin' my lonely way; yet not mine, never in all the lonesome years once mine, not once in all the w'ary pilgrimage; mine to look at only, to dream of, to love always. Lady, I have finished; jedge me."

Judge him, ah Christ in heaven! Father of love's self,

who ever yet was fit to sit in judgment on Thy gracious gift? She stood before him like a lily, drenched and purified of every earthly stain; she lifted up her hands, clasped them, and sobbed:

"Forgive me, oh forgive me. I never meant to cause you pain. I never knew there could be love — like this. Oh my God! to think how I have made you suffer!"

Her grief hurt him far more than all his own. With his familiar and unselfish tenderness he took the small white hands in his, seeking only to comfort, to reassure her.

"There, there," said he, "don't worry, don't you fret. Don't think about it any more; we'll let it be as though it never ware. Miss 'Lis'beth, I am goin' now to see a woman die 'way down in Wild Cat Cove. Good-bye, Miss 'Lis'beth."

He still held both her hands clasped fast in his. She was weeping. Her sobs cut him like a knife.

"Miss 'Lis'beth," he said, "I have thought sometimes (it ware a foolish thought maybe) that with a chance I might 'a' been some worthy of your love —"

There was a step, the quivering new greens of the glad earth parted, and a man's face looked out upon them, a sinister, a scornful face, the face of his old enemy, Bledsoe Creighton.

For a moment no one spoke, but each face expressed the thoughts of him to whom the face belonged. The quick eye of Elisabeth read more in the quiet features of the herb-gatherer than Bledsoe Creighton saw. He had found him but a yielding, peaceful man; he knew nothing of the hidden fire, the deadly, daily fight, the strength gleaned from the blasted tree from which had swung the mutilated body of his father. Instinctively, scarce knowing what she did, the girl sprang between the two whose lives had crossed her own with such wild tragedy. And then, it seemed a moment, the herb doctor was master of himself again; he stooped and gathered up his little bunch of healing roots and, touching the brim of his hat with his slender, herb-stained finger, said:

"Good evenin', lady."

The quiet dignity was like a lash to the spirit of the fiery Creighton. He sprang forward, lifted his walking stick, and hissed between his teeth:

"You damned root-grabber, you —"

And as the cane descended the horror-stricken girl caught the glimmer of steel, a long flash of a glistening blade

and buried itself in the quivering heart of the fugitive. The next moment she was alone, the man who had glanced over his shoulder, one hideous picture and deed.

She was the only witness to the deed. She could have sworn to his death. There never was the faintest hint of a confession. The very children were ready to swear to his innocence ever, while the old and feeble, the broken and dying, called upon their God to witness he was clear of murder. Yet he fled, fled forever.

She never saw nor heard of him again. Only to her, the woman whom his soul had worshipped, to her alone was known his most unhappy end.

She had turned back to her world, her "sand house" which he had helped to prop. The world received her back her vacant place in its affections.

On the night when the new year was all ready to be born the earth was full of God's peace and His benediction. Before the footlights for a charmed thousand.

And the glare and flush she saw one face, a faded, ghastly, tearful face, that stared at her a moment in dumb fear and admiration. The next moment it was gone. She knew him on the instant; but oh the change, the ghastly, and change! It was as though his sin had traced its photograph in blood upon that once mild countenance. And he was looking back in that guilty way that she had seen him last when fleeing from his crime.

That night she had a summons; it was the old, old story, — a man hurt, sent to see her in the hospital. She went at once. Something whispered it was he. She went in all her white dress to receive his dying message.

Oh the shame of it, the pity! He lay upon a couch snow-white save for the blood that dripped incessantly from out a wound somewhere on his body. As she bent to speak to him his closed eyes opened, and with a cry of horror she drew back. Could this be the gentle face that she had known, this guilty, fearful thing lying against the hospital pillow? She shuddered and drew back. He saw and understood.

"You hear me, lady?"

It was the voice that she remembered; but oh that changed, that fearful face!

"Come closer, lady," said the dying man. "I cannot harm you now. You see me laid so low, so low —"

He paused; a sob rose in his throat and choked him. And then the spirit of the woman wakened and, drawing near, she laid her soft, white hand upon his own, his that had helped to set her sand house on its fair foundations.

"How could you?" said she softly. "Oh, how could you run away? They never could have harmed you. I saw it all. I would have been your witness, the one to clear you —"

He lifted up his poor thin hand and motioned her to silence.

"To 'clear' me, lady? None but God could 'clear' me of my crime. I did not run from *them*, not from the law, but from myself, my guilty, murderous conscience. It ware this pursued me, would not let me sleep, but ever follored fast as I could travel. Listen, lady, for my time is short; but I've a message to the world this New Year's night. My heart was right before my God, but not my feller man. I loved my God, but hated him, my brother man. This was the fire that burned and blasted. And what ware *he* that I should soil my soul with him? a man I hated, that was all. It follored me, my crime; I met it everywhere — in the crimes of other men, in little children's faces on the streets, for they ware innocent. He was his own avenger, him I killed. The law forgot me, let me pass; but murder set its mark upon my face. I saw you start to-night and pale. I knew you read it there. I could not look the world fair in the face again. Now, lady, go, go take my message: He who slays his feller man but slays himself, the best of manhood in him. No need of law and ropes and trees to mete out punishment; crime is its own dread punishment. He who kills his brother kills himself, the best of manhood in him."

She stood within the lighted doorway of that place of death listening while the New Year's bells pealed forth the Old Year's going. Across the east the gray began to shimmer in the sky; a quiet brooded over all the world; the city's heart was still, broken only by the bells' mad jubilance. Yet was it not the stillness of a perfect peace, despite the New Year's message sounding in the bells' glad pæan? Crime and confusion only slept, they were not dead; man's arm was still against his fellow man, his heel upon his throat.

The singer drew her cloak about her slender form, and, lifting to the empty heavens her troubled, tear-wet face, she whispered to the slumbering night that message which the dead had left :

“ He who kills his brother kills himself, the best of manhood in him.”

And all the while the bells clanged on their message of good will. The watcher sighed and lifted up her soul to heaven :

“ Grant us, O Christ, thy peace on earth, and gracious good will to each other !”

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

THE LIFE OF THOMAS HUTCHINSON, ROYAL GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.¹

REVIEWED BY HELEN CAMPBELL.

In a day which holds not only the making of many books that we may peacefully leave unread, but of many more that must be read, why should we add to the list the life of that well-hated man, the Royal Governor Thomas Hutchinson? Ardent loyalist, despiser of freedom and of the men who claimed it, aristocrat to the core, a stumbling-block in the road to independence, why should an octavo volume hold the tale of his perverse doings, and why is not the brilliant pen of James K. Hosmer in better business?

There is reason of the fullest, though to give it in full would require the whole of Mr. Hosmer's delightful preface. Lessing, he tells us, once projected a series of papers the design of which was to vindicate from obloquy great men of the past. The time has come when any honest student of history with its bearings on our present life as a people will seek to understand the character and principles of the Tories of whom Lecky writes:

They comprised some of the ablest and best men America has ever produced, and they were contending for an idea which was at least as worthy as that for which Washington fought. The maintenance of one free, industrial, and pacific empire, comprising the whole English-speaking race, may have been a dream, but it was at least a noble one.

Count Rumford was one illustrious Tory whom we forgive because of his scientific prowess. Thomas Hutchinson was another, and John Adams, his sworn enemy, wrote of him as a financier:

If I was the witch of Endor, I would wake the ghost of Hutchinson, and give him absolute power over the currency of the United States and every part of it, provided always that he should meddle with nothing but the currency. As little as I revere his memory, I will acknowledge that he understood the subject of coin and commerce better than any man I ever knew in this country.

Learned and a philosopher in his own way, his own generation cast him off, and his name stands as that of one of the bitterest opponents of a cause which to him was simple anarchy of the most atrocious order.

Was he wholly wrong? Was there not a shadow of truth in his estimate? Herbert Spencer avows openly that his faith in democracy is gone, and that we are all on the road to a military despotism. Goldwin

¹ "The Life of Thomas Hutchinson, Royal Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay," by James K. Hosmer. 8vo. Pp. xxvii + 458. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

Smith calls the breaking away of the thirteen colonies "the Anglo-Saxon schism," and Fisher Ames declared as quoted by Emerson:

A monarchy is a merchantman which sails well, but will sometimes strike on a rock and go to the bottom; whilst a republic is a raft which would never sink, but then your feet are always in the water.

At present writing (October, 1896) and for many a day past, the feet of most of us have never been wetter, and many doubt how long the craft can hold together. Yet the student more than any other man may reassure himself. The raft has proved its capacity to hold together in the stormiest of seas, and calmer waters are before us. Conviction of this comes with every line of the prophecies as to our sudden destruction, and the grounds for these prophecies fill four fat, manuscript volumes, pitched into the street mud by the mob at the time of the Stamp Act, and still bearing the red-pencil marks of the committees of the Provincial Congress, who sought from these sources to incriminate Hutchinson in plots against the people. His diary, autobiography, and letters have already seen the light. It has remained for Mr. Hosmer to give not only their substance, but a careful study of the opposing elements in that troubled time. There is added interest in the fact that, like his delightful "Young Sir Harry Vane" and the "Short History of Anglo-Saxon Freedom," this volume was written for the late Mrs. Mary Hemenway, as a carrying out of her Old South work. "She had a kind thought for the foe who honestly stood against the colonies, and she desired to have justice done the victim, as well as praise rendered the victors."

This is the substance of the admirable preface, and beyond its main thought it is not the purpose of this notice to go, since the lesson of the life lies therein. But the careful and exhaustive handling of rich material, the picturesque descriptions, the keen analysis are Mr. Hosmer's own, and make the book one that interprets history and gives a truer standard of judgment for all its facts. There is infinite pathos in more than one of the situations brought upon Hutchinson by his conscientious belief in his own convictions, and the volume, of the typographical excellence we expect from the Riverside Press, is an invaluable contribution to the philosophy of history.

QUEEN MOO AND THE EGYPTIAN SPHINX.¹

REVIEWED BY ELBERT HUBBARD.

In the *Review of Reviews* for July, 1895, Dr. Albert Shaw made the rather startling statement that Dr. Le Plongeon has discovered the original site of the Garden of Eden. That America should be the first home of man and the birthplace of civilization was considered by some as very funny; by others the statement was taken as rank heresy;

¹"Queen Moo and the Egyptian Sphinx," by Augustus Le Plongeon. Pp. 350, with 200 engravings. Price \$8. Metaphysical Publishing Company, 508 Fifth Avenue, New York.

but the result was that Dr. Shaw's little mention of Dr. Le Plongeon's forthcoming book had a wide circulation.

It has now been my good fortune to read the book, and better still to read it with the learned author at my elbow, ready to answer all questions and meet all objections; a ten-day trip across the Atlantic making this possible. Dr. Le Plongeon may be sixty, seventy, or ninety years of age. He is becomingly bald, has a long, snowy, patriarchal beard, a bright blue eye, and a beautiful brick-dust complexion. When every passenger on board had lost appetite and animation, this sturdy old man trod the upper deck and laughed at the storm as the winds sang through the cordage of the trembling ship.

For twenty-five years Dr. Le Plongeon has made a continuous study of archæology in America. In all his work and all his travel, his wife has been his faithful coadjutor, collaborator, and companion. Madame Le Plongeon is a rare woman; she is possessed of that "excellent thing in woman," and when she gave us a little lecture on board ship it was voted a great treat. My private opinion is that she is of a little better fibre than her husband, in which remark I am quite sure I should be backed up by the learned doctor himself. This worthy couple spent twelve years in Yucatan, much of the time in the forests, living with the Mayas; and they probably have now a better knowledge of the Maya language than any living English-speaking man. The results of Dr. and Madame Le Plongeon's investigations are now set forth in a handsome volume of about three hundred pages, illustrated by many photographs and drawings.

The work is so complete a contradiction of all our ideas as to the early history of civilization that its first effect is to render speechless all superficial criticism. And then the piling up of proof, intricate, complex, requiring a knowledge of six languages to be comprehended, is of a nature that places the book quite beyond the range of a magazine review.

But briefly stated, the points made are a confirmation of Plato's statement that there existed about nine thousand years ago a chain of ten islands, of which the Isle of Atlantis was the largest, stretching across the Atlantic Ocean. These islands contained a population of sixty-four million souls, and were inhabited by the Maya race, a highly civilized people. They were acquainted with the size of the earth, knew that it was round like an orange, slightly flattened at the poles, had a knowledge of the higher mathematics, astronomy, and in certain respects were the peers of our best specimens of civilization to-day. The Atlantean record is proved from four different Maya authors whose works Dr. Le Plongeon has deciphered.

The capital of the Mayas both before and after the cataclysm was in Yucatan. From there the Mayas exercised an influence on the inhabitants of the earth not unlike that of England to-day. They were great navigators, and moved freely back and forth from America to the continents, both east and west. They established colonies in Chaldea, Nubia,

and also in various points in India. The source of the civilization of the Brahmans is unknown, but Dr. Le Plongeon finds many points of resemblance in point of manners, customs, and religion that seem to permit one to trace the higher thought of India to Mayach.

In every hundred Maya words ten are pure Greek. The Greek alphabet was a direct importation from America, and the pagan Greek religion is a modified form of that of the Mayas.

That we know so little of the history of the past is owing to just one particular impulse of humanity, *i. e.*, the desire of one religious body to destroy the works of all the others. On the law books of England to-day are statutes giving the right to the authorities to publicly burn books that tend to disparage the prevailing religion. The smoke of public bonfires in France, Germany, Italy, and Spain has scarcely blown away. The present century has witnessed the burning in America of convents with their entire contents, which included libraries and records. This of course may be said to be following an example set by Catholics the world over, but it does not mitigate the offence. Saint Paul made a public bonfire in the streets of Ephesus of books and manuscripts which he considered tended to heresy; moreover he gloried in the act, and Luke in telling about it in the Book of Acts sees nothing to apologize for or to conceal.

The Spanish Inquisition destroyed the great library of the Moors at Cordova; and in Mexico, Central America, and South America the Spanish Catholics applied the torch without ruth to whatever seemed to them to have a religious significance. We know how the Alexandria Library with its priceless contents was destroyed, and we know somewhat of the world's loss in consequence; but we can only guess with the author of "Salammbô" the magnificence of Carthage wiped from the face of earth by the Romans. These same Romans mistook the beauteous marbles of Greece for grave gods and tumbled them from their pedestals, and these broken fragments now animate the artistic world.

In the fifteenth century the Spaniards overran Yucatan, sacked the temples, and destroyed all books, parchments, and inscriptions that seemed to them to have a religious or historical nature, the intent being to force Christianity upon the people and make them forget the past. The result was that millions of the inhabitants were killed, some embraced, or pretended to embrace, the new religion, and others escaped to the forests, where their descendants still live and try to hold intact their ancient beliefs. These natives are exceedingly reticent in their dealings with the whites, and it was only by living with them long years and thus securing their confidence that Dr. Le Plongeon was able to gain access to various records, and to acquire that knowledge which has enabled him to decipher their inscriptions.

Accepting the proofs Dr. Le Plongeon brings forward, America was the first home of civilization. From America knowledge spread east and west. England got her religion and ideas from America and the Americans. Dr. Le Plongeon explains the mystery of the Sphinx to his own

satisfaction, at least. Anyway, the work is intensely interesting, even to a layman, and in its bold statements is sure to awaken into life a deal of dozing thought, and some right lively opposition as well.

WEIZSÄCKER'S APOSTOLIC AGE.¹

REVIEWED BY A. B. CURTIS.

Carl von Weizsäcker has long been known to scholars as an authority of commanding importance in New Testament matters. Born at Heilbronn in Württemberg in 1822, he has held since the year 1861 the chair made famous by Baur at the University of Tübingen. He first won the attention of the public by the publication of his "Investigations into the Gospel History, their Sources and the Course of their Development" (1864). This is one of the most thorough and painstaking studies of the Gospels that has ever been made, and while some of the positions of this work were later abandoned or considerably revised, it is in the main the same construction of the Gospel tradition which reappears in the work at present under review. "The Apostolic Age" first appeared in Germany in 1886, and the English translation is made from a later revised edition.

In regard to our Gospels, Weizsäcker maintains with a good deal of spirit that too much can easily be made of the fact that we have three or even four sources for the chief events in the life of Jesus. The Gospels, he argues, are not independent sources. The first three Gospels are but three versions of a common original. By whom this original Gospel was written cannot be determined, nor can we always rely upon the strict historicity of even this source, for it too contains here and there statements which are manifestly a coloring of the earliest tradition. Weizsäcker holds that this original Gospel, which the author of our Matthew, Mark, and Luke employed, was not greatly unlike our Gospel of Mark; assuming, of course, that the claims made for the shorter text of our second Gospel are just.

Weizsäcker's use of the Synoptics therefore is sparing, for with the teaching of Jesus Himself he is not in these volumes especially concerned. Yet even in the oldest Gospels there are sayings here and there that he claims, and no doubt with perfect reason, are not words of Jesus or even of His immediate disciples, but belong to the thoughts and practices of the early Christian churches. Especially does Weizsäcker find these later ideas in the Gospel of John which he regards one of the latest books of our New Testament.

As to the authorship and teaching of the Fourth Gospel, Weizsäcker is very pronounced, and his opinions are what one would expect in the occupant of the chair of Baur. His method of introducing the evidence against the Johannine authorship is as unique as it is forceful. The book, he says, comes from an age when Peter has already won a com-

¹ "The Apostolic Age of the Christian Church," by Carl von Weizsäcker, Professor of Church History in the University of Tübingen. Translation by James Millar, B. D.; edited by Prof. A. B. Bruce of Glasgow. Vol. I, pp. 406. Vol. II, pp. 425. Price 6s. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

manding place among the apostles, and it aims to put John ahead of Peter, or at least to set him up as his equal. At the last supper Peter is made to put a question to the Lord which was only answered through the intervention of the "beloved disciple." So at the trial Peter would have been excluded but for John's influence with the High Priest. After the death of Jesus, Peter and "that other disciple" ran to the tomb, and John outran Peter. Then there is that strange picture at the close of the Gospel where Peter is thrice asked if he loves the Lord and is thrice told to feed the Lord's sheep. But over against this is placed the additional statement, to the credit of John, that he shall outlive Peter and fulfil some special destiny. Now, as our author maintains, such an effort to raise John to a level with Peter could not have been made by John himself; in his mouth the words would be self-conscious and boastful. We are forced to the conclusion, then, that they are the work of disciples. This is further shown by the true meaning of the words in xxi. 20, 23, where it is clearly implied that John is dead, while the report had somehow become current that John was not to die, but was to witness the second coming of Jesus. The verses in question inform us that such a report was an error due to the misunderstanding of a saying of Jesus. Even the claim which the book seems to make to a Johannine authorship fades away on investigation, for the voucher for the eyewitness is not that of the witness himself, but of a third party who speaks for him. This appears in the change of tenses in xix. 35, and in the use of the expression "we know that his witness is true" in xxi. 24. To *Weizsäcker*, further, it is absolutely impossible that John himself could have so far forgotten the real flesh-and-blood Jesus as to have been able to write of Him as "the incarnate Logos of God. It is impossible to imagine any power of faith and philosophy so great as thus to obliterate the recollection of the real life, and to substitute for it this marvellous picture of a Divine Being." In fact there are telltale marks all through the book that point to a second generation of Christian believers. One can readily see how Paul, who had not known Jesus personally, could identify the Christ with the ideal man from heaven. One can understand too how a second generation of disciples, accepting Paul's picture as true, could read it into the Synoptic tradition and at last without intentional prevarication completely transform the original account.

Now, that the Fourth Gospel comes from this later generation of disciples is amply attested. "One sows and another reaps" is applied to converts of a later time in iv. 38. Jesus is represented in another passage as praying not only for His disciples, but for the disciples of the disciples (xvii. 20); He says He has sheep not of this fold, a statement implying large growth of the church (x. 16). The mission of the Paraclete has been extended so as to include not only the giving of strength in time of weakness, and assistance in remembering the sayings of Jesus, but it also confers new revelations (xiv. 16, 17, 26; xv. 26; xvi. 7, 13). The Fourth Gospel abounds also in sayings of Jesus in which it is not Jesus who speaks, but the Jewish Church of a later generation. This appears in such pas-

pages as xix. 35, xxi. 34, and especially iii. 11, 13. In the latter passage Jesus is made to state explicitly that He "has ascended into heaven;" in other words, the Jesus who there speaks is not the historical Jesus, but the ideal Jesus who has lived and died, been crucified and taken to heaven.

The whole doctrinal point of view of the Fourth Gospel is, according to Weizsäcker, the creation of an apostle who followed Paul and accepted more or less fully his thought. Many questions that are still in debate in the Synoptic Gospels are fully settled in John. The Synoptics represent Jesus as a prophet, a man of God, very much after the style of an Isaiah or a Jeremiah. Especially are the parallels between Jesus and the latter prophet worthy of notice. Both accuse the religious powers of their time of making the temple an emporium, both predict the destruction of Jerusalem, both institute an eucharist, and both were objects of violent and bitter persecutions. Jesus in the Synoptics preaches as does Jeremiah. The language of a recent writer, that "Jesus as preacher preached Jesus as redeemer by blood," could never have been drawn from our Synoptics. So violently do the sporadic passages that seem to incline that way contradict the tendency of the Gospels as a whole that Weizsäcker and many other modern scholars declare that they are later additions to the Synoptic tradition. (See Mk. x. 45, Matt. xx. 28, xxvi. 28.) The most that can possibly be said by a conservative critic is that the Synoptic Gospels waver between the thought of Jesus as a preacher of righteousness in the name of His heavenly Father, and Jesus as a redeemer only for those who believe on His name and accept Him in baptism. There is none of this ambiguity of teaching in John's Gospel. Jesus is here to the whole world what the serpent lifted up in the wilderness was to the Jewish church, — only they who look to Jesus can be saved. The Synoptics are hesitating also in their conception of the extent of Jesus' mission. In the narratives of the Synoptics Jesus moves only in the narrow circle of the Jews, and the church that the Synoptics describe is the Jerusalem church. There is nothing here to imply in the new movement a world conquest. It is to be a sect merely inside the Jewish church. On the other hand, imbedded in these Gospels as the reputed sayings of Jesus are words of the widest universalism; words in which the field of religious endeavor is the world. The side of particularism and provincialism in the Synoptics has all disappeared in the Fourth Gospel; Jesus is the Logos, the agent in all creation, the man from heaven whose mission is to the lengths and breadths of the land. The narratives of this Gospel attempt to bring the historical Jesus into line with this larger sphere of activity by extending the borders of His earthly activity.

The Synoptics hesitate in their attitude toward the law. They are partly Jewish and partly Pauline or Christian. In the Fourth Gospel the law is as though it did not exist. The law has, for the author of this Gospel, not so much been contradicted as transcended (John i. 17, 18). All that Moses in the law could give was a testimony to Jesus (i. 39, 45), and in Him the Christian has all the law and more. Descent from Abra-

ham was valueless (viii. 33), and to serve Moses and the law did not avail; for Moses could not give the true bread from heaven (vi. 32). In fact all the religious teachers who came before the Christ are to the author of this Gospel thieves and robbers (x. 8). "This picture of Jesus could only be sketched, this teaching only be delivered at a time when the fight with and the question of the law lay entirely in the past." In the Synoptics the gospel goes to the Gentiles because the Jews rejected it; in Paul it was intended for Jews and Gentiles alike from the start. In John the gospel was intended for all from the first, but it had to begin somewhere, and that place of beginning was deservedly Jerusalem.

The motive for the extension of the gospel tradition as we find it in John is clearly stated by Weizsäcker. It was for the purpose of adding the authority of Jesus to the teachings of Paul and his followers. The new knowledge and larger outlook of the church had outgrown the primitive Christianity of our second Gospel. Those who remembered the teachings and habits of Jesus felt alarmed; they questioned whether all the new learning and broad universalism exactly squared with the historical Jesus and His work. The disciples of John believed that it did, and out of their discussions, homilies, and sermons urged in proof of their view our Fourth Gospel has grown.

This review has hinted in its comparison of John's with the other Gospels that it was Paul who lifted Christianity out of its Jewish ruts and made it a world religion. "When we reflect," says Weizsäcker, "on the whole contents of the Pauline doctrine, the impression it gives of a powerful spiritual creation is irresistible. Its strength consists not merely in the skilful parries of attacks from the upholders of a narrow conception, not even merely in its wonderful psychology, but perhaps still more in the comprehensiveness of its thought. For his philosophy apprehends everything in its salient features, and through all its variety of treatment and independence of traditional ideas and doctrines satisfies the reader by the unity of its far-reaching conceptions. In this sense the apostle may be called the creator of Christian theology. . . . And yet his opponents were not perhaps wrong when they accused him of neither knowing nor understanding the Jesus of history. Without that Gospel which, existing side by side with him, perpetuated the marvellous sayings of the actual Jesus, and immortalized His form in its human greatness and in its oneness with God, his preaching of the God-sent Christ, who destroyed the flesh and inaugurated the kingdom of the spirit, would have been a doctrine for thinkers, a structure of ideas. But Paul himself was greater than his theory. In his application of his doctrine he was everywhere free; not the scholar and thinker, but the man of faith and action."

The life and teachings of Paul are sketched in these volumes by a master hand. Weizsäcker begins his treatment of the apostolic age with the first appearance of Christ to the primitive community. These appearances are explained as subjective experiences or visions of the apostles which only in the course of time were clothed with external

reality, our Gospels themselves showing many of the stages in the development of the doctrine of the resurrection of the body of Jesus. For Paul especially the resurrection of Jesus was a spiritual fact and not a physical or material one. Paul's own conversion, which took place under the influence of one of these appearances, had a psychological basis which Weizsäcker clearly defines. "Despair of the present, a hopeless recognition of the wretchedness of the age, had taken possession of his mind and heart." In his despair he turned to his Messianic expectation, and this Weizsäcker thinks "had included an earnest hope for the ingathering of the heathen." When he began to consider the Messianic claim of Jesus as he took that memorable ride to Damascus he was overwhelmed by the force and patness of the argument that could be made in its favor. His conversion was sudden because "great religious changes are to a very large extent the work of a moment. . . . Conversion is in this sense a miracle, the genuine and only miracle that belongs to faith, which in itself is the experience in an immediate form, and from that fact derives its certainty that the experience has had a divine origin. Here we have also the limit of historical inquiry, the limit of all explanation. The experience of the convert is known to himself only as an experience that has taken possession of him. It is to him a revelation, and only as a revelation can it be known and described." Weizsäcker takes pains to show that this inwardness of the apostle Paul, this doctrine that spiritual things must be spiritually discerned, appears on all sides of the Pauline teaching. When he quotes Scripture as his authority or when he appeals to the words of Jesus it is always with the more or less assured conviction that he is giving them a new meaning. In self-defence he argues that he received his gospel direct from God. He impressed upon the minds of his converts the fact that their faith, too, was due to a divine creative work in their hearts. Because he possessed this spirit he felt warranted in giving orders regarding matters of manners and morals that should become commandments in the church (I Cor. vii. 40). Paul "claims for the spiritual man, that is, the man who possesses the spirit of God, an intuitive certainty as to the highest truth." He was a believer in a living spirit, a tireless spirit of God everywhere working in the hearts of men. Revelation had not been given once for all. What the apostle imparted in his teaching was but a speaking out of the truths that God had spoken into his heart. "Paul felt therefore that the final and supreme principles of his theology rested on and presented themselves to him as intuitions."

In following the development of the Pauline teachings as revealed in the epistles Weizsäcker more than once forsakes that construction of the history which is given in the book of Acts as unhistorical and unreliable. In all the principal points of divergence Weizsäcker is in close agreement with Baur, who held that the book of Acts was written for the avowed purpose of reconciling the narrow and bigoted Jewish Christians and the broader and more humane Universalists. Doubt is

cast upon the vision of Peter in accordance with which he becomes the forerunner of Paul in the admission of Gentile Christians into the church without strict compliance with the Mosaic law.

Weizsäcker originated the theory that our book of Revelation is composite, and what he so ably began has been continued by Volter and Vischar, who have shown that the book is made up of various apocalyptic writings, some of them being entirely Jewish and probably pre-Christian. This appears in part from the conglomerate picture of the Messiah which is given in the Apocalypse; high and low, ancient and modern ideals are jumbled together, and the title newly revealed by the author is that of "the Logos of God." The book aims among other things at directing the attention of Christians to the fact that God alone is to be worshipped. The practice of paying homage to angels is censured, as is also that of making a violent distinction between God and His Logos.

The last part of the second volume of Weizsäcker's work is a masterly treatment of the Church of the first century, its meetings and manner of worship, its ceremonies, feasts, and prayers, its ethical and religious life. Very interesting indeed is the discussion of the liturgical formulas. Weizsäcker holds that such passages as Mark xiv. 22, 24 are not genuine sayings of Jesus, but liturgies of the early Christians which were only put into Jesus' mouth long after by His biographers.

Says Prof. Pfeiderer, whose growing popularity this side the water is to be regarded as a hopeful sign:

Since Baur's "Christianity of the First Three Centuries," nothing has appeared on the earliest times of the Christian Church superior to the "Apostolic Age" by Weizsäcker, the worthy occupant of Baur's chair.

The work of translation has been admirably performed by Mr. Millar; the volumes are of convenient size and large type, and, on the whole, are without a peer in English upon the subject treated.

LIFE'S GATEWAYS.¹

REVIEWED BY ELLEN A. RICHARDSON.

The subtitle, "How to Win Success," gives a hint as to the purpose of the book. It relates chiefly to the philosophy of life. The author, Emily S. Bouton, has published other books, namely: "Health and Beauty," "Social Etiquette," "House and Home Decoration," all of which are but stepping-stones to this latest production, which deals at one and the same time with the philosophy in the life of matter and the philosophy in the life of the spirit. The two phases are so interwoven as to make the life of the latter lift the life of the former into its highest results, thus into "real success." The title and subtitle intimate to the reader, at the outset, that the author intends to show how the principles of philosophy are to be applied for success here. This

¹ "Life's Gateways; or, How to Win Real Success," by Emily S. Bouton. With portrait. Price, cloth, \$1.00; paper, 50c. Arena Publishing Company, Boston, Mass.

leads us to expect a practical work, and such the volume proves to be. It is made up from articles which have appeared from time to time in the *Toledo Blade*, and which the author calls "simple talks."

The *Toledo Blade* is received in thousands of homes, and these familiar talks have undoubtedly had a great moulding power on the minds of millions, many of whom have requested the compilation in this collected form.

In her preface she says: "These talks contain nothing new. They only repeat, again and again, truths which are as old as humanity itself — truths which, recognized and acted upon, would bring the highest success possible to human attainment."

And so it is, *Truth*, the firm standard, "Infinite love and infinite goodness know no variableness or shadow of turning," but "the great world that spins forever down the ringing grooves of *change*" necessitates the "line upon line, and precept upon precept."

The author manifests sympathy with every difficulty and perplexity of life, plainly pointing out where to find and how to overcome them, with a great spirit of helpfulness. Each phase of life presented is accompanied with wise advice which may be put easily into practice.

The world is full of people who, for lack of special training and in the mad "rush after material prosperity," have ignored the spiritual germ within themselves, the real Ego, which, acting upon and through a wise and good intelligence, would bring successful development to all life. So frank and plain are the author's reasonings and statements that we need only quote a few of them to represent her book with fairness. Let us take the two opening lines of the third chapter, "To Gain Life's Prizes":

Life will yield its own to each,
Let nothing slip beyond your reach.

These lines imply a self-knowledge and a belief in self, also the power of opportunity. The truth bearing upon these points the author illustrates under the guise of a fairy story. A child was christened, and the fairies brought to him gifts. "He was endowed with a creative mind that should conceive great works, and with patience to work; with an eye to recognize beauty and a judgment to discover truth; with gifts of mind and heart that should win friends, and with loyalty that should keep them."

Then came a spiteful old fairy. Chagrined that she should arrive late, and angered by the exclamations of the good fairies, that she could not hurt the child, because they had given to him so much that he would have nothing to fear, she advanced to the cradle and waved her stick over it saying, "Here is my gift. He shall never be able to believe in himself."

It is the one thing of all that makes his life a failure. It blights all his other possessions. Daily he sees other men with half his gifts pass him and go forward toward the prizes which might have been his also, while he stands bound fast in the web woven by his enemy, only a looker-

on at the life in which he thinks he is unworthy to take a part. This comes from lack of faith in himself.

"Life will yield its own to each." The trouble is we lack self-confidence and do not know how to take what lies within reach. "The beauty and glory of the world are close at our hand, but we see only the clay. The present is full of a potency that we do not grasp, because we are looking doubtfully forward into the future of maybe. Could we only seize the opportunities of to-day, utilizing them to their utmost, leaving to-morrow to take care of itself, there is little worth having which we might not make our own, if we so desired."

The chapters upon "True Liberty, which is Self-mastery," and "Self-dependence" should be texts in every school in the land; for they contain lessons "which the world is ever being taught, which it is ever forgetting, which must be learned and acted upon ere mankind as a whole can reach any higher plane of real attainment than it occupies to-day." "It is because of the interweaving of the lives of the people into a unified whole that the responsibility of individual action becomes so great."

"There is absolutely no such thing as separateness, prate as we may about independence. The only independence that we have, and even that is but partial, is that of the bodies which we, our real selves, are using as instruments during our physical lives."

The author believes that girls should be taught self-dependence "just as boys are expected to be prepared. Then they can stand alone, and even though the waves of sorrow and adversity beat upon them, they do not fear, because they know that they can conquer a place for themselves in the world."

The twenty-second chapter, "A Word to Girls," is one of the most helpful in the book, and is equally a strong word to boys; for when it shall be known that such a standard of life is being grafted into the minds of the one, necessarily the added incentive to become the ideal will stimulate the other. We could wish "Life's Gateways; or, How to win Real Success" could be found in the hands of every boy and girl, a reader in the public schools, surely in the library of every Sunday school, and on every home library table.





L. D. Harris

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THE NEW EDUCATION.

BY HON. WILLIAM T. HARRIS, PH. D., LL. D.

United States Commissioner of Education.

There are four fundamental institutions in civilized society, namely, the family, industrial society, the political state, and the church. Progress and enlightenment begin in the highest term of this series.

Religion, which gives us our ideals of civilization, furnishes us the principles of morals, our views of the relation of man to man and of man to nature, and makes possible or impossible free scientific inquiry and free change of vocations, and free application of scientific discoveries through inventions. We may lump all these spiritual functions under the head of religion, which certainly furnishes the fundamental idea, the idea that moves at the bottom of our civilization; or we may subdivide its functions and speak of art and literature, or the æsthetic side of spiritual culture, of religion proper, as connected with creeds and ceremonies; and lastly, of science, including under that head, natural science, the sciences of human institutions, and the *a priori* sciences — logic, metaphysics, and ontology.

Philosophy and science arise out of religion, partially, it is true, by reaction, but mainly by a new struggle of the soul to rise into a higher freedom by means of reflection; the soul wishes to reflect upon the beliefs and ceremonial observances which are inculcated in its religion. It desires to see the inherent necessity in the view of the world which is taught it by religion. It gets by science into a form free from authority, and yet retains the infinite good revealed in the religious ideal.

Literature, inspired directly as well as by reaction from the

religious view, presents its picture of human nature as a whole, showing its trend toward the divine and its deviations or stray movements from the good of the whole. It shows how the seven mortal sins strike against the institutions of civilization and thereby bring pain and suffering to individuals.

This threefold function of the spiritual institution of man thus described as religion, philosophy and science, and literature and art, leads first to the ethical union of man with man, and thus to the political organization of society — the state — improved from age to age, rising through its gamut from the patriarchal state wherein one despotic will swallows up all individual wills, up to the free democratic constitution more or less realized in the United States, Great Britain, Switzerland, Mexico, and the South American republics, all of them distinctly prompted by the ideal of a free state in which the people ruled are also the appointers of their rulers, and the makers of their own laws. For, as Hegel has shown, the trend of history is from the state in which one person only is free and self-governed, to the state in which all are free and self-governed. This is the unfailing norm by which to measure the ideals of progress, not only political, but also religious ideals.

The ideal of a nation of people passively obedient to the rule of one, even the highest and most rational of rulers (an ideal apparently held by the great Thomas Carlyle), is undoubtedly a lower ideal than that which so acts that the central power helps the individual everywhere to help himself; helps him to free industry and the conquest of nature; helps him to master the science which reveals the structure of nature; helps him to think the thought of the general view of the world and see for himself the truth of the religious or philosophical theory held by his fellow-men.

So, too, a religion which, like that of Buddhism or Brahmanism, tends to the annihilation of the individual, or, if you please, merely to a practical absorption of the individual in the highest being, is distinctly a world-view inferior to that view which holds that the world-process tends to produce free and independent individuals, individuals knowing in and for themselves the true, the good, and the beautiful, and each one working to realize these divine things by original means and methods, by new devices that will enable his fellow-men to conquer nature; or to make universal the edu-

cation and self-culture of all men ; or to promote original discoveries in science or philosophy. In other words, religions can be measured by this ideal, and they rise in a scale from that lowest one which makes the Divine Being a jealous and all-excluding one who absorbs his creatures into himself, up to that divinest religion which is founded on infinite altruism, the Divine which seeks in an infinite world of time and space to bring into existence and immortal growth through loving-kindness a perpetual stream of new individualities, rational beings free and immortal. That lowest idea, that of pantheism, makes time and space into a creative illusion, an illusion which causes the soul to fall into the error of attributing independent existence and individuality to a world of material and spiritual beings. The highest religion makes time and space a veritable cradle for the culture and education of individuals. All the way from the lowest forms of matter up to the highest organic being, everywhere a growth through struggle for survival, a conquest of nature by means of pure will, the evolution of intellect, the building of human institutions in order to render perfect the individual.

Thus it is that our Home Congress is fully possessed of this spirit of evolution which appears in human history. It strives to make available to the family life the highest that is discovered in science and philosophy, or found in the inspirations of religion, literature, and art. It is to bring home by multifarious devices the benefits of human growth in different provinces.

And especially it will avail itself of what has been done in the second institution, that of society as an industrial community, dividing its labor and specializing its vocations, and reaping the benefit of the simplification of human labor by useful mechanic inventions. For in the earlier stages of industry invention is impossible because of the complexity of each employment. When by means of vast combinations the work of each individual becomes so simple as to be executed by one stroke of the hand or by one movement of the foot, it is easy to invent a machine moved by a power of nature that can perform this labor. The simple and monotonous movement of a pump, it was seen by Watt, could be accomplished by a simple form of the steam engine, which he accordingly invented. After the machines of the first order are invented, all of them simple mechanical movements,

begins the era of the combination of simple machines into complex machines. This second epoch of invention is far more potent for the emancipation of labor than the first epoch, for the combination of simple machines into a complex machine brings us to the stage wherein there is a great discount in the physical strength required to manage machinery. This manifests itself in the fact that with the advent of the second order of machines, complex machines, woman comes in side by side with man as supervisor and director of the instruments of productive industry.

This brings us to the point of view in which we see in all its fulness the significance of the movement to which the Home Congress belongs. For this same movement in the complexity of machinery emancipates us not only from the tyrannies of sex and brute strength, but it emancipates us also from the exclusive domination of the great mill or workshop, with its mechanical reactions upon life, its frightful suppression of the fresh instincts of the heart, its war against the freedom of the soul which seeks an atmosphere of recreation, of pleasure and amusement. The soul must not place itself too long in the clamp of productive industry, it must not bend and subordinate its will to an outer necessity for too protracted intervals. The soul must recover its feeling of spontaneity, the feeling of its power to throw off any and all of its external conditions and make its own conditions moment by moment as the necessity arises.

This will suggest the chief danger of the great industrial movement which has prevailed for a hundred years in civilization and has placed a sort of stamp upon its laborers. The freedom of caprice which sweetens toil is not found in the laborer in the cotton mill or the iron mill. As Charles Reade describes for us the knife-grinders of Sheffield, the tensivity of the alert and vigilant will-power necessary in their trade sharpens their faces into a peculiar species of human animal, acts disastrously upon their view of the spiritual world, and produces people who belong to a new round of the Inferno, such as Dante had never dreamed of. This enthrallment which comes from the first period of mechanic inventions is destined to be removed by the social results and effects of the second epoch; for the second epoch requires more and more intellect, alertness, and culture, and less and less of mere abstract mechanical attention and persistence. More and more it happens now that mechanical power is

brought home to the farmer and into the private house, and awaits the need of the individual householder. To a large extent the better class of people withdraw from the mill and bring home with them into the family the machinery which multiplies their industry.

We have all occupied our minds with the recent spectacle of electricity distributing power to an indefinite number of machines in the home. The mills will doubtless increase in number and in the immensity of their productions, but their province is to be constantly invaded by the invention of complex machines which bring within the power of the single individual and the family the possibility of producing the staple according to the needs and wants of the family circle.

The rate of progress of this most modern movement in industries is conditioned by the enlightenment of the individuals in the community. Illiterate families cannot keep up with the progress of the world. For it is the printed page which makes accessible the wisdom of the race to the individual. The school is making a reading population of well-nigh the whole people in this country, and not merely in this country, but in all countries of Europe and America. The cheapening of the products of the printing-press is making possible everywhere the family library. It is creating a public spirit in the towns, and causing public libraries to arise in towns and villages. We are just on the eve of an era of home reading such as has never before been witnessed in the world. The managers and directors of the schools everywhere hear the prophetic voice announcing this new era and proclaiming a new education which shall not only attend to the disciplinary studies of the school and to the acquirement of the conventional arts of reading and writing, the notation of numbers, the construction of maps and charts, and such semi-mechanical matters, but make its incursions into the most useful of arts for the home. The child in the school shall in his seventh or eighth year take lessons in cookery and learn those most valuable devices which will economize the raw materials of food and assist the vital forces by furnishing more palatable and more easily digested viands. One of the greatest wastes in the community will be lessened by this movement—a waste in precious articles of food and a waste in still more precious human strength. The school gives only an initiation in this important matter of the preparation of food. It does much, however, to provide a class of people

for the next generation fully educated not only theoretically in the science of food materials, but practically in the best devices for their preparation for consumption.

But the school must be improved by adding to it what is called school extension. We have seen enthusiastic people urging upon our universities the adoption of what has been called University Extension. No one doubts that it is a good thing for the higher institutions of learning to take charge of the education of the people at large, to put as many of the people as possible into the process of self-education. But it is more important than this that the elementary school shall make itself a greater and greater power in the community by its influence upon pupils who have left school, and through the pupils who are in school upon the parents and other members of the family at home. The ideal of the new education demands that the country school shall see to it that something is done to direct the attention of its pupils upon the problems of practical life which concern agriculture and other rural arts. The wise man now feels it his duty to make a book and put his most useful discoveries into such form that the people may read it and learn to practise them. Professor Atwater has shown us the popular use that can be made of the most scientific insights into the processes by which food products are raised and by which they are fitted for consumption.

Shall we not have agriculture reduced to a pedagogical form so that its fundamental principles may be taught in school in progressive lessons, just as the art of cookery is now taught?

The programme of the Home Congress suggests much more in this line. It shows us how vitally related to the cure of disease and its prevention is the art of the proper preparation of food. In sociology we know how large a part dietary bears in the progress of the less wealthy and less thrifty portions of society, nearly two-thirds of whose earnings go directly for the item of food alone. This great movement will reach at least the children and the young people of the community, and stop the propagation of pauperism by preventing the transmission of unthrifty habits from parents to children.

Let the children in the agricultural community be properly educated in the elements of agriculture, and then let them be followed by school extension and kept reading and studying

in truly scientific and truly practical books, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the agricultural production of any community may be doubled in ten years' time.

The work of the Home Congress extends itself to the city homes by investigating the causes of poverty and unthrift, by preventing the growth of the slum, deftly abstracting the children from the home influence of the slum, withdrawing them into the kindergarten and the elementary school, and giving them the pure air of an environment of literature and art and science, of higher aspiration, and of benevolent coöperation with one's fellows.

This same movement of school extension will look into the careers of pupils after they have left school and stimulate them to carry on their studies, and especially to apply their culture to the solution of the practical problems of their special vocations. Just as schools in agricultural districts will see to it that there is a plentiful supply of books in libraries for home reading relating to the practical arts of agriculture and to the sciences on which those arts are founded, so the school libraries in the cities and villages will be made to contain all of the most elementary and practical books relating to the arts practised in the neighborhood, and to the sciences involved in those arts.

Finally the Home Congress looks to the physiology of the brain and the nervous system, and labors to promote in the community a true scientific knowledge of the best methods of rearing and educating children. It well knows that the greatest of all functions of the school remains, now as ever, the giving to the rising generation the arts of reading, writing, and arithmetic, and that these great staple studies enable the child to combine with his fellow-men and avail himself of their wisdom through the printed page; but it knows too that the school has never done one-tenth of what is possible to be done in the way of assisting the child, and through him the parents, to reap the full value of these arts of reading and writing and intercommunication with one's fellow-men. It knows that for the most part these greatest of arts are allowed to rust unused in the lumber rooms of the minds of those pupils who, after the strong stimulus of their school lives and the great promise of their early development, have allowed themselves to drop down into the deep furrows of use and wont—the ruts of mere mechanical habit. They have become drudges instead of directive powers in the community.

The new education will strive to save larger and larger percentages of the children for the higher life of directive power, and to diminish that dismal swarm of drudges that hang as a dead weight on the neck of the community.

It is not to be forgotten that, in this movement on the part of the schools to extend their influence beyond the schoolroom to the family, the larger portion of the reading must be of the nature of inspiration and stimulus, namely the works of the best literature — the poems and the novels. Almost every subject in modern reform is now treated in the novel; even political economy can be made a charming subject when undertaken by such an artist as Bellamy. A million of persons in the republic have read Henry George's "Progress and Poverty." I wish it were possible to name a sound political economist who had made as great success with his literary style, and had educated the community into sounder views of the nature of property than those of Mr. George. School extension, therefore, will draw its readers into literature, and through literature carry them into the realms of natural history, physics, astronomy, and geology; into the realms of politics, political economy, criminology, history, jurisprudence, music, painting, and sculpture.

It is the union of the school with the library that furnishes the best practical method of school extension, and when there is a progress in learning that results in intellectual growth in the homes, each person will be inspired with a spirit of adventure into new and untried fields. Each person will find his life worth living in a sense never felt before.

ART FOR TRUTH'S SAKE IN THE DRAMA.

BY JAMES A. HERNE.

Those who have preceded me in discussing the question of Art for truth's sake are largely teachers in the technical, or professional, meaning of the term; they are specialists, scientific experts, commissioners from educational bureaus, professors from universities, scientific agriculturists, essayists, chemists, students of sociology in all its complex forms, contributors to sociologic work along different lines and through all its intricate ramifications — musicians, painters, sculptors, and writers — and each has given a scientific analysis of his art, its truth and its mission.

It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that I approach the task set me with extreme diffidence, and with a reasonable doubt of my ability to properly state myself here.

It is true that I have written several plays, two of which have commanded more than ordinary attention from thinkers. I have been accorded a place among the leaders in what is known as the new drama and the new school of acting. I am not, however, a teacher, except as I may teach through my work. I am not a scientist; I cannot give you a scientific analysis of my work nor explain to you scientifically how it relates to and affects society or the home.

I am an actor who possesses the additional faculty of being able to write and produce his own plays, but still an actor and not a scientist. That I have, through my work, helped some men; that the influence of my work has been felt in some homes and thus in society, I know, but I cannot explain why. I doubt whether I shall be able to explain to you what constitutes art, in its scientific sense, or what is really meant by "Art for Truth's Sake" or its relative strength and value as over and against "Art for Art's Sake."

I know what constitutes truth in my own work; I know when I write true and when I act true; I know the value of every word set down for me to speak; I know the value of every inflection, of every intonation, of every look; I can pick out the false notes in my own work or in the work of

any other actor or dramatist as readily as a musical director can detect the false note of a singer or of a musician, but I do not believe I can explain *how* I know all this. Mrs. Herne, to whom I said as much, replied: "A skilful blacksmith may forge a very remarkable piece of iron-work; he knows the value of every stroke of his hammer, the value of the heat and cold to which he subjects it; he knows how to turn every bit of the delicate scroll-work, and when he has completed his task he knows the value of the whole, and he appreciates its beauty, It is a work of art, but he can no more explain to you how it came to be a work of art, than he can tell you how the ancient smiths came to conceive the wonderful iron doors and gates of their castles and their churches."

"Art for art's sake" seems to me to concern itself principally with delicacy of touch, with skill. It is æsthetic. It emphasizes beauty. It aims to be attractive. It must always be beautiful. It must contain no distasteful quality. It never offends. It is high-bred, so to speak. It holds that truth is ugly, or at least is not always beautiful. The compensation of the artist is the joy of having produced it.

"Art for truth's sake," on the other hand, emphasizes humanity. It is not sufficient that the subject be attractive or beautiful, or that it does not offend. It must first of all express some *large* truth. That is to say, it must always be representative. Truth is not always beautiful, but in art for truth's sake it is indispensable.

Art for art's sake may be likened to the exquisite decoration of some noble building; while art for truth's sake might be the building itself.

Art for truth's sake is serious. Its highest purpose has ever been to perpetuate the life of its time. The higher the form of expression the greater the art. Vereschagin uses his masterly art to express truth. There is none of the "pomp and circumstance of glorious war" in his battle pictures. They reproduce war as it is. Tolstoy uses his art for truth's sake; so do Howells and Enneking and Hardy and Sudermann; and so does Whitcomb Riley. And so did Browning and Lanier and other great masters of art. But in expressing a truth through art, it should be borne in mind that *selection* is an important principle. If a disagreeable truth is not also an essential, it should not be used in art. Mr. Howells has the art of selection in a remark-

able degree. Mr. Enneking says: "The Ideal is the choicest expression of the Real." Truth is an essential of all art. I do not well see how there can be art without some truth. I hold it to be the duty of the true artist to state his truth as subtly as may be. In other words: if he has a truth to manifest and he can present it without giving offence and still retain its power, he should so present it, but if he must choose between giving offence and receding from his position, he should stand by his principle and state his truth fearlessly.

In all art, ancient and modern, that which is in touch with contemporaneous life adheres closest to truth, because it is produced through some peculiar social condition. The romancer finds but little to inspire him in typical life, he therefore deals with the exceptional life, and draws largely upon his imagination and upon the romancers who have gone before. He loves the "lady of romance with her falcon," "the sleeping troubadour," "the knight and his squire." He loves the blare of the trumpets and the clang of the arms of romance; and while, if he be an artist, he must start with truth for the basis of his theme, he cannot adhere to it, for if he does his heroes and heroines, knights and ladies, will speedily become mere men and women, and his romance, reality.

Perhaps I can best further illustrate my subject by talking of that about which I know the most, my own work.

My experience has taught me that there has always been some truth in the drama—a grain it may be, but nevertheless some.

During the first twenty years of my career as an actor the literature of the stage was limited. We had any quantity of plays, but not much literature, and absolutely no differentiation or characterization. It is true that we had the plays of Shakspeare, Goethe, Schiller, Goldsmith, Sheridan, Knowles, and other great dramatists. These plays were of course exceptional in quality, and were known as "the *legitimate drama*." But in the main we relied upon what was called "the *standard drama*," containing any number of miscellaneous plays of more or less merit, by any number of miscellaneous authors of more or less merit. We had tragedy, melodrama, domestic drama, spectacle, and farce. The standard drama of that day was a drama of plot rather than of purpose. The dramatist was concerned first of all with his plot.

A play without a plot could not have obtained a hearing twenty years ago. In fact it is pretty hard work to-day to get a hearing for a play based upon theme and character, and depending upon treatment and not upon plot; but twenty years ago such a thing would have been impossible. And so, while it is true that we had some excellent plays, they each had a plot, a hero, and a villain, and always ended with virtue triumphant. The hero always married the heroine, and the villain was always foiled before the final curtain fell. The characters in these plays were of a necessity more or less artificial.

The system then in vogue was the "star system," that is, a star actor travelled from city to city and presented the plays of his repertoire with the assistance of the local stock company, instead of with his own company, as is the custom now. We had some marvellous actors in those days, when you consider the material they had to work with. In many instances they actually made those artificial characters human, and those plotty plays real.

The stage sword-combat was one of the essentials of the standard melodrama, the authors having no less an authority than Shakspeare for precedent. We used to gather in the wings to watch two tragedians fight the combat in the last act of Shakspeare's "Richard III" or "Macbeth," a very laughable affair to me now, but very real to me then; and those actors, although they had studied and rehearsed every blow, and knew just when and where to strike, thrust, parry, and guard, were very much in earnest when night came and the battle was on.

The grandest actor I ever saw was Edwin Forrest, but he was a grievous disappointment to me in the combats at the end of the tragedies; he said they had no value, and he dismissed them with a few simple blows. Edwin Booth cared little for the combats, except for the duel between Hamlet and Laertes. He was an expert in the use of the foil, and was very particular that his Laertes should be worthy of his steel; but as a whole he expressed the poetry and philosophy of Shakspeare's plays intellectually, in his own marvellous personality, and suppressed or simplified that in them which was obvious or theatric. It is told of him that being asked what in Shakspeare impressed him most, he replied "The level lines."

On the other hand, we had tragedians who felt that Shak-

spere, like some of the authors who came after him, wrote his tragedies having in view the sole idea of the stage combats in the last act; and they acted them after that fashion. One I have in mind who, whenever he played Richard III or Macbeth, used to place extra swords at both wings of the stage, in order that the fight might not be curtailed through the breaking of a sword. With him an actor might omit some of Shakspeare's lines, but he must not miss a blow of the combat. Imagine Macbeth and Macduff coming together in Birnam wood or in some other wood, to fight to the death, having previously hidden extra swords in all the trees.

Personally I never cared much for the heroic drama. I have appeared in the entire round of its leading characters. Strange as it may now seem, I have played the Romeos, the Claude Melnottes, the Armand Duvals, the Charles Surfaces, the Benedicks, the Cliffords, the Petruchios, and all the rest of the fascinating heroes of the legitimate and standard drama, and I was never such a *very* handsome man, either. I was pretty bad in most of them, I guess. They never appealed to me seriously.

The domestic drama, on the contrary, always appealed to me; the simpler the play the better for me. The more direct the talk, the more earnest I became. When I had a sailor, such as William in "Black Eyed Susan," or as Ben Bolt, to play, or a peasant like Martin Haywood in the "Rent Day," or like Tom Bobolink in "Temptation," I was at home. In characters like these I never failed to impress my audience.

Then came the Dickens drama, and I played Ham Peggoty in "Little Em'ly" and made the actors cry. And why? Because the author was human, and the character real, and I did not act it from the conventional actor standpoint, but from the Charles Dickens standpoint. Later on I travelled as supporting star with the famous Boston actress, Lucille Western, and I played Bill Sikes to her Nancy Sikes. A little girl once stopped Miss Western on Broadway, New York, and said: "Miss Western, I hate that Mr. Herne, he's such a brute; he always makes *you* cry." After a while I commenced to travel alone, and I played a repertoire which included several Dickens characters—Caleb Plummer, Pan'l Peggoty, Capt'n Cuttle, and others. Charles Dickens was a great man. His characters are not always typical, and some of them are grotesque, but, oh! so representative, so full of

humanity, so full of the great personality of the man, so positively "art for truth's sake." I feel that I owe much to Charles Dickens. I feel that reading his books, and loving them, and acting some of his characters, have helped materially in my dramatic development.

Then came Dion Boucicault, a very exceptional actor as well as a very remarkable dramatist, with his beautiful pictures of Irish peasant life. "The Colleen Bawn," "Arrah-na-Pogue," "The Shaughraun," every one with a plot, every one with its stage hero and its stage villain, but, ah! so charged with Irish atmosphere, so fragrant with the breath of the shamrock, that you might shut your eyes and listen, and imagine you were in Ireland. And then such a plea for humanity (for humanity, like truth, is universal), for the common things of life, and for the common people of Ireland!

And at length it came to pass that I wrote a play myself, and Mrs. Herne called it "Hearts of Oak." "Hearts of Oak" was a new departure in playwriting, in that it contained neither a hero nor a villain. It had a plot, but it had no hero and no villain, and one of the chief characters in the play was a one-year-old baby. It was a simple story of Marblehead folk, in its whaling days. It was a bit of crude construction, but it touched a sympathetic chord somewhere, and it was a great success. I next wrote "The Minute Men," a story of colonial times, taking in Paul Revere's ride to Lexington, the battle of Lexington, and the stand at Concord Bridge. Mrs. Herne had a glorious character, Dorothy Foxglove. Unquestionably "The Minute Men" was a step nearer being true than was "Hearts of Oak," but it was not nearly so successful. In fact it was a financial failure.

My next exertion resulted in a play called "Drifting Apart," a story of Gloucester fisherman life, and it was another step forward. Its weakest point was its comedy element—a stage soubrette and a stage funny man. I never could write stage comedy; I can write humor—the humor born of the intensity of life—but I cannot write stage comedy. This play failed financially, chiefly, I now believe, through lack of good management and my inability to get a proper placement for it. Nevertheless it proved to be a tremendous potentiality let loose. Mrs. Herne's Mary Miller in that play was flesh and blood and bone, and those

who have seen her in that wonderful impersonation will never forget the humanity in "Drifting Apart," nor the "art for truth's sake" in Mrs. Herne's Mary Miller. As I said, "it was a potentiality," an unconscious potentiality which attracted to us a sympathetic man, now an esteemed friend, who in turn brought others, and our lives were broadened and bettered, for through these friends we learned that we had been unconsciously working along the lines of thought held by some of the great modern masters of art.

Again "the muse labored," and it brought forth a very imperfect drama-child, which we called "The Hawthornes." But before "The Hawthornes" matured "Margaret Fleming" was born, full-fledged, the epitome of a powerful but savage truth. Every theatre door was slammed shut against this play, and we took the little Chickering Hall on Tremont Street in this city of Boston and gave a "Margaret Fleming" season of two weeks, for the few who were ready to receive it. The play was faulty, didactic in places, but there has been nothing *just* like it given to the stage, before nor since. Mr. Howells called it an epoch-marking play. Not an epoch-making play, remember, but an epoch-marking play.

In the character of Margaret Fleming Mrs. Herne made the supreme effort of her life, and reached the crowning point in dramatic art, but neither the writing nor her work was understood, except by a few persons, and so "Margaret Fleming" was reverently laid away, to await the unfolding of a more general appreciation of all such work. It stood the test of dignified approbation and the jeers of scoffers. It has no apology to offer for daring to live, for live it will; its silent potentiality is working slowly and surely. Mrs. Herne can afford to rest upon that masterpiece; certainly there can be no higher ideal of art than she aimed to reach in Margaret Fleming. Form, color, love, maternity, truth — she gave her highest expression of all of them in that play.

Disheartened but not altogether discouraged, I turned again to "The Hawthornes." Mrs. Herne had gone with two of our daughters to spend a few weeks of the summer at Lemoine on Frenchman's Bay in Maine, and she insisted that I should come there and work on the play, and get the benefit of true color and Maine atmosphere — and I went. What an exalted idea of God one gets down in that old pine

state! One must recognize the sublimity which constantly manifests itself there. It is worth something to live for two summer months at Lemoine on Frenchman's Bay — that beautiful, inconstant bay, one minute white with rage, the next all smiles, and gently lapping the foothills of old Mount Desert, with the purple mist on the Blue Hills in the distance, on the one hand, the Schoodac range on the other, the perfume of the pine trees in every breath you inhale, the roar of the ocean eight miles away, and the bluest of blue skies overarching all. In such a spot a man must realize, if he never has realized it before, that he and this planet are one, a part of the universal whole.

Under the influence of such spiritual surroundings "The Hawthornes" struggled to adapt itself to a new environment. It sloughed off its old skin and took on new form and color. Its stage people began by degrees to assume the character and affect the speech of the typical men and women of Maine, imbued with all the spirituality and intensity of coexistent life. Stage traditions vanished. "The Hawthornes" lost its identity, and emerged a survival of the fittest, and Mrs. Herne called it "Shore Acres."

I have been autobiographical because I wanted to show how persistent a force truth is, and how it compels the unconscious medium to express it. I did not set myself the task of writing "Shore Acres" as it now stands; it grew, and I grew with it; and while I did not realize all its spirituality until its stage presentation set that spirituality free, still it must have had possession of me while writing, or I could not so have written.

When I sat down to write "Hearts of Oak," I did not say to myself, "I'm going to write a play in which there shall be neither the traditional stage hero nor the stage villain." They are not true and therefore did not assert themselves, did not persist — that's all. Such characters do not exist in life, nor do they appear in any of my plays.

Art is a personal expression of life. The finer the form and color and the larger the truth, the higher the art.

Hamilton Wright Mabie, in his "Short Studies in Literature," gives one a very broad and yet a very comprehensive insight into the world of art. "Genius," says Mr. Mabie, "is personality, but not individuality. The greatest genius is he who infuses the largest personality and the least individuality into his work. He will never express himself, nor

exploit his idiosyncrasies, but his work will radiate his personality, which is his soul."

Art is universal. It can be claimed by no man, creed, race, or time; and all *art* is good. It serves its time and place, and fertilizes the art to come. The artist of to-day is the medium for the expression of the art of to-day, fertilized by race memories of past ages of art — more perfect by reason of the struggles, the failures, the inferiority, and the sublimity of ages of art.

"Art for art's sake" and "Art for truth's sake," in the last analysis, it seems to me, are identical.

"Art for truth's sake" is the higher art, because it contains a larger degree of the vital principles of fertilization. Its race quality is its supreme quality, and therefore it will better serve the race and the art to come. Mr. Mabie says:

To express some part or aspect of absolute truth in the speech of the day, is the task of all who express themselves *powerfully*, through art. The truth does not belong to the time, for truth is for all time, but for the form which that truth shall take the greatest artist must depend upon the age in which he lives.

But before a man can impart a truth he must himself be of the truth, and before a man can receive a truth he must have the consciousness of truth within his own being.

Artists are products of the time. The exceptional singers, poets, painters, sculptors, novelists, actors, and others are being constantly impelled to strive for excellence by the potentiality of all the artists, great and small, who have gone before. Goethe saw this, when he said:

People are always talking about originality — but what do they mean? As soon as we are born the world begins to work upon us, and this goes on to the end. And after all, what can we call our own, except energy, strength, and will? If I could give an account of all that I owe to great predecessors and contemporaries, there would be but a small balance in my favor.

The race is the mother of the artist.

"Art," says Mr. Mabie, "is the expression of a man's whole nature and life, something that grows *out of him*, and not something which he puts together with mechanical dexterity."

I stand for art for truth's sake because it perpetuates the everyday life of its time, because it develops the latent beauty of the so-called commonplaces of life, because it dignifies labor and reveals the divinity of the common man.

It is generally held that the province of the drama is to amuse. I claim that it has a higher purpose — that its mission is to interest and to instruct. It should not *preach* objectively, but it should teach subjectively; and so I stand for truth in the drama, because it is elemental, it gets to the bottom of a question. It strikes at unequal standards and unjust systems. It is as unyielding as it is honest. It is as tender as it is inflexible. It has supreme faith in man. It believes that that which was good in the beginning cannot be bad at the end. It sets forth clearly that the concern of one is the concern of all. It stands for the higher development and thus the individual liberty of the human race.

THE CIVIC CHURCH.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE OPENING MEETING OF
THE CIVIC CHURCH OF DENVER, IN THE BROAD-
WAY THEATRE, TUESDAY, OCT. 27, 1896.

BY PAUL TYNER.

CITIZENS: Democracy, especially American democracy, has given new significance to this proud and honorable title. It remains to religion — the real religion of true democracy — to bring home to the minds of men and women a realizing sense of its wealth of meaning.

In the substitution of this title of "citizen" for all other titles during that fierce and fearful social cyclone, the French Revolution, the ruling motive was a grim vindictiveness. It was one of the ways chosen to show, not how the people had risen, but how the mighty had fallen; how sovereign and savant, prince and peer, priest and philosopher had been brought down to the level of the lowest of the *sans-culottes*. It was the same passion that moved the mob to the storming of the Bastille and that carried Marie Antoinette to the guillotine, the same passion that, at a later date, levelled the Column Vendôme in the dust and assassinated the Archbishop of Paris. That this thought should then have been uppermost was natural enough. It was an epoch of unrest, an epoch of revolt, an epoch of destruction. "After us the deluge" was a favorite remark of the thoughtless and heartless aristocracy of the old *régime*. And a deluge it was!

Yet this destruction, this levelling down, was but an inevitable prelude to the construction, the levelling up that was to follow. Seeking to emphasize the right of all men to equality of opportunity by a common title for prince and pauper, the red revolutionists builded better than they knew. They chose the highest title man or woman can wear, and bestowed it on the least as on the greatest. Instead of degrading the great, this title of citizen lifted the lowly, lifted all. It helped to bring forth that intensive and extensive sense of *nationality* which, while producing a remarkable

development of individual genius, was seen at the same time in the power of the nation as a whole — in the collective might that made France mistress of Europe. For the first time in the world's history citizenship gave every man in the state the right to say with larger, grander meaning than Louis XIV dreamed of, "The state: *I am the state!*"

The citizen is more than lord, he is lord of lords. He is more than king, he is king of kings, a king among kings. The exaltation of king or noble means the debasement of other men. The lifting up of the citizen means the lifting up of all men with him, — the enthronement not merely of a man, but of manhood.

A king can mak a belted knight,
A marquis, duke, and a' that;
But an honest man's aboon his micht,
Guid faith, he maunna fu' that!

It takes seventy million kings to make an American citizen! The citizen is master not of subjects, servants, slaves, but of *himself*; captain not of tens or hundreds, but of his own soul. The sovereignty of the citizen needs no layonets to support it; he rules by right divine. Every citizen represents — aye, embodies, if he will be alive to his citizenship — all the greatness of the republic, all its power, its glory, its splendor, its history and traditions, its courage and its wisdom. Solon, that wise lawgiver of Athens, said more than two thousand years ago, "Honors *achieved* far exceed those that are created." The honor of citizenship is one to whose achievement have been given the blood of martyrs, the lives of heroes, the hearts of the good, the wisdom of the wise, the fortitude and endurance, the strength and conquests of all humanity since the beginning of time.

Citizen and freeman are synonymous. The citizen was the only freeman in the "good old days" of Greece and Rome, when slavery was the general lot and freedom a marked distinction. Under feudalism the City was an oasis of freedom in a wilderness of vassalage and serfdom. Every city was a *free* city, every citizen a free man. One is impossible without the other. In the city, neither lord nor vassal had place. This freedom, this civilization we owe to organized labor, to the workers of the various trades guilds which together constituted the municipal corporation, the City itself. The king, dependent on the city for supplies, treated with the citizens as with equals. He became their "hired man."

In return not for personal service, but for money payments, he contracted to protect the city from foreign foes and domestic marauders, to keep the roads open for traffic, and to guarantee the city immunity from every trespass on its liberties.

Thus the freedom of the City, the freedom of the Citizen, became a *chartered* freedom. It was a charter not graciously bestowed by the king, but sternly exacted by the city. "Who would be free, himself must strike the blow." These early citizens were sensible business men. They believed in the division of labor and found it cheaper to hire kings and barons to do their fighting and brawling than to spend their own time and energies in that manner. This arrangement left them opportunity for honest work, opportunity to wax rich and powerful, opportunity to provide in that troublous time safe refuge, first for the mechanic and merchant, then for the artist and scholar, opportunity to make a home for learning and religion. Lord John Manners, an eminent scion of the British aristocracy and postmaster-general in Disraeli's cabinet, wrote, only a generation ago :

Let laws and learning, wealth and commerce die;
But give us still our old nobility.

But for the City we should not have had any laws and learning, wealth and commerce to speak of, and the old nobility would have starved or been obliged to work for a living.

There was no questioning the fact that the church was a *civic* institution at that time. Without the City there would have been no church then. Without the City there would be no church now. The church of God is indeed the church of the City, as it is the church of humanity; the Civic Church is the church of God.

The cradle of liberty is found in the City. In the City it was nurtured and grown to its present proportions. Love of liberty was imbibed by the worker with the milk from his mother's breasts. It was as necessary to him as the air he breathed. So it was only natural that the citizen should stand ever ready to defend liberty with his life.

Liberty born of citizenship it was that animated the revolt of Luther and of Knox. The citizen it was who under Cromwell and Hampden overthrew tyranny. It was the citizen who came out or was driven out from the factories and forges, mills and workshops of the Old World and, braving the perils of an unknown sea, founded a new nation with its

larger citizenship in the New World. The shot fired by "the embattled farmer" at Lexington was promptly and persistently followed up in the long and heroic struggle of a newly awakened citizenship, which kept on firing "shots heard round the world" until Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown. The Union which a citizen soldiery established in the eighteenth century was preserved by a citizen soldiery in the nineteenth. Now, as ever, if the perils which threaten this republic — and so threaten liberty and union, justice and right the world over — are to be averted or overcome, it will be by the virtue and valor of the citizens of the republic.

This title of citizen is preëminently a *religious* title, not only because it is a civic title, but also because it is the only title a Christian should assume or accept, the only title any man can honestly wear. "Call no man master, for One is your Master, even Christ." These words mean something, although most of us treat them as if they meant nothing. We have only one rightful Master — the Christ who is in us and we in Him, as He is in the Father and the Father in Him. I honor not another if I honor not myself. One man cannot truthfully call another "master" or "mister" unless he be that other's servant, and servitude is degrading to the master not less than to the slave. Citizen is indeed the "new name" with which those who are risen in Christ shall be baptized. It is a name dearer than that of "brother," because it denotes a larger relationship than that of the family, a larger and yet a closer tie than that uniting the members of any fraternal organization in formulated bonds of mutual duty and obligation. It denotes the relationship of man to man involved in the recognition of the Fatherhood of God, the Sonship of Christ, and the unity of humanity. I do not address you as "*Fellow* citizens," because, to my mind, such a phrase is as tautological as "Brother brothers" would be. The title of citizen itself denotes fellowship of the noblest and closest.

To the highest and latest development of humanity we give the name civilization, a word taken from the Latin *civilis*, a citizen. Civilization is the child of the City. The higher humanity is the product of that close and comprehensive union which the associated activities of a common home and centre of energy alone make possible.

In a very true sense the citizen of a great modern city is a

citizen of the world. A walled city in our day would be an anachronism. Our city is fed and clothed, builded and beautified by products brought from all lands. In return it gives to all the world the fruits of its own immediately tributary territory, transformed and organized by its labor, its genius and its skill. It grows by what it gives the world, and the world grows with it. The municipal movement is first of all a local movement. But it is also much more. It is a national movement, a race movement. As Albert Shaw says :

The same general causes are in operation everywhere with similar consequences. The thousand grave distinctive problems the new era of city life brings with it are of universal, simultaneous moment. The essential questions pertaining to administration and to social and economic arrangements affect all the cities of the civilized world.

The City means organization, that orderly adaptation of means to ends which is the law of growth throughout nature. It is not a mere gathering of people, not a helter-skelter aggregation, but the orderly, intelligent, scientific combination of heterogeneous forces and elements for the more effective and economical, the more sensible and loving utilization of the common means to common ends. This, at least, is what we mean to have it. "The municipality," says Shaw, "is not merely an abstraction ; it is a machine to do certain work. If that work be increased in amount or altered in character by growth of population and development of social needs, the machinery must be multiplied and altered too." We already have in our city organized commerce and finance, organized education, organized labor, organized social fellowship, organized athletics, organized amusements, organized charity, organized law, and organized medicine. For all these the city is the unit. Organized *love* is a new idea — and it is this that the new municipalism means. It is born in response to a new demand ; born in the fulness of time, the legitimate expression of our new development of the Civic Spirit as the spirit of the age ; born also in answer to the demand for real religion, religion true to the derivation of the word, *re-ligere*, no longer separating man from man and men from God, but rebinding them in that love to God which finds expression in love to man.

REVIVAL OF RELIGION.

We have heard it said that religion is dying out. Your presence here to-night proves that, on the contrary, religion is only beginning. We are rejoicing in a resurrection of

that which was crucified, of that which was dead but is now alive in the new and more glorious life of the resurrection. This meeting is evidence that in our city a call for the expression of interest in a movement that is unquestionably religious — in the largest, the broadest, the deepest, and the highest senses of the word — may count on a prompt, generous, and decisive response. We are assisting at the birth of a movement as emphatically practical as it is absolutely non-theological, as distinctively religious as it is distinctly non-denominational. Broad-based upon the eternal longings of the human heart, it is inclusive, not exclusive, open, not closed, free, expanded, and expansive as the waters of the sea, as the air we breathe, as the evolution of the thought of God in the mind of man.

The need of our day is the christianizing of Christianity, the civilizing of civilization, — for these needs are one. True Christianity and true civilization are synonymous. To meet this need is the mission of our movement. To all who recognize the need our cause must appeal with irresistible force. A false Christianity may not be wholly accountable for a false civilization, but the two undoubtedly go together. We can never have a true Christianity or a true civilization until the teachings of Jesus are practised as well as preached, until the law of love, which is the essence of Christianity as it is the essence of all religion, is the law of the land, the working principle of human association, the bond that unites man to man in all the relations of life the world over.

So far as man has attained freedom to do and to be as he desires, he has attained it only through the evolution of society, through the development in society of the conditions required for every individual to live, and to live in the best way conceivable. "That ye may have life, and have it more abundantly," the object of Christ's mission, is also the object of all social evolution.

This movement, this meeting, is an attempt at — aye, a practical beginning of — the enrollment of intelligence and will in conscious combination against starvation and misery, avarice and greed; a practical effort to extinguish by concerted effort those survivals of the accidents of primitive barbarism against which, as individuals, we are always struggling.

I have said that the Civic Church is non-denominational;

let it not be understood that this means anti-denominational. One little word expresses our ample creed. That creed forbids antagonism, enjoins unity. We believe that this word expresses your creed, also, whether you be Catholic or Calvinist, Roman or Anglican, Episcopalian or Baptist, Wesleyan or Congregational, Evangelical or Unitarian, or even if you are standing apart from all these forms and doctrines. Neither liturgy nor litany, creed nor confession, rubric nor ritual can mean *more* than LOVE; we are glad to believe that those of us who hold to them do not want them to mean *less*. We cheerfully recognize that if, for many in our day, the real meaning of religion is darkened and confused by all these things, there are also many for whom they, perhaps, make that meaning clearer.

It is not the *æsthetics* but the *ethics* of religion that we regard as fundamental, and on the ethical side men of all sects are at heart united. If all our divers forms and ceremonies, dogmas and doctrines, theological distinctions and ecclesiastical modes and manners may not be summed up as Jesus summarized the law and the prophets, then shall it be asked: "Where *is* our religion, — its life, its essence, its soul?" Remember what Paul says:

Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not love, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not love, I am nothing. (1 Cor. xiii. 1 and 2.)

If, however, despite this diversity of outerness, the inner spirit of all our churches and sects is one, if in all love is held to be "the fulfilling of the law," if in all there is agreement with John that "God is love," then let us in all love, in love not surpassing but equalling the love of woman, let us say one to another, "Your people shall be my people, and your God my God." At one in our conception of the ethical side, the essential side, the inner *spirit* and *substance* of religion, with deeper wisdom we shall refuse to quarrel over difference of outer form. And this involves no lack of proper regard for form. Outward beauty and harmony must be the natural growth of the inner beauty and harmony of truth. A sacrament is only "the *outward* and *visible sign* of an *inward* and spiritual grace." If we make sure of the *grace first*, nothing can prevent it finding fitting sign and symbol. To give the signs and symbols, the rituals and formu-

las, first place is to forget that "the life is *more* than the meat, and the body than raiment." And so we come back always to that teaching of the Master in which He revealed to us the secret of life, the simple and certain plan by which we shall attain to the utmost wealth and wisdom, joy and beauty, knowledge and power in every department of life: "Seek ye *first* the kingdom of heaven and its righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." As the harmony of simple truth (which is the heaven in the heart of every man) becomes unfolded in ever-increasing degree by expression (as God's beautiful thought is expressed in this beautiful world), we find that all things around and about us are ours, and that they fall into due order as unerringly as do troops at the word of command, as unerringly as the stars obey the sun.

Our creed involves *deed*, *requires* deed, depends upon deed — deed of a distinct and definite sort. Love is a verb as well as a noun. Love without loving is a mockery of love, lip service, Pharisaism, hypocrisy, that "righteousness" which, as the prophet says, is but as "filthy rags." Work is worship, labor is prayer, *all* work, all labor, not merely preaching or hymn-singing, not the occasional alms or church contribution, pew rent or subscription alone, not the work of one day in seven, but of *every* day and of every *hour* in the day. Religion is real religion only when it is part and parcel of all man's daily life; only when it rules buying and selling, when it rules service (in server and in served), when it governs paying and receiving, sowing and reaping, building up and tearing down, sawing and hammering, cooking and cleaning, stitching and teaching; only when it rules all our business and pleasure, "our going forth and coming in, our rising up and sitting down, our eating and drinking and whatsoever we do."

President-elect McKinley, in a recent speech to a delegation of workmen, said: "Every man in this country has an equal opportunity and equal privileges with every other man." If this were true, I should agree with those who believe the mission the Civic Church has set itself is already amply fulfilled by other organizations. It certainly *ought* to be true. We know it was the design of the founders of the republic that such equality of opportunity and of privilege should be inalienably secured to all. Let us with equal patriotism devote our lives to the carrying out of this design. Religion

which is not concerned with the needs of the disinherited, the oppressed, the unfortunate is *not* religion. Religion which is not concerned with securing to every child in the land free, fair, full, and equal opportunity for nurture and development, training and education is not religion. Religion which is satisfied with less than exact and equal justice to all men everywhere is not religion. Religion which upholds the oppression and injustice, the falsehood and wrong of political and of industrial systems that permit the producer to starve and the schemer to amass millions is no religion. Religion which stands aside and abandons the control of our cities to the ignorant and vicious, which does not abolish ignorance and vice, is not religion. Religion which gives love second place gives *God* second place, and in giving Him second place gives Him *no* place.

In our time we are witnessing a marvellous revival of real religion. Newman and Manning, Kingsley and Maurice, Farrar and Fremantle in England, and in our own country Phillips Brooks, Everett Hale, Heber Newton, Lyman Abbott, George Herron and Father Huntington, Gibbons and McGlynn, Felix Adler and Lloyd Jones, — to this bright galaxy let me add the names of two who are with us to-night, Myron Reed and James Ecob, — these are among the great religious leaders of our time who, touched to the heart by the misery and suffering, the injustice and wrong consequent on imperfect social arrangements, have uttered in no uncertain terms their aspirations for better things. Moved by the divine resolve to "do something" that so worked upon Charles Kingsley, noble men and women in various parts of the country have set about some attempt at ameliorating conditions, at "doing good" in one way or another. These attempts have been mostly helpful, always human and kindly. They have been pursued with an always deepening sympathy and a steadily increasing comprehension to which we owe much. The institutional church and the social settlement, each with its numerous avenues and agencies of helpfulness, its lyceums and gymnasiums, its reading rooms and restaurants, its kitchens and classes, clubs and *crèches* in nearly all our great cities, testify to a feeling among the churches and among the cultured everywhere that real religion means service here and now, an active participation in all intelligent effort to know and to *better* social conditions.

INADEQUACY OF DIVIDED EFFORT.

But the more that is done in this way by individuals, churches, or private organizations, independently and apart, the sharper is the realization by all thinking men and women that these means are all utterly inadequate to meet the real situation. It is not "charity" that is needed, it is justice. As Henry D. Lloyd says :

Open the churches for dormitories for the roofless ; feed the hungry in soup kitchens ; rake every kind-hearted garret for old shoes and old clothes ; find work in kindling-wood yards for the unemployed. It is the work of mercy and necessity, a red-cross service for the succor of the sick and wounded on the battlefields of business. But the war goes on. Its cannon balls can fly faster than your ambulances. One new machine can turn out of employment more men than all the churches are feeding. One syndicate shutting down or dismantling to limit the output and keep up prices or to intimidate Congress on the tariff or currency, can drown out your charities. Against this flood, charity is a mere broom ; it cannot sweep away this stream of the unemployed, for that is the rising tide of the surging ocean of dispossessed humanity.

The demand for justice is but a demand for love, justice's larger name ; the demand for liberty is a demand for love ; the demand of democracy for equality of opportunity is merely a demand for love. The demand for truth, than which no religion is higher, is at bottom a demand of love for love ; a demand made through sublime faith in the wisdom and beneficence of the Creator, finding expression in the conviction that all things that are true are lovely and should be of good report, that lasting welfare for men and for nations is to be gained in the light, not in the darkness.

Hear the conclusions of a trained and thoughtful student and investigator of social conditions. Summing up at once the causes of and the remedy for the wretchedness and misery of women workers in our great cities, in that epoch-marking work, "Prisoners of Poverty," Helen Campbell says :

No good will, no charity, however splendid, fills or can fill the place owned by that need which is forever first and most vital between man and man,—justice. No love, no labor, no self-sacrifice even can balance that scale in which justice has no place. No knowledge nor wisdom, nor any understanding that can come to man, counts as force in the universe of God till that one word heads the list of all that must be known and loved and lived before ever the kingdom of heaven can begin upon earth.

And side by side with these utterances of Henry Lloyd and of Helen Campbell—clear-headed but also large-hearted and ardently enthusiastic workers in the people's cause—

let me place the cold-blooded, precise, and logical conclusions of one who stands foremost among the exponents of the once "dismal science" of political economy. Says Prof. Marshall of Oxford:

Now, at last, we are setting ourselves seriously to inquire whether it is necessary that there should be any *lower classes* at all; that is, whether there need be large numbers of people doomed from their birth to hard work in order to provide for us the requisites of a refined and cultured life, while they themselves are prevented by their poverty and toil from having any part or share in that life.

It is high time the question was asked! It is high time the question was answered!

OUR PURPOSE.

"The people perish for lack of vision." This lack it shall be the first duty of the Civic Church — and that means every helpful agency and activity, individual or collective, in Denver — to supply. Concerning ourselves with the city's supply of light we shall not neglect the city's supply of any other service, its supply of water and its supply of *bread*, its supply of employment, education, and entertainment. We demand, not for the few, but for all alike, all these things of the purest and best quality, and in abundance. This does not mean that we shall undertake the teaching of Denver's citizens in *citizenship* as a thing apart and out of our own inner consciousness. It does mean that we shall conduct classes in sociology, from the standpoint of applied Christianity, in which the teaching of theory shall be supplemented by practical work. It means that we shall use every possible intelligent, organized, and practical effort to bring about, gradually and in an orderly manner, the municipalization of municipal service and supplies. And it means that we shall see that no man or woman in Denver shall, in the mean time, lack bread and the opportunity to earn it honorably.

It is proposed that this organization shall serve as a bridge between the churches and the masses, between the classes and the masses, between the favored few and the suffering many, between those who have and those who have not. Over this bridge it is hoped aspiration shall pass to accomplishment, religious resolve be carried into practical realization. The bridge is yet only in the beginnings of its building. We are this evening celebrating the laying of its foundation, so to speak. That foundation is laid deep and sure, broad and solid, fit foundation for a structure wide and high; a bridge

spanning the dark river that flows between the Old Order and the New ; a structure that day by day shall steadily rise into noble proportions, into beauty that shall symbolize its splendid thought and purpose. Over this bridge the eye of faith enables me already to see men and women passing freely and in great multitudes from the City to the temple, and from the temple to the City ; to see them, coming and going, find the temple in the City, the City in the temple.

The test of any truth, of any system, must be in its practical application, rather than in logical exposition or rhetorical glorification. Christ's teaching consists more in *doing* good than in fine speaking about good or bad, in deed rather than in doctrine. "He who *doeth* the will of the Father shall know the doctrine." It is primarily through doing that knowing is to come to us, as we are finding out in what is called the new education. The work of Jesus at the carpenter's bench opened His mind to larger wisdom than books or schools alone could give Him, wisdom that confounded the doctors in the temple. His teaching in synagogue or in market place was the result of *learning* by the wayside, of healing the sick, of giving sight to the blind, of binding up the broken-hearted. We shall know the further truth, and the truth shall make us free, only when we *do* all the truth we know *now*.

"One Christian city," says Drummond, "one city in any part of the earth whose citizens from the greatest to the humblest lived in the spirit of Christ, whose religion had overflowed the churches and passed into the streets, inundating every house and workshop and permeating the whole social and commercial life, — one such Christian city would seal the redemption of the world." And it is such a city that we propose to build right here in Denver. This is our distinct and definite object. The place is *here* ; the time *now*. With a realizing sense of the demands of the work we present a clear and intelligent practical plan by which it is to be accomplished. The material is ready to our hands in great abundance ; the laborers are many ; with willing hearts and strong arms they stand waiting the call to work. Believe as you please, preach as you please, posture as you please, pray as you please. But, as you live and as you hope for life here and hereafter, we appeal to you to remember that the higher worship is *work*, the higher prayer labor, and that if our labors are to be effective we must work *together*.

It is believed that the constitution of the Civic Church provides a common standing ground on which all those who want to do something that shall mean something *may* work together, hopefully, lovingly, economically, and effectively, from the very start. It presents a plan and programme so grounded and arranged that participation in the work will involve no neglect of existing demands of home and business, no slighting of the requirements of any church or social allegiance. On the contrary, coming not to destroy but to fulfil, we promise to all not only larger strength and inspiration for larger work, but also that lightening of every present labor which the coöperation of "many hands" assures. Our object, as stated in the constitution, is :

To form a centre of organization, education, and administration, through which all the forces making for the strengthening and upbuilding of the higher life in the city of Denver shall be united, energized, developed, and directed, in the spirit of practical Christianity, to the inculcation of large and true civic ideals, and to their concrete embodiment in the everyday life of the city and all its citizens.

METHODS.

Our methods will be largely educational. Membership in the Civic Church will in itself be a liberal education in citizenship, and no citizen of Denver can escape this education ; according to the constitution, the membership of the church shall consist (does consist) of the entire body of the citizens of Denver. The entire city is our parish. No human being born on this planet — born in God's universe — can escape the influence of the gospel of Christ, the gospel of love. Citizenship is our sole test and requirement for communion and fellowship. Enrollment on the official registry of voters is enrollment on the membership list of the Civic Church. Enrolled or not, every man, woman, and child to whom Denver is home belongs to us, and we belong to them. In the Civic Church the right of childhood to special and particular care and attention shall receive full recognition. To the young of either sex it offers opportunity for profitable occupation and entertainment, productive work and joyful play, in larger, higher life. All are made free of our house, are welcomed to our feast, counted as belonging to the family, ministered unto in all wise and loving ways, in the spirit of true citizenship. But as the Son of man came not merely to be ministered to but to minister, as He was ministered to only that He might go forth with strength to

minister refreshed and renewed, so the way will always be open for every member of the Civic Church of Denver to advance from passive to active membership, to the greater blessedness of giving from the lesser blessedness of receiving. Freely and without price, on no condition but that of his own sweet will signified by an expression of assent to our very broad declaration of principles, every citizen of Denver may come into the realization and enjoyment of this gift of gifts now laid at his feet. This meeting was opened with an active membership of about one hundred on our rolls. It is hoped that the meeting will be closed with at least ten times as many signatures on the lists which the ushers will pass around at the close of my remarks, and that every one of the thousand will secure ten others before our next meeting.

Our organization is emphatically democratic in scope and plan, as democratic as the idea of the New England town meeting,—the germ and foundation of all democratic forms on this continent, the form which, as an eminent teacher of the science and philosophy of politics has well said, furnishes the “missing link” between the Declaration of Independence and our present political system. We provide for the recognition of the seat of authority and responsibility in the people, where it belongs. Modelled on the lines of the most modern and approved city charters, our constitution embodies also those essential safeguards against abuse of power, against the “arrogance of elected persons,” namely, the initiative and the referendum, the preferential ballot, and the imperative mandate.

DENVER.

Denver is not selected as the place to begin because of any preëminent *wickedness* to be found here. We have our faults perhaps, but a man looking for iniquity on which to construct the City of God would not have to leave San Francisco, nor come hither from New York through Chicago. Denver may boast preëminence in many things, but there are some distinctions in which she must yield the palm to her elder sisters. May we not also hope that in the experience of those elder sisters there are lessons by which we shall be sensible enough and grateful enough to profit? It is not the badness, but the *goodness* of Denver, that makes it the most favorable spot on top of this earth in which to prepare the

way for the coming of God's kingdom : " Men do not gather grapes of thorns, nor figs from thistles." Denver is Colorado, as truly as Paris is France ; more, it is America, and America is another name for Destiny. The best blood of the Old World imported and combined made the earlier America of New England, the Middle States, the South, and the Middle West. In the Great West — in Denver — we shall reap the fruit of a second importing, of a still higher combination, nursed on a more generous soil and breathing a more vigorous atmosphere,

— heir of all the ages, in the foremost files of time.

In a word, Denver is selected for its youth and beauty, for its pluck and enterprise, for its energy and intelligence, for its unrivalled situation and its peerless inheritance. In no other city in this Union have the poor suffered less than in Denver during the past year. Despite depreciation in values and reverses of fortune that have compelled radical changes in their manner of living, the hearts of the comparatively well-to-do have not been hardened. In addition to the very considerable provision made for the unfortunate in the state, city, and county institutions, I find that the people of Denver, in the seventeen purely private and voluntary organizations included in the Associated Charities, spent last year about \$55,000 and relieved 14,662 people, not counting the 1,545 cases of cruelty to children and 5,986 cases of cruelty to animals attended to by the Humane Society. Denver has heart as well as brains and brawn, a heart responsive to the cry of human suffering, and hands open and outstretched in a giving that is increasingly intelligent and so truly humane.

Yet I suppose it will hardly be said that we are perfect ; that there is nothing further to do in the way of relieving suffering and distress, of lifting the fallen and strengthening the weak and worn, or that in what is being done along these lines there is no room for improvement both in spirit and in method. True, we have not here to face the awfulness nor to solve the problem of the slums of New York or Chicago, of the tenements and sweat-shops in which humanity is packed and stifled in all the older cities of our country. We are not going to wait until we *have* to face them ! As Burke said, " Reform delayed is revolution begun." In these days we do not wait for the plague to appear and to carry off half the population before adopting measures to

avert it: an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. The ounce of prevention in this case means the saving of human life, the prevention of epidemics that threaten to carry off our children by the score; it means the prevention of the increase and multiplication of breeding places of vice, pauperism, and crime which constantly expose our near and dear ones to dangers which hold thousands in a living death. In such a situation an ounce of prevention is worth *tons* of cure. It is an emergency in which we cannot stop to count the cost.

Denver is not all Capitol Hill, and Capitol Hill is not all Denver. The contrast between the spreading lawns and flower beds, the handsome homes, well lighted, heated, and ventilated, the beautifully equipped environment of comfort and culture,—between all this and the hovels of Poverty Flat, or the dens of Market Street, may not be so glaring as is that presented by the homes of the rich and those of the poor in New York or Chicago. But the contrast is there, and it is an ugly one. It suggests the question, "What are those of us who are living on Capitol Hill doing for those of us who exist in the slums?" This is an important question. It is Christ's own test of honest religion: "For whatsoever ye have done unto the least of these, that did ye unto Me."

What shall we do, and how shall we do it?

This question may well be asked by many a sincere and earnest soul perplexed by the impossibility of stemming the tide of human want and wretchedness by any merely individual effort, by any mere alleviation. Just here is where this wonderful development of the City's powers and possibilities under the new municipalism comes in with the only answer that shall satisfy. Under the Mosaic law (continued until recently in some of our Christian establishments) every man gave tithes to the church, which regarded the care of the poor and of the sick as chief among its functions. But this tithe was only a compromise with narrow greed and selfishness. It is not merely a tenth, but the *whole* of our possessions and income, our strength and our talent, that we are called upon to dedicate to God in the service of humanity,—which means the common service of our city. It is the *whole* we must give, "bread" not "stones," if we would follow Jesus and have eternal life. The City—*all* the City—is God's church; and the church in all its branches shall be

God's City. We cannot give less than all to our City. What we do not give, whether it be one-tenth or nine-tenths, is the measure in which we are cheating our City — our neighbor — ourselves — of blessing and of peace, of health and joy, light and love. If I may be permitted, I will repeat in this connection one of the many brilliant sayings of America's greatest living orator: "I believe in the right of the people of this city to govern themselves; what is more, I believe in their *ability* to do so."

Make no more giants, God,
But elevate the race at once. We ask
To put forth just our strength, our human strength.
All starting fairly, all equipped alike,
Gifted alike, all eagle-eyed, true-hearted —
See if we cannot beat Thy angels yet.

I believe in the people because I believe in God; believing in God, I trust in the people and in the people's fidelity to freedom, justice, and truth. The faith which is founded on humanity is founded on a rock, — it is the faith which is founded on the everlasting God. Under healthier and happier conditions, humanity will rise to heights undreamed of now. Courage and faith are all that we need: faith in unconquerable truth, faith in unwavering justice, faith in inexhaustible love, — faith in God and faith in man!

"And now abideth faith, hope, love, these three; but the greatest of these is love."

RECOMPENSE.

BY CHARLES GRANT MILLER.

As ocean waves in tempest strife
Perfect the pearl's translucent face,
Deep in its cave;
E'en so the gravest woes of life
But serve to give us strength and grace,
If we be brave.

OUR ARID LANDS.

BY JUDGE J. S. EMERY.

Once again the people are talking of going West. The beginnings of a new Western movement are plainly discernible. Nor with the increasing foreign immigration, so long held in check by the period of depression which has been upon us, together with the congested condition of the laboring classes in our cities, should we expect anything else. The people are looking about in search of homes that they can call their own. They constitute an ever increasing army, broadly speaking, without money, but with plenty of brains, resolution, rough force, and good blood.

Where shall these seekers for free homes find them? There can be but the one, and that the old answer: "Go West." Because of the notion that Uncle Sam has long since parted with all his good farming lands, men say there is now no open West for the man without money to go to with any reasonable hope that he can, by honest work and strict economy, become an unmortgaged home-owner. I think here is error.

Lying west of the 97th meridian and extending to the Pacific waters, we have an empire of dry and partly dry lands, or, as the Geological Survey people say, arid and sub-arid lands. Some people to-day are occupying a small part of these lands, other people and corporations own a large part of them, while the general government holds a still larger part. Now, if out of this immense area, beginning fifty miles south of San Francisco, we cut a belt of country a hundred miles wide, extending along the coast up through Oregon and Washington, with a ribbon-like strip traced through the mountains by the valley of the Columbia river, and then widening out across the northern end of Idaho, into its original dimensions where we started — I say, if we cut this belt of land out, there will be left remaining no lands exempt from the general climatic law of deficient moisture by rainfall in all our possessions west of the above meridian, Alaska alone excepted. "Over one-fourth of the United States is arid grazing land, and from past experiences and

present prospects must always remain such," a United States Senator has just said. But the late Director of the United States Geological Survey, in several addresses he made while holding that position, told us that about one-half of all our possessions, excepting Alaska, was too dry to support populations depending upon agriculture; in other words he classed this half of all we have, as either arid or partly arid — sub-humid as some say. At any rate the fact that nearly one-half of the United States is not sufficiently humid for profitable agriculture without irrigation is Major Powell's statement.

Now, is it not passing strange that there is not a law in our statute books which recognizes the existence of this great economic fact, or provides for the management or disposal of this vast area of dry lands? The chairman of the United States Senate Committee on Irrigation has just printed this:

Although the National Government is the custodian of one of the largest bodies of irrigable land ever administered under one polity, it has, so far, failed to recognize its full responsibility, and to take the required measures to secure the best results, or greatest measure of prosperity, in its occupancy and development.

Is it true that we, to-day, after close to fifty years of occupation, have only overrun in a loose and rambling sort of way the arid and sub-arid half of our possessions, taking little account of the tremendous possibilities for growth and development now forcing themselves upon all thinking minds as to these immense and uninviting areas? Is this newer West a finished product of our civilization to be accepted as it is? And this simply because its scanty natural rainfall and its everlasting mountain-supply of snows have been unutilized and suffered to run to the seas or to be carried off in fine exhalations into the thin air?

To the student of the economic aspects of Arid America, after these many years of advance and retreat by the agricultural army of the frontier, our present condition seems to be one of arrested development. In several States included in this area, population has decreased steadily for several years past. The advancing wave of immigration has dashed up against these arid lands and then receded, slowly and imperceptibly it may be, but none the less surely. Kansas and Nebraska have witnessed this thing. These are Great Plains States. Great crops have often rewarded the tillers of their rich soils. Kansas has two hundred and fifty million bushels

of corn *now* in her fields, and her cribs from last year's crops are yet full. Much the same may be said of other Great Plains States, but this is not the case often enough to build up a dense and prosperous agricultural population, when the old ways and methods pursued by our fathers in the humid States are followed out in farming. Hence disappointment and unrest throughout all sub-arid America is to-day more or less observable. Indeed the metropolitan press of the East has often ascribed the political issues that have in a manner of late marked several of the sub-arid States as resulting from the lack of rain. These States have somehow become political storm centres, the starting points of new parties.

What value has Arid America to us at the present time? Portions of it have cost us blood and treasure. We acquired Texas and went to war with Mexico. When through, we paid that people \$15,000,000, besides assuming \$3,250,000 of claims of our own citizens against Mexico, and took in upper California and New Mexico, the latter then including Utah, Nevada, and a large part of Arizona and Colorado, and added to our possessions 545,783 square miles. But to satisfy Texas for her claim to that part of New Mexico lying east of the Rio Grande, we paid her \$10,000,000 more. We soon discovered, however, that we had no well defined boundary line to a part of Arizona. So to quiet title to the present southern part of that Territory, we had to pay Mexico, in the Gadsden Purchase, \$10,000,000 more, and had the boundary line between us run to the Pacific. By this deal, we acquired 45,535 square miles of torrid sands and treeless deserts, to be given, a generation afterward, a part of it, to the Southern Pacific railroad.

This bit of history shows that in addition to the cost of one war we have disbursed from the national treasury \$38,250,000 for title to less than one-half of Arid America.

Now, to what use are we putting this arid half of our domain? What population has it to-day, nearly half a century since it was first settled? Five or six million souls, I take it, is a liberal estimate. It has one large city, several lesser ones, with a goodly number of small towns along its trunk lines of railroad. But, broadly speaking, Arid America is an open country after all. It is a sort of unused part of Uncle Sam's dominions. It might hold very many millions, but it does hold scarce half-a-dozen millions. In very many large districts it is wholly unpopulated, and in

not a few of its better sections the settlements are thin and sporadic. Its mining population is ever drifting about, not unlike the white sands of its deserts. Everywhere in Arid America there is observable an absence of that air of permanency about things that generally obtains in the Atlantic States. Men appear ready to pull up and go whenever opportunity or inducement offers the chance.

The natural conditions of the average settler, either on the sub-humid plains or in the valleys of the mountain States, conduce to this unstable purpose that one at once discovers as pervading all classes. With the Great Plains farmer the utter uncertainty of crops keeps him always on the lookout for something better or surer to turn up. In his battle with Nature in her aridity he has lost more times than he has won. So he ties up to nothing in any way that he cannot let go of and get away from on short notice, to try new schemes or enter upon new ventures. And it is to agricultural pursuits that we are to look for the permanent upbuilding of this arid region. Given your gold and your silver mines, and yet, if the tiller of the soil be not comfortably fixed, and fairly paid for his labor, there will be unrest and a lack of that bottom to the whole social fabric that we all so much like to witness in any of the newer States. Colorado gets more dollars out of the ground in grains, fruits, and all the many things she grows, than she gets out of all her gold and silver mines. And the future population of the mountain States in Arid America is to call for a tremendous agricultural production. During his last visit to Kansas Mr. Blaine said that it would tax all the agricultural energies of the Great Plains region, when reclaimed, to raise the food required for the dense population that would be found, in the imminent future, scattered all through the mountain fastnesses this side of the Pacific waters. But what can be reasonably expected in the number of acres that can be reclaimed and made into prosperous homes for those who are to build up Arid America and raise bread for its future millions of hungry mouths? If at the end of the next forty years this region is not to be in much the same condition as it is to-day, how much of its lands can be reclaimed and rendered fit for profitable agriculture? And who will make such reclamation? And how shall the great task be accomplished — by the state, or the individual?

The Special Committee of the United States Senate on

Irrigation and Reclamation of arid lands, consisting of seven Senators, made its report more than five years ago, and after a very thorough going over of the entire field of the irrigation question. This Committee estimate that from seventy-five to one hundred and fifty millions of acres may be brought under cultivation in the arid region by irrigation, and that by the water in sight, when properly utilized, at least ten per cent of the whole arid area may be reclaimed. The Committee further state that, in any given period of ten years, irrigated land will produce from three to five times as much as land cultivated by rainfall.

In the same report the late Director of the Geological Survey is quoted as estimating that fully one hundred million acres of land can be ultimately irrigated by the use of stream waters alone; and Mr. Powell is further quoted by the Committee as believing that, in addition to the hundred million acres reclaimable by stream or running waters now in sight, considerable areas will ultimately be redeemed by irrigation by the use of storm waters. Underground waters form another source of supply, and when ascertained by an irrigation survey, such as the general government has already commenced, this supply may go far in adding water sufficient to reclaim very many acres in addition to the above estimates of the Committee. The chief field of this supply will be the Great Plains region and the artesian belt in the Dakotas. Borings are now being made and wells sunk by the State of Kansas to ascertain what this subterranean supply is in that part of the Great Plains embraced within the limits of that State. The results thus far obtained are indicative of an almost inexhaustible supply. The Senate Committee reported in favor of the Washington government demonstrating to the settlers on the Great Plains the practicability of bringing this underflow water to the surface for the purpose of irrigation. And it is safe to say that the underground waters of the eastern belt of Arid America are yet to cut no inconsiderable figure in determining the total area that is ultimately to be reclaimed.

If one hundred millions of acres in Arid America can be reclaimed by irrigation, the outlook for a dense population to live in comfort, where now only some five or six millions of people are getting on fairly well, can be but most assuring. My own notion is, that at this time we are underestimating vastly the entire possibilities of Arid America, both

in future population and in agricultural growth and development.

The final question for consideration is: What action should be taken by the government to enable the people to reclaim these desert lands? The Senate Committee reported two bills providing for an irrigation survey for the discovery and distribution of the entire water supply of Arid America. Then the people were expected to initiate and execute the great work of reclaiming this half of a continent. This is the ground occupied by all intelligent friends of irrigation to-day. The general government is not asked to undertake the reclamation of our arid lands, or to construct the instrumentalities of irrigation. But the preliminary cost of ascertaining all the economic facts necessary to induce capital to enter upon the reclamation of these lands, the Washington government is expected to provide for with funds drawn from the treasury of the whole people. When this is done, individual effort, together with industrial coöperation and accumulated capital, will do the rest. In other countries, under monarchical or despotic rule, the work of irrigation is being carried on under government control and with government money. But no such expectation is indulged in by the friends of irrigation in America. The people themselves must be depended upon to do the work of reclaiming our arid areas. The people have faith that it will pay them to do this work, and with us of the Anglo-Saxon race (a race that as yet has never undertaken to reclaim a desert) no impediment is too great to be overcome in our march toward industrial supremacy. We do whatever we set out to do. That is the history of the Anglo-Saxon race.

This report of the Senate Committee recommended that the government make an irrigation survey providing for the ascertainment of the water sources and supplies, and for the location of the reservoir sites for their conservation, together with the lines, the main canals, and the ditches needed for a proper distribution of the waters. Three members of the Committee, however, Mr. Reagan, Mr. Gorham, and Mr. Jones, filed a report in which they indicate that the duty of the government is to go further somewhat, and under legislation to survey the entire arid region into natural irrigation districts in such a manner that each one shall have its catchment areas and its body of irrigable lands depend;

ent upon such area. Such a survey is necessary in order to locate the sites for head works, canals, and reservoirs by which the waters are to be controlled, to plan the irrigation works in the interest of the farmers, and to estimate their cost. The supreme control of such districts is then, by law both State and National, to be given over into the hands of the dwellers therein. The cost of such a survey is put at \$7,000,000, with seven years' time in which to make it. This report has lain dormant for six years, and no bill has been passed to carry into effect its recommendations. In the meantime, some work by the Geological Survey people, by way of locating reservoir sites and indicating canal lines, has been done under the provisions of the acts of Oct. 2, 1888, and of March 2, 1889. Some one hundred and fifty reservoir sites, in a half-dozen different States, are reported thus far to the public. Want of funds has prevented the Geological Survey from doing more than it has already accomplished.

Under the spur of an aroused public sentiment, two years ago an undigested and crude piece of legislation, known as "the Carey law," was rushed through Congress as a rider to the Sundry Civil Appropriation bill, giving to the States in the arid region a million acres each to be reclaimed somehow, though the bill failed to enter into details as to how this process of reclamation was to come about. The States of Arid America were expected to signify their acceptance of the terms of this law. Thus far only four States have done so, and now that these four States have taken action, it remains to be seen whether anything more will come of it to the cause of irrigation.

In the last Congress, however, some emendatory legislation was had to make practical the original provisions. But at best, as a measure of general relief, little is to be looked for from the law. At this same session also there was appropriated \$54,500 for the gauging or measurement of the water-flow of streams, a new work comparatively, and applicable to the whole country, though the arid lands will likely come in for the larger share of the work. The same Congress further provided that U. S. engineers shall examine and report upon at least one reservoir site each in Wyoming and Colorado. Such reservoirs are to impound large bodies of water in these two mountain States, with a view to preventing overflow and the erosion of banks in the runs

below, as well as to furnish water for irrigation purposes. Who are to build these costly receptacles is yet to appear.

Mr. Vilas, when Secretary of the Interior, said :

It is believed to be possible, by an undertaking of adequate grandeur, to seize the waters of the Missouri and its tributaries, at a proper distance from their source, and not only to apply them to the reclamation of the arid lands in the upper region, but thereby to benefit the agricultural territories adjacent to its lower currents, and even to mitigate the severity of the effects of the floods of the Mississippi upon the agricultural lands of its borders.

In his message to the last Congress, Mr. Cleveland said :

The problem of the storage and use of the waters of the Rio Grande for irrigation should be solved by appropriate concurrent action of the two interested governments.

The above may serve to indicate the temper of the Washington government in regard to the great undertaking of reclaiming half a continent, where homes for millions can be made in place of a few thousands. But all this legislation is fragmentary and lacking in method and plan. The friends of irrigation enterprise have been actively agitating and educating the public mind for three years past, and with gratifying progress. Men in the humid States are coming to see that they, too, can have a large interest in utilizing waters that have hitherto run to waste. Intelligent irrigation ideas are getting a hearing all over the country. The general interest manifested in the hydrographic survey now being prosecuted shows this, and with the lifting of the clouds of industrial depression that have been hanging over us all, the people are very naturally disposed to take stock and see what we have got in the way of opportunities to get into lines of business that will rest on solid foundations. Men from the overcrowded cities want to get out, and after the experience they have had during the last few years, they are willing to go to farming. Indeed, the call is now coming up from all sides, Where can I go and earn a living for myself and family? Large classes are looking out of the congested cities of the Atlantic States and are asking, not so much, Where can I go and make money? as Where can I go and eat? The only open region now left for these earnest home-seekers to go to is Arid America. Our public domain of good agricultural land long since disappeared from our national map. Fifteen years ago our Public Lands Commission reported that the arable portion of our public domain was nearly exhausted.

Those who think that our arid half is either to remain any considerable time in the agricultural condition that it now is, unused and practically empty; that its development is to be a slow one, and by easy stages; that there will always be a "wild phase to Far Western life";—all such, it seems quite clear to me, misread the signs of the times.

I beg to quote Mr. Bryce:

The West is the most American part of America. What Europe is to Asia, what England is to the rest of Europe, what America is to England, that the Western States and Territories are to the Atlantic States, the heat and pressure and hurry of life always growing as we follow the path of the sun. . . . Nature and Time seem to have conspired to make the development of the Mississippi Valley and the Pacific slope the easiest, quickest, and completest achievement in the whole civilizing progress of mankind since the founder of the Egyptian monarchy gathered the tribes of the Nile under one government.

Three years ago, at Los Angeles, where, under the law of growth and development so happily set forth by this sagacious commentator upon American institutions, "the heat and pressure and hurry of life" must have been at their maximum, was held the first notable gathering of Western people to consider the question of reclaiming Arid America. This Congress, as they called it, was international in character, and Mr. Gresham, Secretary of State, asked foreign powers to send delegates to it. In response to such invitation, France, Russia, Mexico, New South Wales, Ecuador, British India, and Natal, in South Africa, were represented in its deliberations. In his official circular, Mr. Gresham said:

The subject of irrigation is one that is rapidly assuming vast proportions in the United States, particularly so far as concerns our large extent of arid lands, and the success that has attended its practice therein has naturally caused its spread throughout the many regions of our rainy territory as well. The matters to be discussed are of immediate practical interest to the officers of the Government having to do with the public lands and with scientific researches pertaining to the soils and waters of the arid regions.

Only some half-dozen States and Territories sent delegates to this Congress. It was in session five days. Its doings were formulated in an address to the country at large, in which the general government was asked to donate from the sale of lands in Arid America funds for the practical investigation of the means for their reclamation by the use of streams, storm waters, and underground supplies.

Conventions of the people of the seventeen States and Territories of Arid America and sub-arid America have

been held yearly since that notable gathering, with delegates from six or eight other States lying in the Mississippi valley, which have voluntarily appeared and asked to take part in the proceedings. Old Mexico and the Dominion of Canada have had able representatives in all these gatherings.

At the fifth National Irrigation Congress, held at Phenix, Arizona, in December last, the more fundamental and important problems of irrigation were discussed. In the forefront of such questions, I may name State ownership of water and the governmental ownership of lands. All irrigation laws in every other enlightened country have placed under one control these two joint elements of production. Not till the Washington government does this same thing can intelligent, substantial progress be made in the reclamation of that half of our possessions which to-day is but thinly settled and indifferently developed.

EMERSON'S "SPHINX."

BY CHARLES MALLOY.

The sphinx is metonymy for interrogation. As metaphor its correlate is a question. In this poem it is an "unanswered question"; an unanswerable question would be still more a sphinx. We give the name, also, to an object suggesting a question or questions hard to answer. What is matter? What is spirit? What is time? A few questions show us that things we talk about every day are sphinxes. Of time, St. Augustine said: "If you do not ask me what it is, I know, but if you ask me, I do not know." One of our humorists says: "We know a great many things that are not so." When we think we know, the sphinx is of no service to us. Browning speaks of ignorance as the next door to knowledge. Certainly it is one step to know that we do not know.

The great geographical sphinx, in the time of Caesar, was the Nile. He is made to say: "I would give Cleopatra and the empire to know the sources of the Nile." Nineteen hundred years after, we have found the sources of the Nile. That sphinx no longer troubles us. The great geographical sphinx of our time is the North Pole. Men are willing to take their lives in their hands and brave unimaginable dangers and hardships under the fascination of this sphinx. The sphinx carried Stanley through the "Dark Continent." The sphinx leads the French scientist to bare his arm to the poison of rabies. And what but a sphinx led the fabled Childe Roland to the "Dark Tower"? The condition, in psychology, of a sphinx, a question, is the desire to know, the passion for knowledge. 'Tis the supreme power in science, history, philosophy; and is an indispensable force even in practical life. Indeed, the sphinx is everywhere.

The sphinx of fable was said to crouch by the wayside and put questions to travellers. If they could not answer, the sphinx devoured them. If the sphinx were answered, that killed the sphinx. If, considered subjectively, the sphinx is a desire for knowledge, or the mood of the mind

we call curiosity, then good analogy would support the allegory. Curiosity sometimes devours us; an answer kills the sphinx. What is so dead as a question when it is answered? This was illustrated at our last election. Thousands watched the bulletins all night. Morning brought an answer, and where was the sphinx the following night? A few incredulous devotees watched a little longer, but the sphinx did not revive. What a sphinx was our solar system under the Ptolemaic astronomy! Nothing went right; and Alphonso of Castile, vexed at the anomalies, said, if he had been present at the creation he could have given the Creator good advice. Copernicus came with heliocentricity as a corrective, and the planets have behaved well ever since. The sphinx does not bother them any longer.

We have spoken, thus far, of the generic sphinx, appearing in many forms. The sphinx of the poem is a particular sphinx. We will now confine ourselves to that. Let us say, it is the origin, the rationale, of evil. The poem itself would seem to give us that determination.

When I was some sixteen years old and in the Calvinistic theology, I attempted to grapple with this sphinx. I was troubled a good deal about sin and its alleged consequences. I asked my minister where sin came from. He said Satan brought it into the world. I said, Where did Satan come from? He did not answer the second question, but advised me to read Milton's "Paradise Lost." The second question is often an unwelcome one. The world rests on the back of an elephant, said the old cosmology. That should have been satisfactory, but some agnostic ventured to ask, farther, what the elephant rested on, and so a tortoise was postulated, and, to wind up the matter for good, an inverted cone was put under the tortoise. The apex of the cone being a point, and a point having no dimensions, it didn't need anything to rest on. Why should it? That tided us over until Newton brought on gravitation, and that device holds even with the agnostic.

But to return to my sphinx. I read "Paradise Lost," a hard book for a youth of sixteen. I liked the poetry, the grand organ-like roll of the verse. I committed many pages to memory. But the logic seemed a little suspicious even then. I remember the blunt formula to which I reduced it: "God somehow wanted evil. He was too good to make evil himself, so he made Satan and let him do it." The

principle involved in that reasoning I should not have dared to use in defence of my own conduct. It wouldn't "stand law" in Massachusetts. It looked like what the lawyers call "*particeps criminis*." And yet, fifty years ago, a great many people thought that this "vindication" vindicated, and "Paradise Lost" was an accredited document in making up Christian belief as entertained by common people. My minister was probably only one of many, perhaps all, at that time, in the reception he gave the Miltonic argument. Milton's answer was not original. He borrowed it from his contemporaries as the religious consensus of his time, and it had been entertained in its essential features for several centuries. It was thought to be good Bible doctrine. Milton made it historical and picturesque in his great epic. Like the "Iliad" of Homer, it was read as a record of real events. The first theologians in all ages have been poets. Fate, foreordination, foreknowledge, free will, election, these were all subordinate sphinxes, belonging to the same family with the sphinx of "Paradise Lost."

There was a subsidence of interest in the Miltonic sphinxes in the first part of this century, or at the time Emerson wrote the poem we are now considering. The theologians had done the best they could with all the questions and corollaries involved, and were beginning to leave them.

So the poet might well say :

The Sphinx is drowsy,
Her wings are furled;
Her ear is heavy,
She broods on the world.

These four lines are proem, introducing the Sphinx. The whole poem is dramatic. The *dramatis personæ* are the Sphinx, the Great Mother, and the Poet. The Great Mother, or Nature, at the end is called the "Universal Dame."

The next four lines of this stanza are in the language of the Sphinx :

Who'll tell me my secret,
The ages have kept?
I awaited the seer
While they slumbered and slept.

In the second stanza, in the first two lines, the Sphinx gives her great question :

The fate of the man-child;
The meaning of man,

The other six lines of this verse are an amplification of the concept man, or the man-child, and add some predicates, making the connotation more impressive and poetical:

Known fruit of the unknown;
Dedalian plan;
Out of sleep a waking,
Out of waking a sleep;
Life death overtaking;
Deep underneath deep?

"Known fruit of the unknown." Says Emerson in the essay on "Experience," "We wake and find ourselves on a stair. There are stairs below us which we seem to have ascended. There are stairs above us that go upward and out of sight. . . . We find ourselves in a series of which we do not know the extremes." Sleeping and waking, life and death, alternate, and everything retreats into its antecedents, deep underneath deep. "Dedalian plan." Dædalus made the labyrinth, so labyrinthine is meant.

The Sphinx now gives the condition of man more fully by means of a contrast between nature and man. "Nature is erect, but man is fallen," says Emerson elsewhere. The following four stanzas give the nature side of this contrast. Nature is erect, shows perfection at every point:

Erect as a sunbeam,
Upspringeth the palm;
The elephant browses,
Undaunted and calm;
In beautiful motion
The thrush plies his wings;
Kind leaves of his covert,
Your silence he sings.

The palm is what nature intended it as a tree. The elephant has no anomalies in his consciousness. He is not ashamed or afraid. He never doubts his right to his food, but takes it wherever he can find it. The thrush is beautiful in himself and in his motions. He builds his nest in the deep wood, where he wants it. He is contented with his environment. He sings the kind leaves of his covert. Nature has made no mistake in all this.

The waves, unashamed,
In difference sweet,
Play glad with the breezes,
Old playfellows meet;
The journeying atoms,
Primordial wholes,
Firmly draw, firmly drive,
By their animate poles.

The same perfection appears in these exemplars. There is no conflict among the winds and waves which does not present the spectacle of play, harmony, and joy. Old playfellows meet. They have been playfellows since the world was made, and have always helped each other, always done good service in their ceaseless interactions, true altruists in a thousand ways, never working for themselves alone, never making a mistake or breaking a law.

The journeying atoms,
Primordial wholes.

The atoms, it is said by the philosophers, are always in motion. "Primordial wholes," and, strictly considered, the only wholes. Things as we see them are always aggregations. The "primordial wholes," the atoms, we have never seen. We do not know that there are atoms. The metaphysicians dispute it, but fail to give us anything much better; and the chemists say they "work well." But Emerson wrote his poem before the metaphysical doubt, and in his view these little creatures were perfect, having all the essential qualities of planets and suns, and were able in all conditions to take care of themselves. No power could crush them. No fire could burn them. Aggregates might crumble, but the atoms emerged from every combination fresh and new as at creation's dawn. "Firmly draw, firmly drive" is a way of expressing attraction and repulsion. "By their animate poles;" this expresses a polarity, as if the atoms are alive. Perhaps they are. Who knows? Emerson learned from Goethe not to despise things because they are small.

Sea, earth, air, sound, silence,
Plant, quadruped, bird,
By one music enchanted,
One deity stirred, —
Each the other adorning,
Accompany still;
Night velleth the morning,
The vapor the hill.

"By one music enchanted." Emerson loves to see music and enchantment in all cosmical changes. He makes Monadnock say:

Gentle pilgrim, if thou know
The gamut old of Pan,
And how the hills began.

One note of the gamut old of Pan, and Monadnock "rose

like a bubble from the plain." Another note, perhaps, in ten thousand years. Says Monadnock :

Let him heed who will,
Enchantment fixed me here,
To stand the hurts of time, until
In mightier chant I disappear.

For the world was built in order,
And the atoms march in tune;
Rhyme the pipe and time the warder.

"By one music enchanted." 'Tis always the "gamut old of Pan," with "Rhyme the pipe and time the warder." "By one deity stirred." Nature is not the work of two gods, as the Persians say; not God and Satan, as Milton says. Sea, earth, air, sound, silence, plant, quadruped, bird, are enchanted by one music. Stirred by one deity, these are also exemplars of the harmony which prevails in nature. The fourth and last verse devoted to the presentation of the perfection of nature in this contrast with man, is as follows :

The babe by its mother
Lies bathed in joy;
Glide its hours uncounted, —
The sun is its toy;
Shines the peace of all being
Without cloud in its eyes;
And the sum of the world
In soft miniature lies.

The babe, before it comes to self-consciousness, is simply a piece of nature and belongs to the nature side of the antithesis.

"It is very unhappy," says Emerson in "Experience," "but too late to be helped, the discovery we have made that we exist. That discovery is called the fall of man." By "the discovery that we exist" he means self-consciousness. Man has not fallen until he knows he has fallen. This is the moral status of the babe. It owns the world, all it can grasp of it. The sun is its toy, and the "peace of all being shines without cloud in its eyes." What so beautiful as the unconscious eye of a babe? When it comes to self-consciousness it will be ashamed and afraid.

This closes the list of illustrations in praise of nature. "But," in the next verse, is the hinge upon which the comparison turns :

But man crouches and blushes,
Absconds and conceals;
He creepeth and peepeth,
He palters and steals;

Infirm, melancholy,
 Jealous glancing around,
 An oaf, an accomplice,
 He poisons the ground.

Nature erect and man thus fallen! The contrast is terrible for the man-child. Nature had waited in patient millenniums for this her coming king. She had blocked out a rough statue, in the far-off saurian. She had given hints and omens in remote paleontology. Her first creatures had prophesied of him in many homologies. Monadnock "heard his footsteps along the flinty way." "It was a long way from granite to the oyster, farther still to Plato and the preaching of the immortality of the soul. All come as surely as the first atom has two sides." The two sides of the atom were the first rhyme. The rhyme goes on, but where are the Platos? One, perhaps, in three thousand years.

Twice I have moulded an image,
 And thrice outstretched my hand, —
 Made one of day and one of night,
 And one of the salt sea sand.

One in a Judean manger,
 And one by Avon's stream,
 One over against the mouths of Nile,
 And one in the Academe.

I moulded kings and saviors,
 And bards o'er kings to rule; —
 But fell the starry influence short,
 The cup was never full.

"Out spoke the Great Mother beholding his fear," and the sad condition of her darling, the man-child, mingled of two worlds, the intended representative of heaven and earth.

At the sound of her accents
 Cold shuddered the sphere.

And this is her fearful question:

Who has drugged my boy's cup?
 Who has mixt my boy's bread?
 Who, with sadness and madness,
 Has turned the man-child's head?

Well might the sphere shudder, cold with afright, at the grief and indignation of the Great Mother! Well might she suspect the intrusion of some malign and alien power.

"I heard a poet answer, aloud and cheerfully," says the feigned historian of this drama. I heard a poet answer, another poet, the awaited and wiser seer. The new

poet ignores the answer of the old. It is Emerson after Milton, and singing in clearer, sweeter notes. He does not "vindicate" the ways of God to man. He sees nothing to "vindicate." To his farseeing eye there is no evil. Evil is an illusion, a transient cloud, and never harms or touches the incorruptible blue above it and around it, and with a sublime optimism he answers :

Say on, sweet Sphinx ! thy dirges
Are pleasant songs to me ;
Deep love lieth under
These pictures of time ;
They fade in the light of
Their meaning sublime.

Or they fade in a light which tells what they mean and the beauty and glory whereof they are but the initial vision. Love, not malignity, underlies the unrest which disturbs the forever ascending consciousness of the man-child. The elephant, the thrush, are for the moment happy. But they stay where they are.

Unless above himself he can erect himself,
How poor a thing is man !

His evil is only "good in the making." He is not content with what the "Mother" has given him. But he learns that the world is plastic in his hands and that he is a creator, and can make another world—a world of his own—and supplement nature by art, which is a finer nature. Pain and pleasure are his occasions ; they are the wise masters, and guide or drive him to all he adds to the scanty gifts of nature. In the following verse the poet gives the great dynamic power moving him on to ceaseless ameliorations and ascensions :

The fiend that man harries
Is love of the best ;
Yawns the pit of the Dragon,
Lit by rays from the Blest.
The Lethe of nature
Can't trance him again,
Whose soul sees the perfect,
Which his eyes seek in vain.

The word "fiend" is not used, of course, in any bad sense,—a fiend, because constant, persistent, irrepressible. This would appear from the definition in the predicate, "love of the best." This great principle is man's true "redeemer." It is not an objective power, but is embedded in his very nature. The mind is its home and fatherland. It is

unfortunate, in a man or a race, where this saving grace is not active. It is strong in the Irish race, and "love of the best" is fast leading them to the best. It is not wanting in the negro race, and so they are "marching on." This principle is more active in the European than in the Asiatic races at the present time. But it seems to be going back to the Orient where it began. It is almost entirely wanting in the aboriginal races of the Western hemisphere. With "love of the best" man will make progress, however low. He will erect himself by tools, shelter, clothes, and by institutions. The equivalent of all these things without, is in this endowment within. But like other good things it needs to be used well and properly. It may be made the cause of trouble and mischief. The cashier who robs his bank is often impelled by "love of the best" in house, grounds, equipage, furniture, art, and fine things generally for himself and his family. In this and in many ways a good thing is a bad thing. So are fire, water, food, pleasure, gravity, air, and the gift of speech. A good thing wants a good man to go with it.

What Emerson means by "love of the best" appears the same power that Browning, in "Rabbi Ben Ezra," calls "a spark."

Not that, amassing flowers,
Youth sighed, "Which rose make ours,
Which lily leave and then as best recall?"
Not that, admiring stars,
It yearned, "Nor Jove, nor Mars;
Mine be some figured flame which blends, transcends them all!"

Not for such hopes and fears
Annulling youth's brief years
Do I remonstrate, — folly wide the mark!
Rather I prize the doubt
Low kinds exist without,
Finished and finite clods, untroubled by a *spark*.

And so in other lines of his poem Browning sings of this beneficent power :

A spark disturbs our clod,
Nearer we hold of God
Who gives, than of His tribes that take, I must believe.
Then welcome each rebuff
That turns earth's smoothness rough,
Strive, and hold cheap the strain;
Learn, nor account the pang; dare, never grudge the throe!

Browning prizes the doubt on the part of youth lest the offered gift is not "the *best*."

Irks care the crop-full bird? Frets doubt the maw-crammed beast?

They have not this "spark," this "love of the best." The elephant, the thrush, the babe, are content with mere physical gratifications. Natural objects, the winds, the waves, sea, air, earth — no harm can come to these things, and when they suffer disintegration and fall into decay, they are worth as much to nature as before, and are fresh material for new forms. Man is a fraction, and his problem is to integrate himself by culture and art and by union with his fellows.

Yawns the pit of the Dragon,
Lit by rays from the Blest.

That is, he is not conscious of the bad until he sees something better with which to compare it. Horatio W. Dresser, in his very able book, "The Perfect Whole," quotes John Fiske as follows:

It is a fundamental law of the human mind, that things are distinguishable only by their unlikeness. We know nothing save as contrasted with something else. If we knew but one color we should know no color at all. If our ears were filled with the roar of Niagara, unbroken by any other sound, the effect on our consciousness would be absolute silence. Had we never known pain, we should never know pleasure. Evil is simply the lower state of living as looked at from the higher state.

After quoting these words from Mr. Fiske Mr. Dresser makes the following applications:

Let this principle be thoroughly understood once for all, and we shall have a clew to the interpretation of the darkest pages of life's history. For it is clear that the genuine truth-seeker can ignore no facts. Any doctrine which has won general acceptance contains an element of truth, — truth as seen from a particular point of view. And oftentimes there is no safer guide to the common ground of human experience than to study the most antagonistic views of it. Every man is in some respect incomplete, unbalanced, undeveloped, until he learns the great lesson of experience, — namely, wholeness, poise, beauty, harmony, — but actually, conscientiously, and persistently supplies what is lacking. Everything, when looked at by itself, aspires to completion in the whole. Everything that is mysterious in itself becomes intelligible when set in contrast.

The Lethe of nature
Can't trance him again,
Whose soul sees the perfect,
Which his eyes seek in vain.

"Everything that is made instructs us to make a better." But the instruction also comes from within, or from an ideal as "seen by the soul." "The ideal journeys before us," and leads us on. "Away, away," said Richter of music, "thou speakest to me of things which in all my endless life

I have not found and shall not find" — things beautiful as seen in imagination, but nowhere in the objective world. But there is no rest, no oblivion, when the soul has seen the perfect. Emerson, in "Circles," calls it the "flying perfect around which the hands of man can never meet." The imagination, that wonder-working power, is forever tempting us with patterns, pictures, of something new, ideals which call us onward yet, and if we reach them, then we discover new ideals, and never arrive at contentment with a fact accomplished.

In property, literature, manners, character, art, and life, which is the art of arts, must it be always an impossible pursuit, a waste of energy, a retreating mirage leading nowhere? Browning has a verse which may help us here:

The high that proved too high, the heroic for earth too hard,
The passion that left the ground to lose itself in the sky,
Are music sent up to God, by the lover and the bard;
Enough that He heard it once: we shall hear it by and by.

If the pursuit cannot end, let us believe that the mirage will become at least a finer mirage, and so onward forever. That were to have our music back again.

To vision profounder,
Man's spirit must dive,
His aye-rolling orb
At no goal will arrive.

In the above reflections we have anticipated the thought in these lines. "Man has forever," and man has infinity, in good, in truth, in beauty. There are no goals for "man's spirit." Let us not speak of goals, of anything but eternal movement, for man.

The heavens that now draw him
With sweetness untold,
Once found, — for new heavens
He spurneth the old.

This is only a new expression, like the four preceding lines, of "love of the best." But it tells for despair that there is no "best;" better continually, but never a "best." Let it suffice that each heaven draws us with sweetness untold. Let us rejoice that each higher heaven will disclose another still higher. 'Tis the symbol of the circle which always allows a larger circle. 'Tis the flying perfect again. Emerson, by "heaven," always means a state or condition, not a place. Pilgrim, when he reached the

Delectable Mountains, saw the Celestial City beyond, and thenceforth did not care for the Delectable Mountains. He gladly left them behind him, and saw them no more. This symbolism comes very closely into every life. The Sphinx is a picture of subjective phenomena, and has its meaning and interpretation in the common experience.

Pride ruined the angels,
 Their shame them restores,
 And the joy that is sweetest
 Lurks in stings of remorse.

This principle, "love of the best," lies at the foundation of a true repentance, for it lifts the sinner above his sin, and according to the strength of his "love of the best" he will leave the sin behind him. To repent of a sin in a way worth anything is to outgrow it or rise above it. That certainly should give a "joy that is sweetest." A sin thus becomes a grace.

St. Augustine, well hast thou said,
 That of our vices we can frame
 A ladder, if we will but tread
 Beneath our feet each deed of shame.

This is how Longfellow says it, and in Tennyson we have the same thought in other words:

I hold it truth, with him who sings,
 To one clear harp of divers tones,
 That men may rise on stepping-stones
 Of their dead selves to higher things.

"The bruised reed he will not break." This is how love should treat a broken character — help it to heal and mend, and the bruise shall become an ornament, "as the wounded oyster mends his shell with pearl."

Have I a lover
 Who is noble and free?
 I would he were nobler
 Than to love me.

This has always been a perplexing verse to readers of the poem. The maiden ascribes to the lover every perfection. She does not see faults or limitations. He is not what she thinks him, but no matter; to her love and worship he is that, and if a part of the glory is illusion, it passes for reality with her. He is "noble and free," free to go wherever he should choose. Why should he come to her? Any princess would be proud to receive him, but by some infirm-

ity of vision, and insensible to a "love of the best," he wanders blindly to her. While she exaggerates his virtues she sees nothing but defects in herself. So there is no parity between them. "If he scorned me," she would say, "and went to his peers, I should worship him afar, as something unattainable in a world above me. I would he were nobler than to love me. He is human; I would rather he remained divine." Why did not the poet say:

Have I a lover
Who is noble and free?
I would *she* were nobler
Than to love me?

Logically both are lovers, and so each is a lover. The reason is æsthetic. It would have violated a delicate propriety. A woman does not like to be thought "a lover," but rather as one beloved. The initial position belongs to the man. This subtle motif in psychology has embodied itself in language as a usage. But it would have been just as true the other way:

Have I a lover
Who is noble and free?
I would *she* were nobler
Than to love me.

For the lady is indebted to illusion for much of *her* glory. She is noble and beautiful, by the lover's allowance.

This thought comes out in the poem "Hermione." Elsewhere Emerson says: "The lover has lost the wildest charm of his maiden in her acceptance of him. She was heaven whilst he pursued her as a star. She cannot be heaven if she stoop to such an one as he."

Etern alternation
Now follows, now flies;
And under pain pleasure,—
Under pleasure pain lies.
Love works at the centre,
Heart heaving alway;
Forth speed the strong pulses
To the borders of day.

We have spoken of duality and contrast in human experience, as revealing each term to its opposite. We can hardly conceive consciousness to be consciousness except under the form of this differentiation or change. Amid all the conscious phenomena, it is well if we can believe that "love works at the centre." We must believe it, in conservation of our reverence for the Creator. What kind of a God have

to hold every day in our streets! The thunder of Jupiter were thought of. The sphynx did not fear them, but the sphynx has tamed them, and she has tamed them to wagons, for the service of man. She has yielded, up her tremendous strength, to the manchild. These things are not to be forgotten. The light is impressed on the world, and the world will be a different world from what it was.

of Lynceus will see through the world. In the song of an old poet, Satan was seen falling from heaven. Satan is always falling from heaven. This is a name for eternal progress, lifting "better up to best." The Sphinx sees the real — things that are. The Poet the ideal — things that are not, but shall be. "Love of the best" is the open door through which the Over-soul enters the private soul, and gives ethereal tides to roll and circulate through us. The Poet now says :

Dull Sphinx, Jove keep thy five wits,
Thy sight is growing blear;
Rue, myrrh, and cummin for the Sphinx,
Her muddy eyes to clear!

The old Sphinx bit her thick lip, —
Said, "Who taught thee me to name?
I am thy spirit, yoke-fellow,
Of thine eye I am eye-beam."

The Poet has answered the Sphinx, and now laughs at the Sphinx as "dull." But the Sphinx and the Poet are one. "The Sphinx must solve her own riddle." The mind that asks the question must answer it, and not defer to objective revelations. The Sphinx and the Poet are personifications for one and the same "spirit." The Sphinx is the function which asks questions. The Poet is the function which answers. So the Sphinx says :

I am thy spirit, yoke-fellow,
Of thine eye I am eye-beam.

The ultimate reality under Sphinx and Poet is "the same."

Now the Sphinx says to the Poet :

Thou art the unanswered question,
Could'st see thy proper eye.

What is the *proper* eye? We know that the physical eye is only an instrument for seeing. It is the soul that sees. The soul is the "unanswered question" — the Sphinx of all the Sphinxes. The soul is the proper eye.

Alway it asketh, asketh;
And each answer is a lie.

We never see all there is in a truth, or a question.

Ten thousand years of psychology have not told us what the soul is. We do not know that it *is* at all. It is a substratum we postulate for what we classify as mental phenomena. But the Sphinx still holds her position, "Alway it asketh, asketh: and each answer is a lie;" and the "proper

eye" is an "unanswered question." The Sphinx says to soul, as the "proper eye:"

So take thy quest through nature,
It through thousand natures ply,
Ask on, thou clothed eternity,
'Time is the false reply.

"Clothed eternity" is a good name for the soul, and is worthy of the great poem and of Emerson. Where did he get it? When introduced to Emerson, forty years ago, as a young man who read his books, he said, with his inimitable sweetness and modesty: "I am a great borrower. I read all sorts of books and take what belongs to me." He knew how to find in books what belonged to him. At or before the time when this poem was written, "Sartor Resartus" was a great book, and the prominent idea in "Sartor Resartus" was "clothes." Carlyle, in that book, taught us to look at all spiritual things as dressed in some kind of vestments. The body was clothes for the soul. Institutions were clothes. Browning, in "Ixion," says:

Flesh or essence, whatsoever the medium,
Clothing the entity—Thou.

Eternity is but a concept. Eternity, as such, can never touch the soul. It is not a factor in the unnumbered phenomena which make up human experience. This is true of infinity whenever the predicate is applied. The finite is all we have to deal with. Time limited or definite is the correlate of events, and question and answer are only events. Time, in this way, would be metonymy for events, and could never "answer" eternity. "Alway it asketh, asketh," but neither question nor answer could form a series or a whole, for a series or a whole must have limits. The infinite is out of arithmetic, transcends it. It cannot be a term in any equation. Time, set over against eternity, is a false answer. Arithmetical, mathematical nomenclatures, fail; even language fails us. We cannot properly say *the* infinite, because *the* defines.

Uprose the merry Sphinx,
And crouched no more in stone,
She melted into purple cloud,
She silvered in the moon,
She spired into a yellow flame,
She flowered in blossoms red,
She flowed into a foaming wave,
She stood Monadnock's head.

The sphinx is in all the objects enumerated in this verse. We cannot answer the questions they ask us. They are all mysteries. Sensation itself is a mystery. Science sees only motion, but how motion translates itself into consciousness, we cannot tell. The above list does not give, in full, the residence of the sphinx. Her residence is eternity. The sphinx is everywhere.

Through a thousand voices
Spoke the universal dame:
Who telleth one of my meanings
Is master of all I am.

But *who* telleth one of "my meanings"? Let another poet answer. Tennyson says:

Flower in the crannied wall,
I pluck you out of the crannies:—
Hold you here, root and all in my hand,
Little flower—but if I could understand
What you are, root and all, and all in all,
I should know what God and man is.

The sphinx underlies intellectual evolution. "Love of the best" is the great dominating power in moral and æsthetic evolution. The "Flying Perfect" is the enchantment which leads us on and up. Emerson could have said to Browning: "There is no 'perfect round' in heaven or in the heaven of heavens." Life is a circle with a broken periphery. The awful content flows out and away, in glory away, "and no archangel's wing is strong enough to follow it and report a return of the curve."

THE TELEGRAPH MONOPOLY.

BY PROF. FRANK PARSONS.

XII.

§ 7. *The advantages of the proposed plan* are many and important.

1. *Economy.* The construction and maintenance of the lines could be placed in charge of the engineer corps of the army.¹ We educate at West Point a splendid body of men, full of public spirit, possessed of the latest scientific knowledge, and quite free from the taint of commercialism. They would do the work excellently, and save the government the immense sums that telegraph builders ask for their supervision and profit. The rank and file of the army might also supply a part of the ordinary labor required for construction and maintenance. Such labor would cost the government practically nothing, since it has to pay the army anyway. Our army has built and maintained many telegraph lines, and Uncle Sam might as well keep the boys busy, — better for him, better for them.

Superintendence of the office work could be confided to the postal officers, with very little addition to the force; and the routine labor in many offices could be performed by the present employees. It is said that in three-fourths of the post offices no additional attendant would be needed.² In England the regular postal staff does the telegraphing in all the small offices, and in the provincial service about one-half the telegraphists are simply the postal clerks. England has still many small post offices not yet supplied with the telegraph; if they were, the number of postal-clerk telegraphists would amount to about three-fourths of the total telegraphic staff.³

¹ Senator Edmunds' idea, Sen. Rep. 577, Part II, p. 6. If the government starts with a few trunk lines between the principal cities, the private telegraph will soon be offered for sale at any price obtainable; the government could then buy the old lines at their actual value for the purposes of the new system, and then a law declaring the Postal control of the telegraph to be exclusive would put the matter in proper shape.

² Wanamaker's Arg., p. 198.

³ 41st Rep. Eng. P. M. Gen'l, 1895, pp. 3, 6, 7, 8, 27. Early in the history of the English postal telegraph it was found that the entire cost of 2,700 offices where the post-

In Belgium, where the telegraph department manages the whole telephone service as well as the telegraph proper, nearly one-half the total staff consists of the regular employees of the post office and other public departments.⁴

A further saving of large amount would be made in rentals and the cost of light and heat. The Western Union says its rents amount to \$585,000, about 1 cent a message on the total business.⁵ Union with the post office will for the most part provide the people's telegraph with room, light, and heat without additional expense.⁶ The stamp system and uniform rates would effect an economy in bookkeeping, and in the time of the public also. And the half million a year paid by the government for telegraphic service would pay for much more and better service under the postal system.⁷ Combination of the telegraph and the post office is an example of the same sort of economy that helps so largely to make the fortunes of the trusts.⁸

The government would not have to pay dividends on watered stock, which according to Mr. Hubbard amounts to 8 cents on a message, or nearly the entire price of a message

masters provided the service was only one-fourth as much as the cost of the 600 offices in which the department employed a separate telegraphic staff. P. M. Gen'l Creswell's Rep., 1872, p. 33.

⁴Rapport présenté aux Chambres Législatives par M. Le Ministre des Chemins de fer, Postes, Télégraphes, Téléphones, et Marine. Partie C, p. 6. Bruxelles, 1896.

⁵Bing. Hearings, p. 60.

⁶Wanamaker's Arg., pp. 73, 165; Postmaster-General Howe, Rep. of November, 1892, H. Rep. 114, pp. 44, 50, 52, in which last the committee estimated the yearly saving in salaries, light, fuel, and rent by union with the post office at \$1,500,000, at the very lowest calculation, on a business of 33 million messages, with 4,200 offices; with a business of 200 million messages and 40,000 offices (as the situation would soon stand if Uncle Sam were at the helm, with the automatic, etc., as proposed) the absolute saving by union with the post office would not be less than 15 millions a year on the telegraph alone, to say nothing of the telephone.

⁷I. T. U. Hearings, pp. 29, 30.

⁸Speaking of the former competition with the B. & O. Company, Dr. Green said to the Bingham Committee, p. 65: "Competition is an expensive luxury. It involves largely increased expenses. For instance, we had to pay high prices to get into the exchanges with that sharp competition. We had to pay a high rental in every hotel, which, without such competition, would have been only too glad to have a telegraph office there for nothing. So it cuts both ways," diminishing receipts and increasing expenses.

Mr. Hubbard, who puts many things clearly and well, states this matter of the union of services as follows: "Now here are two great pieces of machinery going on, both for the same purpose, the transmission of intelligence. If these two are united you must necessarily make a great reduction in the expenses of the telegraph system. You have the same offices, and by having the same offices that you now have, you greatly increase the facilities of business. The present telegraph system is a

in several countries of Europe.⁹ There would be no dividends even on the real investment, nor interest either, unless the government should be so foolish as to borrow, and even then it could borrow at much lower interest than a private telegraph company would be able to. There would be no

railroad system not a postal system. Its offices all through the country are at railroad stations, generally speaking a little outside the limits of the smaller cities and towns, not easily reached by the people, whereas a post office is at the spot where it will accommodate the greatest number of people.

"Now, it may be safely said that any business will increase in proportion to the facilities that are afforded to the business. The greater the facilities, the greater the business. The lower the rates, also, the greater the business. By the use of the same offices, and many of the same men, and finally by the use of the stamp system, a very great expense will be saved to the country. Formerly every letter that was sent through the post office had a waybill attached to it showing where it came from, where it was bound to, and what the charges upon that letter were. The consequence was that each letter cost a great deal to the Department. Now a letter is dropped in, and no account is taken of it.

"Now every telegram passes through from ten to fifteen different hands. Copies of it are made at the receiving and the delivery stations. And this very necessity of payment of moneys, of accounting and checking and comparing the whole, is a very large expense to the telegraph department, which will be saved by the union of the two services." I. T. U. Hearings, 1894, pp. 17, 18.

⁹ Quoted in Wanamaker's Argument, p. 223. President Green admitted to the Blair Committee that the material property of the Western Union was not worth the stock (80 millions then), but said the company was worth that because of its franchises, patents, good will, and *earning capacity*. (Blair Rep., vol. 1, p. 878.) Being questioned about patents he said that one-half the original capital of the companies went for patents; that one-half of the \$41,000,000 of capitalization in 1866 represented patents all of which had since expired. Here are the committee's questions and President Green's answers verbatim:

Q. "In 1866, when the capital stock of the Western Union became \$41,000,000, would it be fair to say that at that time one-half of that amount represented the patents, and the other half the cash expenditure in the construction of the lines?"

A. "Well, in all the original capitalization of the companies one-half the capital was given for the patents; yes, sir, I will answer that question affirmatively; it would be fair to say that one-half the amount represented the patents, because of all the increase of stock that had been made by the Western Union, the patentees got their share as well as anybody else, and up to that time Professor Morse and Mr. Kendall had held on to all their stock received for patents."

Q. "May it be that the other \$21,500,000, or whatever the exact amount was, represented more than the actual cash expenditure in the construction of those various lines?"

A. "I think it did, sir."

Q. "Would \$10,000,000 have repaid the actual cash expenditure by telegraph companies in the construction of the various lines that existed in the country at that time, 1866?"

A. "I think it likely it would."

Q. "Since that time all those patents which were in existence in 1866, and prior to that time, have expired, have they not?"

A. "Yes, sir, all the patents which were in existence in 1866, of every sort, have expired."

Even our street-car companies write off the value of horses that have departed this life, but the Western Union is of a peaceful disposition and does not like to disturb its capitalization because of the death of its patents.

rents to pay for leased lines, and no money paid by the people to cover the cost of free telegraphing by rich and influential favorites of the companies.

Costs of litigation,¹⁰ counsel fees, lobby expenses, and big salaries would be saved. One of the attorneys for the Bell Telephone Company, I happen to know about, gets \$30 per day for being in his office four hours a day ready for telephone consultation if his services should be needed. The rest of the day is his own, and his telephone salary is not the end of his income by a good deal. He is an estimable man, but he has no right to \$10,000 a year for potential service, while honest, hard-working, skilful mechanics are getting only \$600 to \$1,200 for a solid year's labor. And yet this \$10,000 salary is but a trifle in the official lists of the great telegraph and telephone monopolies. All this overpayment would cease with National Ownership.

Besides all this there would be the economies resulting from the substitution of cheaper and better methods of telegraphy and from the vast increase of business sure to follow the introduction of low rates. The Government would aim to work on a tariff just enough above actual cost to supply a reasonable fund for extensions and improvements, without the necessity of asking Congress for an appropriation every year or two, a necessity which has greatly retarded the development of our postal system and constitutes a serious defect in any public service. Whatever profits were realized would go not to Wall Street's millionaires, but to the people, in the shape either of an improved service or of cash turned into the treasury.

Finally, there would be no building of useless lines nor wastes of competitive telegraphy; the money abstracted from the people by the discriminative use of the telegraph for speculative purposes would remain in their pockets, and the cheapening of communication would bring the whole people closer together, give them a better understanding of the markets, aid their foresight, and steady, develop, and economize the business transactions of the continent.

In view of all these potent elements of economy, the statement of Senator Blair of New Hampshire that National Ownership of the telegraph and the telephone would be

¹⁰ President Green told the Bingham Committee, 1880, p. 65, that the Western Union "paid last year for damage claims \$58,570, and for legal expenses, chiefly to defend the damage claims, \$108,338."

worth \$100,000,000 a year to the people of the United States¹¹ does not seem so unreasonable as it would to one who had not thought out the far-reaching consequences of the change.

Prof. Morse offered to sell his invention to the Government for \$100,000.¹² If Congress had only had the wisdom to buy it and establish a National System from the start, what a vast saving would have resulted in respect to investment and rates, stations and fixtures, costly investigations, frauds, hindrance of business, and loss of progress through high rates and absence of proper facilities, etc.,—hundreds of millions of dollars lost to the people for lack of expending a few thousands on a public telegraph half a century ago.

2. *Low Rates.* With the proposed National System, it would be possible to establish very low uniform rates. The preceding discussion discloses the fact that in dealing with ordinary messages 1 cent per word, with a minimum charge of 10 cents, would yield a considerable profit; 10 cents for 20 words, and 2 words for 1 cent after the first twenty, would pay for the transmission of a message by telegraph from any point to any point in the system.¹³ For special delivery by messenger outside the free-delivery system, 5 cents per message; the Western Union says 2 cents, but it pays very poorly for the labor involved. If the street railways were municipalized and ordered to carry postmen and telegraph messengers free, a very cheap and swift delivery could be organized. For transmitting a despatch from the receiving station to the addressee by telephone, 5 cents a message; the same for receiving a message by telephone and giving it to the telegraph. For a letter to go by mail *via* the nearest automatic trunk line, 2 cents postage (or 1 cent when letter postage is put by Congress where it belongs) *plus* a 10-cent telegraph rate for each 100 words;

¹¹ Senator Blair to the Henderson Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, May 4, 1894. The Senator said the telephone was even more important than the telegraph, and that the question of National Ownership of these means of communication was the "greatest matter before Congress except the tariff." He said there should be a telephone connected with every post office on a 5 or 10 cent charge.

¹² H. Rep. 82, 40-3, p. 5.

¹³ Italy has introduced the automatic with such effect in cheapening the transmission of intelligence by telegraph that the Government contemplates the reduction of the rate to 5 cents per telegram. (Journal of Franklin Institute, vol. clx, 1895, p. 476.) This is merely one more fact in confirmation of the overwhelming evidence already given. See note §1 in last month's article, ARENA, January, 1897, pp. 300-305.

half rates if the perforating is done by the sender and the message is to be given to the addressee as recorded by the receiving machine without copying. Half rates in such case would lead to a great economy of industrial force by stimulating business men to do their own perforating and to learn to read the Morse alphabet, a very easy art that ought to be taught in the public schools, and will be when the new system makes the telegraph the people's business. For transmitting by telegraph from the receiving terminal of the automatic trunk line to the addressee's town, half the ordinary telegraph rates.¹⁴ For special messenger or telephone delivery of such a telegraph letter, 2 cents per hundred words, with a minimum charge of 5 cents. After the system had been thoroughly organized it might be best to make a uniform 5-cent rate on a 10-word message at the Government's option in respect to time and method of sending, and a 10-cent rate for short messages to be sent at once by the swiftest means, automatic telegraph and telephone communication being used wherever available to quicken the transport.

Local telephone charges ought not to be more than \$10 to \$20 a year; interurban telephone more, in proportion to the number and distance of the towns wired together. For local telephone conversations, transient custom, 5 cents for 5 minutes and 1 cent a minute afterward; for long-distance conversations perhaps three to five times as much. For the use of the telautograph, maybe two and a half times the ordinary rates, or 25 cents for twenty words, would be right. We have nothing like the data on which to base a judgment in respect to the telautograph and the long-distance telephone that we have in the case of the telegraph and the telephone local, but we think the prices named by way of suggestion are sufficiently high.

The reader who has in mind what has been said in previous parts of this discussion about the rates that have proved successful in Europe, the 10-cent rate made by the Western Union in some cases, the tariff accepted by New York capitalists during the Wanamaker investigation as the basis of large investments in a private plant with all the disadvan-

¹⁴The charge for transmission all the way by telegraph *via* the automatic trunk lines would be 35 cents per 100 words. In the composite system of England, the British post office estimates the cost of long messages, averaging 120 words each, to be 81½ cents per 100 words. (41st Rep. P. M. G., 1895, pp. 10, 37.) The system we have outlined would have a considerably greater efficiency than the one in use in England.

tages of tremendous competition, the profit-sharing account of the Chicago and Milwaukee Company, disclosing an actual total cost per message of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents, the evidence set forth of the astonishing cheapness of transmission with the perfected automatic (less than 4 cents per 100 words on a 1,000-mile circuit), the economies by union with the post office, the diminishing cost per message as the volume of business swells by reason of lowered rates, etc., will have no doubt that the telegraph rates above specified are quite high enough, and that the universal use of the automatic would render possible a very much lower tariff than the one here suggested. Better methods and the vast increase of business sure to follow low rates would make a uniform rate of 5 cents per minimum message, as above suggested, an easy possibility at no distant day after the telegraph became a postal function.¹⁵

3. *A Simple Uniform Tariff* will be a benefit in itself, not merely by reason of its economic value, but also because every influence tending to equalize the advantages of city and

¹⁵ The ordinary rate proposed is about one-fourth and upward of Western Union charges, say 30 or 31 cents average per W. U. message (of an average length of 17 words, according to Pres. Green) — over 8 cents profit by their confession; 7 cents more is said, by those well qualified to judge, to be really profit in the shape of interest on leased lines, construction expenses, and other sums improperly placed in the operation account (Gardiner G. Hubbard, Sen. Rep, 577, Part II, p. 60). This leaves 16 cents actual present cost per message, or not above 18 cents including interest and all fixed charges. Doubling the business would reduce the cost per message to about 12 cents (Sen. Rep. 577, Part II, pp. 52, 60; Sen. Mis. 79, 42-3, p. 13, calculating the effect of increased business on the unit cost from the Western Union's own figures in respect to its own experience and that of Europe) — 12 cents with the present inferior methods. Combination with the post office and use of the automatic will easily bring the cost far below the 10-cent mark, and the increase of business will not stop with the doubling of present traffic by any means.

Without reference to automatic telegraphy, Mr. Bell told the Henderson Committee in 1884 that in his opinion "the rates could be reduced, under Government ownership, fully $\frac{1}{3}$, and yet be self-sustaining;" and Mr. Loud, a most pertinacious opponent of the postal telegraph and defender of the existing order, said, "I do not doubt that at all." (I. T. U. Hearings, pp. 12-13.) Conservative authorities even affirm that the postal telegraph could carry at rates $\frac{5}{8}$ less than the present tariff. (Wanamaker's Arg. p. 9, citing with approval the statement of a conservative financial journal of New York.) The Hill Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads reported in 1884 that under a postal telegraph "in many cases the reduction would be to $\frac{1}{10}$ of the Western Union charges." (Sen. Rep. 577, 48-1, p. 15.) The Chicago and Milwaukee independent profit-sharers paid back 40% on 5 cents a message, and still made 14% on their investment, indicating a cost not over $2\frac{1}{4}$ cents a message, while the Western Union had been charging 30 cents a message. (Bing. Thurber, p. 35; Wan. Arg., pp. 68, 69.) John Wanamaker, Victor Rosewater, Judge Clark, and others, who have given much study to the question, are of opinion that a uniform rate of 10 cents or even less would make the service self-supporting. (ARENA, February, 1886, p. 410; Wan. Arg. 63; Bing. Rosewater, 4; ARENA, vol. 5, p. 466; Sen. Doc. 205, 54-1, p. 50.) In Italy the Government is proposing to reduce its telegraphic rates to 5 cents per message. (See note 13; Journal Franklin Institute, vol. cxi, p. 476, and December

country helps to counteract the overgrowth of cities and the undue congestion of population. Uniform rates wherever practicable are the just rates, for distance is not a fault, and no penalty should be attached to it. It is for the welfare of all that the country should be peopled as well as the city, and the cost entailed by distance should be equally borne by all so far as its distribution is practicable. Uniform rates, moreover, assist in educating the people in the value of simplicity and equality — ideas that are destined to play an important part in the new order of things that is evolving out of the chaos in which we dwell to-day.

4. *Increased Facilities.* The extension of lines, improvement of methods, union of telegraph, telephone, and post office, etc., under the plan proposed would multiply the facilities of rapid communication many fold. The single expedient of constituting all post offices and post boxes places of deposit for postal telegrams would quadruple the avenues of approach to the telegraph at the very start.

5. *Growth of Communication.* Low rates and large facilities naturally lead to fuller use. It has been so with our postal service.¹⁶ We have seen that it was so with the telegraph in Europe, and it will be so here.¹⁷ A large

ARENA, 1896, p. 57.) Judge Clark, of the Supreme Bench of North Carolina, says that experts in this country estimate that the enormous increase of business likely to result from very low rates would justify a 5-cent rate with the postal telegraph. (Sen. Doc. 205, 54-1, p. 50.)

¹⁶ On page 10 of his Argument on the Limited Post and Telegraph Mr. Wanamaker says that the reduction of letter postage from 3 to 2 cents, and the introduction of penny correspondence in the shape of postal cards, were followed by enormous developments of postal business in spite of depression and panic in the commercial world.

In 1838-9 the English letter rates were:

2d.	under	8 miles
4d.	"	15
5d.	"	20,
8d.	"	80
9d.	"	120
14d.	"	500

and 1d. for each additional 100 miles.

Foreign postage averaged 46½ cts. on each letter.

Jan. 10, 1840, a uniform penny rate was established. The number of chargeable letters posted in England under the old rates was estimated by the Parliamentary Committee at 77,500,000, while the number posted under the penny rate was estimated at 204,334,676. (Rep. of U. S. P. M. Gen'l, Dec. 2, 1843, p. 698 of the President's Message, 1843.)

¹⁷ See Part I, ARENA, January, 1896, note 6, pp. 256-7, and authorities there cited. Lowering the rates one-half doubles the business. See also Sen. Mis. 79, 42-3, p. 13; I. T. U. Hearings 18, 94, 50; Wan. Arg. 9, 10, 64, 223. "Make the telegraph the letter post and the increase will be thirtyfold, with the income fourfold greater than at

increase is specially to be expected in communications of a social nature and in those pertaining to legitimate business;¹⁸ and such correspondence is so vitally related to the progress of a nation that its volume is found to constitute a valuable test of the life, energy, civilization, and progressive movement of the people. To appreciate the force of this statement one needs but to note how closely the use of the mail accords with the varying degrees of civilization in different parts of the world.¹⁹

POSTAL SERVICE PER CAPITA.

	Average yearly number of letters and post cards mailed by each inhabitant.	Average yearly number of pieces of all sorts mailed by each inhabitant.	Total number of pieces handled by the post office per inhabitant per year.
Congo.....	.0016	.0025	.0047
Turkey.....	.3	.5	.6
Egypt.....	1.4	2.5	2.9
Russia.....	1.7	2.7	2.9
Spain.....	4.6	8.4	9.6
Great Britain.....	53.	74.8	76.7
Germany.....	30.	42.	45.
France.....	20.	43.	45.
Belgium.....	20.	52.	56.
Switzerland.....	34.	49.	60.
Venezuela.....			2.
Mexico.....	1.2	4.—	4.
United States.....	43.	76.	77.5
New Zealand.....	38.	60.5	69.4
New South Wales.....	50.	92.	100.
Western Australia.....			283.
Philadelphia, U. S.	314.	438.	561.
	Taking large	areas we have:	
Asia.....			.81
Africa.....			1.50
South America.....	5.	7.	8.
Southern Europe (Spain, Portugal, Rou- mania, Bulgaria, Servia, Turkey, etc., except Italy, which stands at 16 per cap. total)	3.33	6.+	7.—
Northwestern Europe (France, England, Ger- many, Switzerland, Aus- tria, Norway, Sweden, Belgium, Denmark, Hol- land)	32.	56.	38.

present even with a rate $\frac{5}{8}$ less than the present." Wan. Arg. 9, quoting with approval the words of a "conservative financial journal of New York."

¹⁸ See Part I, note 6, and other authorities cited in the last note. In Europe two-thirds of the telegrams are on social matters; in this country only 8% or less are social. Ours is a business and railroad system, while those abroad are postal systems. (Wan. Arg. p. 223.) "When the Belgians reduced their prices for the transmission of postal telegrams to 10 cents the number of business messages promptly increased over 300 per cent, and the number of social messages increased 1,000 per cent." (Wanamaker's words, p. 10 of his Argument, 1880.)

¹⁹ So far as possible the figures for each country have been taken directly from

In Congo it takes a thousand people to write one letter and read one newspaper per annum, — 365,000 people to write one letter and read one paper per day. Philadelphia writes an average of two letters a day for every grown person, and reads two newspapers or more. In Russia each family of five receives about a dozen pieces of mail per year; in New South Wales a family of five receives about five hundred pieces a year.

It is easy to believe that Turkey is brutal when we know that she has less than half a letter and about a quarter of a newspaper a year for each inhabitant, or about one letter and one paper for each grown man in the country. It is not

reports issued by its government. Where this was not possible we have used the postal statistics published by the International Bureau at Bern, Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics, the Statesman's Year Book, Australian Handbook, the various encyclopædias, etc., such secondary evidence being checked by comparing the authorities. The first two sources of information are those chiefly used. It is probable that none of the figures are exactly correct. The complexity of the subject, the different methods of tabulating postal business in different countries, the neglect of the International Bureau to estimate populations each year anew, etc., tend to deprive the figures of precision. Nevertheless they are sufficiently accurate for the present purpose. The tremendous contrasts shown in the table are not affected in any appreciable degree by the small coefficient of error attached to each specific calculation.

In countries showing considerable variation from year to year, up one year, down the next, the aim has been to adopt a conclusion representing the general trend of postal traffic for the last few years, instead of accepting the specific figure for any one year. In this way a temporary depression of business in any nation is prevented from unduly affecting its relative standing. Where the figures for 1894 and 1895 agree with the results indicated by the general trend of business, as is usually the case, they have been adopted without modification. The data for large areas like Southern Europe, Northwestern Europe, etc., were obtained by adding the pieces mailed in each nation of the area and the pieces received from outside the area, as nearly as they could be estimated from the statistics of the international service, and dividing the sum by the total population of the area.

The number of pieces carried, transmitted, or "handled" is equal to the number mailed in the country plus the number received from abroad. For example, the number "handled" in Philadelphia (674,000,000 pieces) consists of the number mailed in the city (529,000,000 pieces) plus the number received from outside for delivery in the city (145,000,000). It must be remembered that the number of pieces handled by the postal system of a given area is not equal to the sum of the numbers handled by the post offices of the cities, districts, or nations composing the area. Suppose the post of A handles 1,000 pieces a day, 200 of which come from B, and the post of B handles 1,000 pieces, of which 210 come from A, then the united postal system of A and B does not handle 2,000 pieces a day, but only 1,590. In other words, the pieces mailed in one part of an area, for delivery in another part of the same area, are counted as handled at the place of mailing and again at the place of delivery when the business of each of the two places is considered by itself, but when we are dealing with the postal system embracing both places a piece mailed in one and delivered in the other counts only once. For this reason it is fairer, in comparing a large area with a small one, to use the numbers "mailed" rather than the numbers "handled."

difficult to understand Spain's cruelty to Cuba when we know she has but 5 letters and 4 papers, books, packages, etc., per head per year, or 50 pieces a year for each family. The United States has 43 letters and 33 papers, etc., per head, or about 400 pieces a year for each family. And the people of Philadelphia send 2,200 pieces per family through the mails, and receive from outside the city 610 pieces to be delivered to each family in the city, making a total of 2,810 pieces received and sent per family. Compare Philadelphia with Turkey, England with Spain, Northwestern Europe with Southern Europe, Africa, and Asia, and the conclusion will be forced upon you that there is a vital relation between civilization and intercommunication, and intercommunication depends largely on facilities in the shape of low rates and abundant means of rapid transport and delivery.

Facilities for the growth of correspondence mean facilities for the growth of civilization.

6. *Education* of an invaluable sort will follow the change proposed, — the education of simple method and equal treatment already spoken of, the education, intellectual and emotional, that accompanies an increase of social intercourse, and the education that is incident to dealing with large affairs. It educates a man to increase his responsibility and bring into fuller play his faculties of management, oversight, and performance by intrusting important business to his care; and a nation may be educated in the same way.

7. *Better service* will result. It will no longer be possible to put a message in the office and then get on a train and beat the lightning on a faultless wire. The automatic will greatly increase the accuracy of transmission. And the telephone linked to the post office and the telegraph will bring the world to each office and home. The Signal Service will be better cared for.²⁰ Fine facilities for sending money by telegraph will be afforded the people. Instead of little boys and young men and women whose wages are so low that they only take the employment as a makeshift till they can work into something better, there will be a permanent and skilful staff, not exhausted by over-hours nor restless with discontent. Service will be *the purpose* of the management.

²⁰ One of Hannibal Hamlin's reasons for advocating a postal telegraph was "for the sake of the Signal Service, which the Western Union does not properly serve." Cong. Globe, 42-3, p. 3554.

Mr. Hubbard says :

The post office and the telegraph are both for the same purpose. Now, which renders the best service to the public, the post office or the telegraph? I think we shall all agree that it is the post office. It must be so, because it is conducted for the benefit of the public and not primarily for the benefit of stockholders.²¹

8. *Progressive Administration.* It will not be the policy of a National management to suppress or hold back inventions even if they do require a considerable new investment. Neither will the administration endeavor to depress wages and degrade labor. Telegraph wires will not be woven into a network of nuisances over our streets. Slender poles will not be loaded with twenty or thirty wires, to fall with every serious storm and disable the service. Progress will be the aim. Progress and dividends sometimes go together, and then a private company will move with eagerness; but progress and dividends are often opposed, as in the case of extending the lines into outlying districts, and then private enterprise sits back on its haunches as stubborn as a mule. The test of progress is not the size of the surplus above expenses, but the increase of beneficial use, the development of utility to the public. The postal telegraph across the sea has far outstripped our private system in this respect, as we have seen in former papers. The administration of the post office has ever shown a most progressive spirit. Look at the history of our own department: mounted messengers, stagecoaches, railway trains, steamboats, electric cars, and pneumatic tubes have been adopted one after the other to quicken the carriage of the mails; letter boxes in the offices, on the streets, in the houses, free delivery and collection, money-order system, registry system, special delivery, etc.; postal cards, stamped envelopes, stamped wrappers; exclusion of lottery tickets and demoralizing literature; ocean post offices, international mails, reduction of the rates of postage in the last fifty years from 25 cents and \$1 to 2 cents and 1 cent, and development of service from 1½ letters *per capita* to over 40 *per capita*, marked improvement in the condition of employees, a large advance in civil-service reform, a merit system of promotions from the lower grades up through the railway post offices to the highest places in post offices and in the Department, — all firmly established, and our Postmasters-General constantly pushing new im-

²¹ I. T. U. Hearings, 1894, p. 17.

- provements, extension of the free delivery and the parcel post, adoption of 1-cent letter postage, the district system, with civil service for all postmasters as well as clerks, pensions and insurance for cases of sickness, old age, and death of employees, a better method of dealing with second-class matter, abolition of the contract plan wherever possible, establishment of postal savings banks, postal telegraph and telephone, etc.²² All these advances have been made across the sea, and would have been here had the matter rested solely with the postal administration; but as Congress has to be consulted, and so many members of that august body are too much engrossed with party politics and private business
- to acquaint themselves with the needs of the post office, or bestow the proper interest and enthusiasm upon it, the postal administration is sometimes compelled to spend considerable time and argument and reiteration in order to impress a new idea upon Congress with sufficient force to obtain an appropriation or other requisite enactment. It is only a question of time, however, in any case; the progressive spirit of the Department is sure to conquer the inertia of Congress in the end. If the Postmaster-General had a reasonable fund at his disposal every year for extensions and improvements, as he ought to have (and might have if second-class matter were carried at rates that would yield a small margin of profit), he would be able to inaugurate many valuable reforms without the delay occasioned by a voyage across the stormy sea of politics and private business interests. A private corporation can use with promptness whatever means and opportunities of advancement it possesses, but its means are limited and its desire is still more so, wherefore the most important advances accomplished and prospected by the post office would *never* be achieved by a private company. The means and opportunities of National enterprise are practically unlimited, and the desire of the postal management for progress has no relation to dividends, and is boundless as the opportunities of serving the public weal, wherefore advancement is sure to follow, though delays may now and then be occasioned until the people see that a greater number of really public-spirited men are elected to the National Legislature.

²² See the reports of Wanamaker, 1892, Bissell, 1894, Willson, 1895, etc., where all the measures mentioned above are strongly advocated.

9. *A Postal Telegraph will be a step toward bringing our institutions into more perfect harmony with the sentiment of the people.* See Part I (ARENA, January, 1896) for the evidence of the overwhelming sentiment in favor of a national telegraph system. It is in the line of progress away from aristocracy, part of the great movement toward democracy.

(*To be continued.*)

GIOSUE CARDUCCI.

BY MARY SIFTON PEPPER.

For the past quarter of a century there has been in Italy a Bolognese professor who has been called by his critics a "pagan of the nineteenth century," and by his friends "the uncrowned laureate."

Since 1868, when in his famous "Hymn to Satan" he constituted himself the standard-bearer of his countrymen in their revolt against all the established dogmas of religion and politics, Giosue Carducci has been engaged in an anxious search for a good whose nature he has not yet succeeded in defining; in sighing for brows bound with cypress, and for the eternal arts, pacified gods, and the pure bosoms of Lydia and Lalage. In his longing for these and for the happiness of substituting something for the cold materialism of the present, he turned to the classic poets and there found his ideals of greatness — those shadowy ideals which pervade the atmosphere of a pagan world. Weighing his countrymen in these classic scales he found them wanting, and in a time when the plains were still smoking with the blood of thousands of patriots who died to make Italy, he cried:

My country is base!

When Young Italy applauded, he doubled the dose, exclaiming:

O nation of Italy, slothful old Titan,
I call thee coward to thy face, and
thou callest "Bravo!"

Such is his relation to his country at present, always relegating to the people the role of cowards and offenders, and to himself that of the righteous judge.

In the quality of his literary work he is regarded as the most plastically vigorous writer in Italian literature. To restore to poetry the nerve which had gone "wandering off into harmonious follies," he resorted to the ancient forms, reviving in his "Barbarian Odes," so much discussed and so poorly imitated, the metres of Horace, an attempt which had already been made in the past with less success. He is also strong and elegant as a prose writer, and is a profound stu-



GIOSUÈ CARDUCCI.

dent of æsthetics, as is shown in his studies of Dante, Petrarch, and the Trovatori. He has so completely shut himself in among the poets of the classic world, that not only the form, but the language of many of his finest verses is Latin.

Carducci's love of nature is shown in all his poems, but nowhere is it more beautifully set forth than in the poem entitled "Outside the Certosa":

The dead are saying, Happy are ye who walk upon the hillsides
flooded with the warm rays of the golden sun.
For you, murmur the cool waters o'er the verdant slopes;
for you, sing the birds to the verdure, the leaves to the wind.

The principal events in the life of Carducci are soon told. He is said to have learned Latin and patriotism from his father, one of the celebrated Carbonari, or Freemasons, and religion, in Florence, at one of the schools of the Scolopi, or Pious Friars. The paternal maxims, however, seemed to have had a more lasting influence on his life than those of the Friars. At an early age he wrote verses in which may be seen the classic tendency of his mind, and evidences of the severe religious training from which he broke away immediately on attaining manhood. At twenty he published some prose works and founded a periodical called *Il Poliziano*. At twenty-one he became Professor of Belles Lettres in the University of Bologna, which position he has held up to the present time.

The first production of his pen which attracted the notice of the public was a patriotic song published in 1861, entitled "The White Cross of Savoy," and signed "Enotrio Romano." These verses were seized upon by young patriots as a battle cry, and they ultimately resulted in the adoption of the white cross as a national emblem. They ran thus:

God save thee, O dear emblem,
Our love and our joy,
White Cross of Savoy,
God save thee, and save the king.

This was also Carducci's last appearance in print as the advocate of that sentimental patriotism which worships the ideal of liberty rather than liberty itself. He retired within himself, and nothing was seen of "Enotrio Romano" except an occasional protest against the "nothingness and vanity under which the country is laboring," until 1865. Later on he congratulated himself upon having just escaped becoming

"the poet laureate of public opinion." "If a republic had been established," he said, "I should have been chosen to compose the war songs with the customary grand words — the lines all in order, arms outstretched in command, handsome regalia, and well curled mustaches — pleased amid all this talk of the new life to hide myself away among the cowed shadows of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries."

It was at this time of the revolt from the "new life" that the hymn which had been dedicated to "Phœbus Apollo" was changed into the "Hymn to Satan," which provoked so much criticism, clerical and other, that the poet and his friends were occupied for many months in explaining and apologizing for the poem. He himself described it as "the poetry, not of the saints, but of the sinners":

To thee my verses,
Unbridled and daring,
Shall ascend, O Satan,
King of the feast!

At this time also he came out boldly against Christianity, especially against the prevailing faith of his country. He shouted aloud his disbelief, and then stood ready to combat the criticism of his foes. "Italy is born and dies with the setting and rising of the pope and the emperor," he exclaimed; and he then wrote an ode to Rome in which he said:

To-day a mitre they would place upon
Thy head, and fold a rosary
Within thy hands, O name!
Again to terrors old
Awake the tired ages and the world!

Growing out of his renunciation of Christianity, early in life he began a crusade against the literature of his day, and an attempt, sometimes ineffectual and uncertain, but always persistent, to introduce Hellenic measures into modern poetry and to turn his country back to the pagan deities of the ancients. In this connection, in his introduction to the "Barbarian Odes," he wrote:

To me is odious the customary verse; it yields
smoothly to the weak touch of the vulgar, and
without a murmur sinks under the
wonted clasp
and goes to sleep.

No more the shadow of the times or of cold
care is felt upon my head; I know,
O Hebe! the Hellenic life
is coursing through my veins.

It is in these "Odi Barbare" that Carducci shows the extent of his genius. Though in their form they approach Latin metre more nearly than anything else in modern literature, the subjects are mostly in touch with the life of to-day.

Among his latest poems that of "Cadore"; the so oft quoted lines beginning "I love thee, pious ox," and ending "in all the divine green silence of the plain"; the poem entitled "The Mother"; and the lines addressed to his daughter on her marriage, all adequately illustrate his versatility.

In the discussion of Carducci's ability as a writer, something must be said of his so-called fickleness in politics. Up to a few years ago he had the enthusiastic admiration of the republicans and the contumely of the monarchical party; to-day he is scorned by the former and exalted to the stars by the latter, always with an exaggeration that furnishes him amusement, as, pliant to the loves and hates of politics, he imprecates or praises according to the impression he receives. His visits to the royal family in their autumn sojourns at Monza, his odes to Queen Margherita, and his lectures before her and her ladies-in-waiting at Rome, have all called down upon his head the wrath of the republicans. Yet not much more than two years ago, when asked to write in an album presented to the queen on the occasion of her silver wedding, he exclaimed, "Why, when have I ever written to order?"

"A prophet is not without honor save in his own land," yet so great is the respect for Carducci in Italy that the meanest peasant bares his head at the mention of the poet's name. On the house in which he was born, in the little hamlet of Pietrasanta, is to be found the following inscription:

TO
GIOSUE CARDUCCI,
SON OF MICHELE CARDUCCI AND ILDEGONDA CHELI,
BORN THE 28TH DAY OF JULY, 1835,
THIS TABLET IS PLACED BY HIS PROUD AND
REVERENT COMPATRIOTS TO COMMEMORATE
HIM TO POSTERITY,
NOV. 6TH, 1887.

The poet's personality is one of gruff toleration, his manners being abrupt and sometimes even ungracious. It is

said that he has had to use teeth and claws so much that the combat has left its traces in his face. The story is told of a poor young student from Pavia who wished to have a personal interview with the famous Professor. After performing on foot the tedious and toilsome journey from Pavia to Bologna, he arrived at last at the poet's house; the poet was just about to go out, but he tarried a moment when he saw the weary traveller before his door. "What do you want?" he demanded, in his usual brusque manner. "I came to see the great poet, Carducci." "Well, now you have seen him, you may go!" and he turned on his heel and left his curious friend gazing after him with dazed and wondering eyes.

In 1878, between the "New Poetry" and "Cadore," appeared the "Odi Barbare," recently translated and published in book form by Mr. Frank Sewell, of Washington, D. C. The "New Rhymes" appeared in 1887; these were followed by "Literary Studies" and "Critical Sketches"; in 1890 by "Piedmont" and "Sapphic Odes," and in 1891 by "Bicocca." Late in the autumn of 1892 came "Cadore," while in 1893 there appeared a new edition of his "Odi Barbare," revised and corrected.

The subject of the poem "Cadore" is an obscure little town in the Triulian Alps near the source of the Piave, a small river which empties into the Adriatic north of Venice. It is marked only upon the larger maps of Italy, and the most satisfactory description of it is to be found in the "Life and Times of Titian." The theme dwells upon the brave deeds of Pietro Calvi, a young hero of 1848, one of those pure and ardent patriots who sacrificed their lives for the independence and liberty of their country. He lived conspiring and engaging in expeditions against the Austrians until, with the poet Tazzoli and the patriot Orsini, he was imprisoned in the dungeons of Mantua, and then shot to death at Belfiore.

Whatever may be said of the obscurity of the theme, it cannot be denied that in lofty patriotism and beauty of description this poem excels anything Carducci has written. The following translation made by the present writer is presented with the same versification as that used by the author. The first five verses are addressed to the painter Titian Vecellio, who made his native place known to students and lovers of art through his once famous picture, the "Battle of Cadore." The rest of the poem is devoted to Pietro Calvi,

“that proud visage of defiant youth” which more strongly calls the poet, and to the enchanting beauties of Cadore.

CADORE.

BY GIOSUE CARDUCCI.

[TO TITIAN VECELLIO.]

Thou art great. Eternal with the sun the iris
of thy colors consoles mankind;
nature smiles at the ideal
youth perpetuates in forms of

thine. At the flashing of those fancies,
rose-hued, o'er the sullen age,
stilled was the tumult of arms,
the people gazed on high;

and he who traversed Rome and Italy,
cold destroyer, Flemish Cæsar,
forgetting self, did bend the knee
to learn at thy feet.

Say, under the weight of Austrian ma-les,
in the gray silence of the Frarl,
 sleepest thou as of old? or, wandering soul,
 dost thou tread the paternal hills,

here where the sky, limpidly blue
through the pale clouds, doth kiss
and smile upon thee, whose Olympian brow
a century twined with sweet life?

Thou art great. And yet from yon poor
tomb, that proud visage of defiant
youth more sternly calls me,
and evokes my ancient rhymes.

[TO PIETRO CALVI.]

Whom and what dost thou challenge, divine youth?
The fray, fate, the answering charge
of the thousand against one, thou doubtest,
courageous soul, Pietro Calvi.

Ah, e'en to where the Piave descends to green vales,
in the eternal flight of centuries,
to dash into the Adriatic with
rude wastes from the black woods

to where the turreted ships yielded to old Saint Mark
in wars down there among the Echinades,
and to where the setting sun doth tinge
the spires of the pale dolomites

so that in the noiseless twilight
the Marmolatta, dear to Vecellio,

grows red, palace of dreams,
Elysium of souls and of fates,

let thy name, O Calvi,
in the longings of the memory linger
with a gentle and an awful sound; and springing up
let the pale youth seek arms.

II.

Not thee, Cadore, do I sing upon the Arcadian reed which doth follow
the murmur of zephyrs and water;
thee I extol with heroic verse which follows the sound of guns
down yonder in the valleys.

O second of May, when poised on the border
nearest the Austrian confines,
Captain Calvi — the bullets hissing about him —
fair, straight, motionless,

facing the wondering foe, raises on the point of the sword
the compact and treaty of Udine,
and from his left hand waves a red kerchief,
sign of war and of slaughter.

Pelmo, at the act, and Antelao from the white clouds
loosen their gray heads in the ether
like giants old who look down upon the storm
shaking the leafy oak.

Like shields of heroes glowing in the song of prophets
to the wonder of the centuries,
radiant in the snowy whiteness of the ascending sun,
the icicles glitter.

Sun of ancient victories, with what warmth dost thou embrace
the Alps, the rivers, and the men!
thou who among the clods 'neath the black pine thickets
dost visit the dead and resuscitated.

Born from our bones, ye are wounded, O sons, ye are wounded,
upon the ever barbarous;
from snow which they tinged with blood, rain down, ye rocks,
ye avalanches, o'erwhelm them.

Thus from hill to hill echoes the voice of the dead
who fought at Rusecco;
and from town to town, with a roar ever increasing,
the winds are diffusing it.

The Titian youths in festive array seize arms
and descend, singing Italy;
on the black balconies flowering with geraniums and pinks
stand the women.

The parish church, which sits gayly among the smiling hills
and hearkens to the hoarse murmur of the Plave,
beautiful Auronzo stretching off to the plains along the waters
under the gloomy Ajarnola,

and Lorenzago, basking on the sloping plains which from above
command the valley through
and hide with scattered bergs and firs and pines
all the green Comelico,

and other vales and verdant fields and laughing woods,
send sires and sons;
they grasp their arms and wave aloft their forks and spears; while
the horn of the herdsman resounds from afar.

From within the altars comes the old flag which at Valle
saw another Austrian rout,
and welcomes the vallant; to a new sun and to new dangers
roars the old Venetian lion.

Listen. A distant sound is descending; nearing, rising,
it runs, increases, is spreading —
a sound which weeps and calls, which cries, which prays, which infuriates,
insistent, terrible.

What is it? cries the enemy, parleying
and even nearing with questioning eyes.
'Tis the curfew of the Italian people; it is sounding
to your death and to ours.

Ah! Pietro Calvi, upon the plain, ere seven years, Death
will seize thee from the moats of Mantua.
Thou comest seeking it like the bride,
fondly an exile.

And now he gazes at the Austrian arms, at the Austrian forks,
serene and impassible,
mindful of the hostile court which condemns the envoy
to the sacred legion of spirits.

Never more, noble soul, never more freed from thy walls
launcest thou to the future of Italy,
Belfiore, dark sepulchre of Austrian spears,
Belfiore, shining altar of martyrs.

Oh, to him who denies his country, in his heart, in his brain,
in his blood, may there seethe a vile form of suicide,
and from the hideous, blasphemous mouth
may there writhe a green toad!

III.

[TO CADORE.]

To thee it returns, as the eagle,
sated on its reluctant prey,
resting on motionless wings,
turns to its eery nest and to the sun.

To thee it returns, Cadore, the song
sacred to the fatherland. Slowly on the pallid
light of the young moon
the murmur of the pines is going out

to thee, a long caress upon the magic
slumber of the water. With fair-haired children
flower thy streets,
and from the overhanging cliffs

proud virgins, with gleaming hair twisted
in black fillets, singing,
mow away the hay; blue is the
light from their flashing eyes: while

the wagoner turns his three steeds
through the rocky paths to a load
of far-scented pines
and to the ardent barriers of Perarolo,

and among the smoking clouds, far up,
sounds the hunt: the chamois yields
to the practised shot, as falls the
foe when the country calls.

I fain would ravish thee, Cadore, of the soul
of Pietro Calvi; through the peninsula
I would send it a herald
upon the wing of song. Ah! ill aroused.

Ah, me! the Alps are not pillows
propitious to adulterous sleep and false dreams!
arise, finish thy mirth:
arise, the martial cock doth crow!

When upon the Alps again rises Marius,
and looks o'er the seas pacified Dullius,
we shall see, O Cadore, the soul
of Vecellio revisit thee.

In the Capitol flashing with spoils,
in the Capitol resplendent in laws,
let him paint the triumph of Italy,
a new trust among the nations.

PNEUMATOLOGY, SCIENCE OF SPIRIT.

BY LUCY S. CRANDALL.

“There is nothing new under the sun. . . . That which hath been is now, and that which is to be hath already been. . . . What profit hath a man of all his labor which he taketh under the sun? I gave my heart to seek and search out by wisdom concerning all things that are done under heaven; this sore labor hath God given to the sons of man to be exercised therewith.”

Such is the testimony of Israel's king centuries ago, and those who since have followed the same path, performed the same labor, and asked the same questions, with varying inflections, though their name be legion, have not found answer more complete than his to satisfy the age which next succeeded. It does indeed seem that “to search out by wisdom concerning all things” is “a labor given the sons of man for exercise.” Every law, no matter how thoroughly and by how able minds established, must be reconsidered, demonstrated anew, by every individual mind that would advance.

Truth remains constant to itself. If we comprehend things, it is well for us; if we are blind, they yet remain to be perceived by clearer vision. The universe is as it is, not as we think it to be; and although countless generations err in their successive schemes of life, the fact of life continues as it hath been from eternity. Peradventure some from time to time may draw a curve or mark an angle or produce a tint that will suffice to outline some small artery of the living life throbbing through our miniature universe.

All things are not known to us. As we climb higher, higher, we ever see a beyond as inexplicable as the past while yet it was the future. All things are not discoverable by the same process of investigation. We see that life unfolds like the soft petals of a damask rose, its growing richness ending in the velvet splendor of the nineteenth century. We trace our little solar system from its infancy, and mark what its old age may be before it yet hath

cannot be prime. We mount the steps of time out in the cold of space. We read the record of successive eras as a continuous succession of fossils: yet, after all, the mass of questions heap is as at first. How came all this, and why? The facts are there. We see that worlds and men were formed from nothing, that atoms do attract, but we must follow some great forming event. But how does some forming event? Why do atoms attract? what causes death? and why is it that all things exist?

Can these questions be answered? I cannot answer them. Yet through patience man can remove mountains. Not all at once, but stone by stone. Let us move our pathway through so far but little progress made thereby. Traditions, mythologies, wise men, inspirationalists, materialists, rationalists, spiritualists, scientists, all each, bear a record stamped in lifelong practice and precepts, baptized of time in deed. Surely they hold some of truth. There is some secret power, mightier than all else, which shows each a light and way where others find but darkness. Have we a right to thrust aside any testimony because it breathes of what we do not understand, because 'tis written in a language to which we have lost the key? We cannot think alone. In our closets we receive a rich and subtle explanation of some deep mystery. We step outside our dwelling or look within a volume upon the shelf, and lo! others have thought all this and more from long ago even unto now. Great spirits form no creeds, establish no constituencies. Creeds and constituencies build themselves about great spirits baroque-like, deforming, hampering whatever they can reach. Men and women who stand prominently forward in the world's history mark the world's flood tide in that generation. They are not Heaven-sent, but Heaven-seeking. A strange rhythm seems to pulse through recorded history. I wish some Herbert Spencer would catch the note and send the harmony of spirit-truth ringing through the world like a melodious symphony following the cold, measured beat with which science has drummed up sociology. Our heart gets restless, opening and closing its valves according to the most approved medical directions. It longs for that bounding throb which joy can bring and which, for an instant, half convinces us there is a soul to whose more potent law all tributary laws must bow.

To many earnest hearts the spirit-world grows to be the

only real one. I do not mean the world of paraffine, jugglery, and mercantile speculation, but that which permeates, in silent, ever-active omnipotence, visible and invisible things. All search for ultimate truths brings us to an incomprehensible unit. It is the effort to establish a unit which all mankind will accept that leads to so much controversy. Would it not be wise to save ourselves further trouble by accepting it as a spirit-law that this unit, through endless versatility, is adapted to every possible individual consciousness? Be the name what it may, the power felt by each is the same. Suppose one universal, unknowable spirit; among qualities of which we do not dream, make activity an inherent law. Make this spirit all-comprehensive, permeating the visible and invisible. Under such circumstances, we, each and all, would be, must be, identical with this spirit, else it would not be all-comprehensive. But if we are needful to complete perfectness in the unit spirit, how can we reconcile so much of evil? What perfect law works in selfishness, cruelty, and like depravities? Can we give to all sentiments the same attractive and repulsive forces possessed by atoms? build up inner life as outer life is builded, by accretion? say there is nothing but what is subject to spirit activity and the law of attraction through which two principles, the constant changes of life and death, are wrought? It is through the attraction of certain sentiments that one event evolves another. It is foreordained by the law of attraction that when certain impulses are brought to bear upon each other, certain results shall follow. We are at liberty to study this law and by self-government keep undesirable impulses apart. We are equal to all we can comprehend. Hence we cannot hope to leap beyond our present capacity. Thus we can conceive no God higher than our best selves, or rather, infinite life, struggling within us to fuller richness, is God to our lower senses, being the immediate representative of that perfect unit we cannot conceive in entirety. We are physically equal to all we can move.


We cannot estimate the weight of anything beyond our power to move. That is, we cannot physically realize the difference in weight between a bar of iron that is just one ounce too heavy for us to move and a granite cliff that pedestals a mountain.

Were we blind and deaf, pushing against either would be the same. There is no comparative immovability about the

matter; both are beyond us. In mental effort it is just the same; what we cannot understand does not exist for us. It may be a childish riddle, or it may be a mathematical truth; if we do not grasp it, it does not exist for us, although it may for others; the moment we see through it, as the saying is, we have mastered the situation. One step more brings us to sentiments. These, also, must be mastered to be known. We test our strength of physique by many a tussle, our keenness of intellect by many abstruse questions, but these fail us in dealing with sentiments.

How many wise professors have been absurdly in love! how many Samsons been betrayed by faith! Not that love naturally tends to make people absurd, for it does not, nor are all who trust likely to be deceived. The errors are in the people, not in the sentiment. We make many blunders before we can square a circle, yet we see they are not vital failures. So should we look at sentimental discipline and neither stop short at the beginning of our study to indulge in a sort of plagiarism of the feelings of others, nor cast aside as useless what we do not find easily controlled.

Sentiments form the vertebræ in our higher life, reaching the length of the system and becoming a model for the entire spiritual being. The sentiment of love is proverbially a law unto itself. No one appreciates its existence until it is felt, nor any more of it than he or she individually experiences. All beyond is absurd to them. The sentiment of honor is just as lawless. People have vague notions regarding both, but individuals are governed by what they feel, not what others feel. Likewise the sentiment of worship. Trace its growth in the expression given to it by various ages. We cannot for a moment suppose that any tribe worships the clay from which are moulded its gods. The highest sentiments which they dimly conceive possible and desirable call for some representation. They make the best they can, by legends and observances endowing these representatives with all those sentiments they feel but cannot control sufficiently to bring into practical use. This spirit of worship lifts its head higher as it grows. Thus in successive stages of mankind's history, as well as in those of individual experience, God has been gradually raised higher and higher to suit the age or person. No generation can possibly make a God to suit its children. Yet any spirit may outstrip its generation, as a giant tree may overlook a forest.



All this is but to show, as best I can, how impossible it is for us to do justice to the Spirit Infinite. All our representations must be caricatures, because they must be in part. The unit is, as Mr. Spencer says, unknowable, at least to me.

What we attribute to God is nothing more or less than our own highest spirit-force. I do not mean what we profess to attribute to Him, but simply that what in our inner consciousness we conceive God to be, that we spiritually are. We cannot overreach ourselves. Because we fail to reach this high standard in which we believe, is not because there is any radical impediment in our human nature which forbids it. Humanity is intended as the very medium by which we are to reach this broader being. Nothing is a failure in life excepting lack of faith in the possibility within us of becoming as Christ suggested — perfect. We being identical with the unit must do ourselves justice or we do it injustice. I call this spirit-unit, because I esteem it indivisible and also all-comprehensive, which two qualities make identical with it all visible and invisible. I have been thus explicit, as this seems the basis of all else.

Being a unit, all laws must act for good. Harmony must be the ultimatum, appear the parts never so discordant. The ultimate harmony, like the vast unit, I cannot grasp, yet it is a delight to study what of melody and accord one meets with. Many matters that look so undesirable in life, I mean our daily life, can be accounted for and some obviated by a knowledge of the spiritual law of attraction or selection between the sentiments. But before such selection can take place, be the affinity never so great, there must be a bringing together of these sentiments which necessitates action. Action, therefore, must be a quality inherent in the unit since it is traceable. I find myself involuntarily using terms of degree and parts, although I feel it is merely for the sake of perspicuity. My thought justifies no such use. Please discriminate between the idea and the vehicle. Consider, then, activity as universal. No sentiment or atom of nature loses this activity at any time. It may act alone or in unison with others, it may be a simple or complex sentiment, but it is ever active. We cannot see beyond the now, so we cannot prophesy what the ultimatum will be, and indeed it matters little. It will be for what we are best adapted, so our only lookout is to adapt ourselves for the purest, noblest spheres.

Change is the law. What comes next is the question. We are somewhat like seeds planted deep in earth, their only aim to reach the light. Some of us come straight up. Some are turned aside by pebbles, springs, or roots, so our course is doubled and twisted sadly, but we reach the light at last. Unless, indeed, we die underground, in which case we simply lose our individuality, our parts, in all their vigor, go to build up the life around. By this I mean it is not every mortal who attains the soul-life. Some never have more vitality than that which is needful for this world's life; that is, they possess physical vitality and in various degrees intellectual, but of spirit-life they are never able to partake. They die or rather disintegrate, and help to form other compounds with elements around. Each one has a soul to save; that is, the possibility of a soul, and it matters little how this sentiment of salvation, or as I should term it, aspiration, is aroused, whether by Spencer or Hammond, at the revival or alone, so that it comes bringing with it that reaching out after the light which revivifies our being and prevents our decomposing underground in this earth-bed of duration.

Assuming the nebular theory of the earth's formation to be correct, we reach a period when in the process of cooling chemical affinities began to act perceptibly, the atmosphere at that time being formed by all the gaseous elements which gradually united and precipitated as the cooling progressed, some at one temperature and some at another, each element held by the law of its nature until the peculiar circumstances necessary to assist such union and precipitation were brought about by incessant changes. Thus at length were formed earth, water, air, occupying the same relative positions as now. The course of nature yet continuing brought forth animation, organic life, whether Flora or Fauna we will not discuss, nor yet if sea or earth should claim the honor of maternity.

The question is, How came life there at all? To say it was evolved does not convey to me any more accurate consciousness of how it was evolved or from what, than to say, "The spirit of the Lord moved upon the face of the deep." We have the steps from nebula to humanity each complete, but we cannot see how they came there; first, they are not and then they are, mushroom-like. We cannot trace our genealogy satisfactorily to the jelly-fish, any more than we can reduce gold, carbon, sulphur, oxygen, etc., to the same substance, gas, or element.

If we can conceive carbon, sulphur, oxygen, etc., as co-existing from the beginning of our system, ready to unite and really uniting, when circumstances permitted, to form solids, liquids, and gases as we see, can we not also conceive that coeval with them and with each other the principles of life also existed in all their separate varieties of vegetable and animal up to man, evidencing themselves also as soon as circumstances permitted? We cannot tell where the mineral ceases and the Flora begins, or where the animal replaces the plant. Now supposing the life principle to have existed in as great diversity as the chemical elements, and that when these chemical elements, seeking out their affinities, form certain compounds, one or another of these life principles attracted by the compounds thus formed and uniting with them severally, the two produce the varieties of animate nature which we now study. There is force inherent in every atom which governs its selections and is very much on the line of the life principle.

The shades of difference it will take a wiser head to explain. Now I am only taking the fact that life and atomic attraction are very much alike. Supposing them to have an affinity for each other, could we not conceive these forces as uniting in greater or less extent and under varieties of conditions to form growing minerals, moving, feeding plants and finally man, a complex being such as in truth he is?

Human life being thus a combination of the most perfected life principle and physical forces, might not man gradually elevate his nature by continued aggregation of the same spirit which now as at first is constantly seeking to unite with all that can hold it in union? May it not be vital forces exist universally and "whosoever will may take freely," their mission being to sublimate humanity and evolve Pneuma?

It would appear that man is a compound of three grand forces, each force being itself a compound of greater or less complexity. I have time but to sketch their outline, which may perhaps be assisted by designating them the physical, intellectual, and spiritual forces. By thus separating them I do not wish to convey the idea that they are distinct and independent, being simply dovetailed together, for in truth their relations are extremely intricate.

By the physical force I wish you to understand all those forces which unite to produce a human body, such as the attraction of particles of flesh for each other, the selection of

appropriate food by the various organs, the reciprocal action of these organs upon each other, in fact all involuntary functional activity. The inherent vital force which controls every atom remains with it during all its changes, and no atom can act contrary to this law within itself. It is the reciprocal or united action of these forces which causes the manifold diversity of nature.

The intellectual force acts in a measure independently of atoms, being that which governs the physical. It has reference exclusively to navigation upon the waters of time. All its flights, however lofty or extended, are reducible to our needs or desires as cosmopolitans.

Under the name of spiritual force I would embrace all the sentiments before referred to, those intangible facts known as imaginations, the feeling of pre-existence, etc., in fact that curious entity which takes cognizance of all things and sits in judgment upon them; not conscience only, which discriminates between so-called good and evil simply, but the I that estimates.

These three forces unite to form that humanity which David eulogizes as "little lower than the angels." They are each compound forces, owing their existence and continuance to the law of attraction. Man's physique, intellect, and spirit result from the affinity of atoms and forces. His person remains symmetrical so long as each particle of flesh, bone, etc., has greater affinity for its like than for anything else with which it comes in contact. The mind follows similar laws. In both there is constant change or activity. Not one instant is an atom of matter or the most imperceptible force stagnant. This incessant motion constantly alters the compounds we have under consideration. Old age creeps on to physical man. The chemical elements which the rotation of sixty years brings in contact with his external and internal organism have each its trivial effect which at length becomes perceptible by so far altering the original compound as to weaken the attraction of its particles for each other and prepare them to enter into new combinations with stronger affinities. This entering into new combinations is termed decomposition. Like changes are constantly repeating themselves in mind.

Spirit also aggregates to itself, following similar laws. Good and evil are centripetal and centrifugal forces of spirit or its polarization. It is not for me to say when man becomes

a living soul. The spirit breathed into and permeating the man wakens him to a realization of immortality which so-called matter, although eternal, is not supposed to possess. But how does this come? Bring me two peach stones. Both are fresh; one appears as likely to grow as the other. As they lie in my hand, both, so far as we can judge, are capable of bringing forth a peach tree. I plant them side by side, and for all I can perceive expose both to the same conditions. One grows and becomes a tree; the other decays, its parts combining with the soil around it. One fulfils its possibility; but what becomes of the possibility in the other? I put my foot on a wasp; soon after, the material parts are dissipated, but what becomes of the animation? Where is the life? Since the visible portions have become recognizedly incorporated in new compounds, is it irrational to suppose the invisible force of life has also entered into new combinations with other forces invisible to us? I have tried to outline the three component parts of humanity. But so closely are they interwoven that I fear I feel the distinction rather than express it.

In his laboratory the chemist might perhaps show you five substances, two of which have attraction for each other. A third might readily unite with a compound thus formed although it was not attracted by either element. A fourth might be attracted by the second and third and, uniting with them, liberate the first; while the fifth, ignoring the fourth and second, unites with the third, liberating the other two, which enter into other combinations. Now this process is going on throughout infinity. In the physical world we acknowledge the proofs; also in the intellectual, unconsciously, when we say, "I have changed my mind. I see things in a different light," and so on. What do all these expressions mean, excepting change, and what is change but the formation of new combinations, whether it be combinations of materials, circumstances, or ideas? And how could new combinations be formed, excepting by the bringing together of different forces? which takes us back to the law of activity. It would be difficult to tell at what period of infancy is developed that force which can strictly be termed intellectual. But once manifest it grows with greater or less rapidity during childhood and vigorous manhood. Nor can I agree that the intellect suffers loss during physical illness or declining years. If such were the case there could not be those flashes

of the old fire so often discernible in the aged and infirm. Any compound once destroyed, any force once disseminated, cannot exhibit itself in full power upon emergencies even for a moment. Matter is imperishable; therefore the forces which find it a place and sustain it therein must be eternal, and since we cannot discriminate between forces we must admit all to be eternal. The reason the intellect appears to degenerate is that it has partially lost control of the physical machine through which it formerly expressed itself. This is in no degree more singular than the awkwardness evidenced when first learning to use the machine in childhood. The defects in either case are not defects existing in the force itself, but in the adaptability of it to the other. A child must be taught to wield a pen; yet the most expert penman would make but sorry work with a broken gold stump.

Such is the case in life. The intellect learns to wield the brain which is adapted to its use and modified thereby. But when the brain becomes clogged by the ink of time, or disabled by disease, it is only with effort and at intervals it can be used ably. It is asserted that "There is no action of intellect but has its corresponding physical action." That may be true; but it may be a broader truth that the only intellectual action we are at present able to recognize is that which expresses or translates itself through the physique. Spiritual intelligence recognizes, utilizes, and in fact authorizes all things. It is my intangible self which takes cognizance of yonder light. The physical eye could behold nothing had the spirit departed.

Astronomy was studied and advancement made therein through ages when gravitation was unnamed. Yet the former relates to worlds millions of miles distant, and the latter holds us in its arms from infancy to the grave. Why was one so soon studied and the other so long overlooked? Simply that one was seen and the other unseen. Gravity is not according to bulk, but density. Density is nearness of atoms; nearness of atoms depends upon the strength of atomic attraction, which attraction is a force. So gravity is one of the forces. Intellect and spirit being likewise forces have equal right to acknowledgment and equal possibility of aggregation. The peach stone which decomposed became diffused, its invisible life as well as its atomic portions. The stone that became a tree had evidently attracted to itself other properties which formed a compound stronger than that

at first existing. The spirit-life of man is like the life of the peach stone. There is in every man and woman the possibility of a higher life, or what is commonly called a soul. The intellectual and physical forces combine to form, under favorable conditions, a compound which strongly attracts the subtler spirit-force; or more properly the attraction is mutual. But once incorporated, the spirit "leaveneth the whole lump," becomes self-supporting, needs the old compound no longer. Then the essence of the man passes to higher spheres, and the vesture is laid aside. I do not believe all persons attain this soul-life. I cannot tell when, how, or in what manner the loss comes, but that it is lost by some I for one do not doubt. Any one who has once felt himself to be immortal never loses that knowledge, no matter what he may do, for the knowledge itself restrains him from everything that would endanger it. The spirit holds the essence of self-preservation.

When that soul of majestic beauty which glorified Palestine a few years, making a holy land for ages, asked, "What shall it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" what did he mean? Did he intend to suggest the idea that any soul could through any possibility escape the presence of an omnipresence? Yet he as forcibly asserts that "to know God is eternal life." Can we then be in the presence of God and not know Him? Is it possible that realization of immortality is immortality? that by stifling these restless, intangible yearnings for something better we lose our higher selves? Yes. As the swift motion of the electric plate accumulates electricity by simply bringing its particles together and permitting their natural affinity to act, so our desires for a higher life, our love of truth, purity, and beauty, are motions that bring us in unison with the White Spirit; which spirit, "when it is lifted up," up above sect and skeptic, above idolatry and egotism, "draws all men unto it." Nor is it unjust or ungodlike that some persons should fail to be born into this conscious immortality. It is not unjust to withhold from any one what he never possessed or desired. It is not unjust to make impartial laws and execute them. To those who demand that we shall be practical — meaning we shall attend strictly to this world's needs and notions — who consider it a waste of time to search out the sanctifying mystery of spirit-life — to such it is no injustice that this crowning life never enters into their exist-

ence. It is not unjust if, when the dissolution comes, their hoarded intellects, as well as gold, find no place in the beyond, but remain here to enter into new and wider circulation.

If you ask how you are to know when you have gained this higher life, I must answer, "It beareth witness unto itself." It will be more palpable than the love which binds you to the dearest one on earth. It has no mediator, being immediate; no translator, but translates all things. The spirit makes the man. The most perfect man is he who spheres his forces, leaving no ragged edges; that is, the man perfectly adapted to this world. Beyond I believe there is a being as far transcending the Christ as he outstrips the world, a being formed by the perfect union of the spirit-sexes, men and women no longer, but one complete existence, holding within itself a wedded joy and strength whose perfectness can be but dimly dreamed. I feel as if I had talked a great deal and expressed my thoughts very poorly. However, if I have been able to show how to me the spirit is dominant, and matter but spirit or force made palpable to man's own individual force of comprehension; that all known laws may be traced to finer and more potent spirit-laws, which underlie visible nature like a vast nervous system; that there is a unit and we it; if I have been enabled to lift humanity out of the dust of casual thought into its rightful grandeur for an instant; if I have been able to show how great, how unspeakable is the blessing of having been born into this humanity, and how much more transcendently blessed is the next birth, when humanity brings forth a soul; if the burden of life has for a moment appeared a possible stepping-stone rather than a meaningless load; then I may claim your pardon for so long engrossing your time and so poorly rewarding your patience.

Pneumatology has received but a blundering introduction; it is, however, the best I can do now. Science and sentiment, despite my effort, still occupy, as it were, opposite poles of a globe. Continued advance in any one direction brings an entire exchange of position. Honor and reward to the soul who first belts this Pneuma-sphere.

THE PROBLEM OF THE NOVEL.

BY ANNIE NATHAN MEYER.

Thackeray, speaking of novels, says :

Out of the fictitious book I get the expression of the life of the times, of the manners, of the merriment, of the pleasures, the laughter, the ridicules of society.

Should we think of saying that of the novel of to-day? Should we say that we get the expression of "the merriment, of the pleasures, the laughter of society" from "Romola"? from "Richard Feverel"? from "Robert Elsmere"? from "Sydney"? or from "Jerry"?

I should rather imagine the critic of the future looking backward and saying: "I get the expression of the life that lies within, of the problems that the mind of that day wrestled with, of the crushed ideals, of the sighs, of the sol's, of the unfulfilled aspirations of" — would he say society? no, of "humanity."

No longer, and perhaps some admit it with a sigh, can we endure the most inhuman trials of the hero and heroine by keeping our finger in the last chapter of the book as a sustaining power. It is not that our stock of happy marriages has given out, but it is because the novel of to-day strikes straight down to the heart of life for its inspiration. There is apparently no problem too grave, no emotion too sacred, to be reflected in its pages. It has grown from an aristocracy relating the doings of polite society, recounting the delights of the pump-room at Bath, the charms of Vauxhall, and the fascinations of Ranelagh, into a democracy, the novel of the whole of humanity. It has developed into a vast mirror that reflects not only the gay, tripping, bepowdered figures of the past, but the whole trend of Life to-day; — not figures only, but thoughts, aspirations, revolutions.

The "Cecilia" of Fanny Burney, which over a century ago was devoured as a delightful love story and nothing more, would to-day be received as a study on the responsibilities of wealth, and clubs would spring up all over the country to discuss the kind of tenement houses the heroine

would erect, and to quarrel over the practicality of her benevolent theories.

It is not because a wave of asceticism has swept over us, leaving its trace upon our novels, that we find them so changed. On the contrary, our emotions, instead of being repressed as instruments of the devil, are fast becoming recognized as susceptible of a training that will make them the most potent ally of the power that makes for righteousness.

The same age that has recognized the latent power that lies in the play of childhood has also recognized the latent power that lies in the play of our grown-up days — the novel.

"We learn words by rote," says George Eliot, "but not their meaning; that must be paid for with our life-blood, and printed in the subtle fibres of our nerves." So we learn the meaning of Life not by any amount of study of metaphysics or political economy, but through just living. The great novelist can make us live a thousand different lives if he will. For the time being we are, indeed, another person. For years we may have turned a deaf ear to what our ministers and journalists have been telling us of the misery, the degradation, and the wrongs of others; but once read a book like "Uncle Tom's Cabin," "Alton Locke," or "Ramona," and our blood boils within us as if we had always been stanch defenders of the oppressed. It may be a great thing to see ourselves as others see us, but it is a greater thing to see others as we are accustomed to see ourselves. And this the novelist makes us do. Romney's criticism of woman's weakness, like so many other criticisms on the sex, should have been applied to the whole of humanity rather than to woman alone:

The human race
To you means, such a child, or such a man,
You saw one morning waiting in the cold.
 . . . All's yours and you —
All colored with your blood, or otherwise
Just nothing to you. Why, I call you hard
To general suffering. A red-haired child
Sick in a fever, if you touch him once,
Will set you weeping. But a million sick,
You could as soon weep for the rule of three.

It is the realization of this sublime power to make us *touch* our neighbor, to color all humanity with our blood, that makes the seriousness, the dignity of the novel to-day.

To the English school of fiction, the source of the novel-

ist's power lies in the awakening and training of our emotions, whereas the French insist that the novelist reaches us through the intellect in quite the same way as the scientist. They claim that we approach the novel in quite the same way in which we approach a treatise on psychology or a work on anatomy. In fact, one of their great critics, M. Taine, says: "In my opinion a novelist is a psychologist, who naturally and voluntarily sets psychology at work; he is nothing else nor more."

Of course, while the novel reflects all the complexity and seriousness of life to-day, there will enter into it a good deal of psychology. But a novelist is a psychologist and something more. Mr. Sully has written a very interesting work on "Psychology," but it reads very different from a novel. A glance at the contents will show us: Chapter IV, Attention; Chapter V, Sensation; Chapter VIII, Constructive Imagination; and so on. We shall also notice that the author does not say: "Let us imagine a child; I imagine it will do so and so"; but is very careful to make thorough investigations and experiments to prove and illustrate his theory. If he has any extraordinary case to relate, his first care is to give us his authority; the date and hour are there, if possible. He does not go to the great M. Zola and say: "Tell me how you imagine a woman would act under severe mental depression," and then relate to us what M. Zola has said. It might be very interesting to know what M. Zola might imagine on the subject, but those who are interested (I confess I am not) can read his novels to find out.

The scientific method does enter somewhat into M. Zola's literary method, but not to the extent he would have us believe. He cannot find his entire Rougon-Macquart family in real life, and watch each member with a note-book in his hand; it would not make an interesting novel if he could.

In short, the novel is not psychology, it is applied psychology; it is not social economics, it is applied social economics. One of George Eliot's biographers puts it thus:

What Comte and Spencer have taught in the name of philosophy, Tyndall and Herschel in the name of science, she has applied to life and its problems. They can give us science and philosophy, but that is inadequate. They are too far away from the vital movements of life, know too little of human experience as it throbs out of the heart and sentiment. They can explain their theories in terms of science, ethics, and philosophy; but George Eliot explains hers in terms of life.

It seems to me that to say we can approach the novel in

precisely the same way in which we approach a work of science, is to utterly ignore the true character and value of the novel.

Nevertheless we are told by M. Taine that one should "see with pleasure" (in a novel or a painting) "a well-shaped arm and vigorous muscles even when they are employed in knocking down a man." How thoroughly French that is! I confess I am English enough to think that the very power of the novel lies in that we are forced to be taken up not with rapt admiration of the magnificent arm and muscles, but rather with wondering what that poor devil had done to deserve such treatment.

To me there is something sacrilegious in approaching a novel as one would a text-book. It would be like reading the gospels to find out what sort of costumes were in vogue during the period. And the simile has nothing very out of the way in it. Is it not true that just in the same way as "religion is morality touched with emotion," so is the novel knowledge touched with emotion?

We find this in Matthew Arnold's "Literature and Dogma":

"By the dispensation of Providence to mankind," says Quintilian, "goodness gives most men satisfaction." That is morality. "The path of the just is as the shining light which shineth more and more unto the perfect day." That is morality touched with emotion, or religion.

Now take this out of Sully expressed in the language of psychology:

The state of desire is the more elementary phenomenon which underlies and precedes volition. When we desire a material possession, a person's good opinion, or a particular occupation, we are representing something which is said to be the object of our desire.

And compare it with this out of "Romola":

Under every guilty secret there is hidden a brood of guilty wishes whose unwholesome infecting life is cherished by the darkness. The contaminating effect of deeds often lies less in the commission than in the consequent adjustment of our desires, the enlistment of our self-interest on the side of falsity. . . . But, after all, why was he bound to go? What, looked at closely, was the end of all life, but to extract the utmost sum of pleasure?

That is the language of the novel. Or, again, take this from Mill's "Subjection of Women":

Society makes the whole life of a woman a continued self-sacrifice; it exacts from her an unremitting restraint of the whole of her natural inclinations, and the sole return it makes to her for what often deserves the name of a martyrdom, is consideration.

That is the language of the philosophic essay. Compare it with this out of Miss Phelps's "Story of Avis":

Thus, in the old, sad, subtle ways, Avis was exiled from the studio. She was stunned to find how her aspiration had emaciated during her married life. Household care had fed upon it like a disease. . . . Then she wished that the spirit of this gift with which God had created her — in a mood of awful irony, it seemed — would return to Him who gave it. . . . She wished she were like other women, content to stitch and sing, to sweep and smile. She bowed her face on the soft hair of her children, but she could not forget that they had been bought with a great price.

There is the language of the novel, the language that wrings our heart, that moves our soul, that rouses all that is most powerful in us.

It is easy to see that never before has the novel been taken so seriously. No matter whether it is taken up from the point of view of the Englishman or the Frenchman, the novel of to-day is no longer a mere source of entertainment. What a world of meaning is revealed in the fact that while its success in the past depended upon the remarks of the wits and fashionables about town, that of the novel of to-day rests upon the dicta of our statesmen and ministers. It is too much to ask that the novel of to-day should at once answer to all the demands that are made upon it. The old garment of frivolity has been cast off, but, alas! like a Nessus garment, the flesh and blood are apt to come off with it.

No novelist can succeed to-day in retaining the full vigor of his art unless he keeps constantly before him the three great sources of his power: the power to hold our attention, the power to reach us through our emotions, and the power to make us see others as we are accustomed to see ourselves. He must fail if he attempts to wield the same power by means of his beautiful morality, or his touching pathos, or his admirable critical judgment alone.

It is interesting to watch the trend of the novel to-day. It is not worth while here to refer to the novels that bear the brand of the critic; they are taken care of. But there are two classes of novels that are in the heyday of smiling criticism, and that poise themselves aloft with a fine sense of adequacy, and of having solved the problem of the modern novel.

First, we have the novels whose real life is swallowed up in too much profundity of thought and criticism of life; second, the novels that are cheapened by a false realism and a

devotion to unessentials. Further, I think I may generalize so far as to say that the English have a tendency to worship at the shrine of the first class, and the Americans at the shrine of the second class.

To take the first class, the novels whose real life is swallowed up in too much profundity of thought and criticism of life: As I have said before, we demand a great deal of the novel to-day; there must be earnestness of purpose, critical insight, profundity of thought. We absolutely demand that, and there we stop. Only give us thought, critical insight, in whatever form you please, and we shall be satisfied. "The world accepts what is true and excellent, however faulty in technical requirements."

It is easy to laugh at "technical requirements" and to say that the neglect of them "may disturb those that *deal in criticism*," but that they will not disturb the Seeing Eye. It is all very well to laugh at those that look to *how* a thing is said, rather than to *what* is said, but nevertheless a profound thought gains much in vitality, even in impressiveness, if expressed in a thoroughly adequate literary style.

We remember that Matthew Arnold says :

It is a comparatively small matter to express oneself well, if one will be content with not expressing much, with expressing only trite ideas; the problem is to express new and profound ideas in a perfectly sound and classical style.

In literature there has been a constant fluctuation between an age of great ideas accompanied by slovenly execution, and an age of paucity in ideas accompanied by the most exquisite execution. But a healthy standard of criticism would slowly obviate this. It is to be expected that the immense number of new ideas floating about to-day should press upon our writers and demand expression so imperatively that the quality of the expression is apt to be overlooked as unimportant. Further, it is an age so rapacious of critical judgment and philosophic thought, that it will take either in any form. But we shall never attain a true standard of excellence unless, in proportion to the greatness of the idea in literature, we demand greatness in literary execution. Then we shall have a standard of criticism that will give us in the novel, not the delicate, exquisite workmanship of Jane Austen, with her lack of real profundity of thought and the absence of strong lights and shadows; nor the rude, unwelded mass of profound ideas, combined with the colossal power

and magician-like insight that we find in George Meredith; but it will give us the perfectly finished workmanship of George Eliot at her best, when she combined the highest degree of technical skill with a subtlety, a depth of thought, and a keenness of insight all her own.

To turn to the novels of the second class, the novels that are cheapened by a false realism and a devotion to unessentials: It has been pretty generally accepted that to-day the novels of the realistic school have the greatest power of moving. We no longer need the language of the allegory or of the stilted old-fashioned romance in order to impress a lesson upon us. Realism is to the novel what a skilful use of the pencil and brush is to the painter, or what the possession of technique is to the pianist. A pianist that has the soul and finesse to interpret a great master cannot do so unless he has absolutely mastered the technical difficulties of the runs and octaves. We lose the majesty or beauty of the theme if our ear detects false notes, or if, on the other hand, we recognize the fact that a difficult passage is being laboriously overcome. The pianist must rise above all the difficulties of the music before he can begin to make a great effect. So, to derive the full meaning of a novel, our mind should not detect any false notes — a point of unreality — nor should it be drawn away by an elaborate display of mere technique — the overloading of detail.

The best realism is that which affords the mind the readiest hold on the real theme of the novel. We must bear in mind that the power of realism aids us in producing an impression, but our effort should never be merely to produce an impression of realism.

This habit into which so many of us Americans have fallen, of going into rhapsodies over the absolutely photographic precision of our recent novels, is leading us into an entirely false use of the power of realism.

Says M. Taine :

Photography is undoubtedly a useful auxiliary to painting, but, after all, no one thinks of comparing it with painting. If it were true that exact imitation is the supreme aim of art, what would be the best tragedy? the best comedy? A stenographic report of a criminal trial, every word of which is faithfully recorded. It is clear, however, that all this may furnish a writer with materials for his art, but it does not constitute a work of art.

Now it seems to me that there is a tendency among some

of the American novelists to use the furnishings of their art in place of their art. In reading such novels, one's mind, instead of being unconsciously assisted on to its goal by the truth of the details, dwells on those details themselves and cannot get beyond them. That is what I call being devoted to unessentials.

There are certain interesting features of life to-day that can be seized by a great genius and held up clearly before our eyes. In the midst of the petty details of life, it is difficult for us to see whither it all is leading us. It is for the novelist to divest everyday existence of its unessential details, and to let us look into the real life, the meaning of all that lies behind. As Kingsley says: "He must give utterance and outward form to the hopes and temptations, the questions which vague and wordless have been exercising our hearts."

Instead of which, it seems to me, these novelists are unable to separate the essential from the trivial life. They and their host of admiring critics insist that true greatness lies in showing to us ourselves in all our trifling attitudes, insist that the essential life of to-day cannot be separated from the outer crust of conventionalism.

In order to strike down to the heart of life for his inspiration, in order to awaken the sympathies of the world, in order to reveal our real life to us, is it necessary that the modern novelist should make us stand for hours admiring "these bends in the L that you get at the corner of Washington Square, and just below the Cooper Institute"? Is it necessary to describe that wonderful proof of American ingenuity, the dining-room car? Is this the realism that we admire to-day? Why, it is the realism of photography and of the newspaper that M. Taine so laughs at! Are these trifles of every day becoming so vital to us that we cannot con the lesson of our novelist without their aid?—that no picture is real to us unless filled with Fifth-Avenue stages, elevated trains, dining-room cars, and dinners at Delmonico's with the presence of the genial Mr. Depew?

It seems to me that the English, with all their lack of repose and overloading of thought, run less danger of holding a completely false idea of the novel than we do. After all, they are on the right track; out of this mass of brilliant sayings, profundity of thought, and critical insight—out of

the struggle to write it all harmoniously — will be slowly developed the great novel of the future.

But if the Americans continue to worship a false realism, if we give up the great problems of life and accept the small teasings of everyday living in their stead, it seems to me that we are making a fatal mistake, and that it will be difficult for us to go back to the right track.

In these two directions is the novel of to-day tending. It is natural that the ideal novel cannot grow in a single day. All these new ideas that have been but recently admitted into the novel have not been moulded into working shape; the art has not yet been learned of bringing this mass to bear upon it without swamping it. What is it that Emerson says about the theory of books?

The scholar of the first age received into him the world around; brooded thereon; and uttered it again. It came into him business, it went from him poetry. It was dead fact; now it is quick thought. It now endures, it now flies, it now inspires.

In the same way the novelist ought to receive into him the world of to-day; he ought to brood over it and utter it again. It comes into him theory, philosophy; it ought to go from him poetry, life. It ought to endure, to inspire.

The time will come, I trust, when we can say that the novelist receives into him the world, and utters it again in the novel, transformed, beautified, ennobled; inspired. It must come if we hold faithfully by each other, upheld by a faith, a hope, that will accept no false prophet.

There are those that are growing discouraged. There are those that despair of the great problem of the novel ever being satisfactorily solved, and wish to go back to the days when the repose and beauty of the novel were unmarred by any ugly problems. They would go back to the age of fairy stories; they would drink of the fountain of oblivion.

But the problem is not solved, can never be solved, if we give up now and go back to the novels that never went deep enough into the heart of life to find any problems. The new appreciation of the cheerful freshness and simplicity of Jane Austen is to be expected of an age satiated with the complexity and gloom of Meredith; but it will be a falling back if we give up the struggle, and accept Jane Austen and Fanny Burney, or even Fielding, great as he is, as our ideals. Let us hold steadfast but a little longer, and we shall push on above Meredith; we shall have all his wealth

of ideas and his splendid power, together with the serenity, the grace, and the repose of the old masters.

When I hear of the people who want to go back, I think of what Matthew Arnold has said about serenity :

But the true grace and serenity is that of which Greece and Greek art suggest the admirable ideals of perfection, a serenity that comes from having made order among ideas and harmonized them ; whereas the serenity of the aristocracies of Teutonic origin appears to come from their never having had any ideas to trouble them.

Let us not be deceived by the false serenity of the novels of the past, for their serenity, like that of the aristocracies of Teutonic origin, comes from their never having had any ideas to trouble them. The novels of to-day certainly cannot boast of having attained that "admirable ideal of perfection" ; but neither can one say that they are untroubled by any ideas. Let us be proud of our troublesome ideas, let us be glad we have them, let us scorn to ask for a false peace, and let us await the day when we can attain that "true grace and serenity" which come from having made order among our ideas, and harmonized them.

SHOULD HAWAII BE ANNEXED?

BY JOHN R. MUSICK.

No doubt one of the questions early to be considered by President McKinley will be the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands. The Republican platform at St. Louis pointed in that direction, and those who claim to be near the president-elect say that he is favorable to the plan. So far as the islands themselves are concerned there can be no doubt of their desire to become a part of this great nation. Had President Harrison's term continued sixty days longer the Pearl of the Pacific would have added another star to our flag, but Mr. Cleveland, succeeding Mr. Harrison, March 4, 1893, was unfriendly to the political alliance, and dashed the hopes of the annexationists, both in Hawaii and in America.

The annexation of the Hawaiian Islands is no new theory, for the subject has been under discussion for nearly fifty years. The action of Kamehameha III in taking steps at the close of his reign for annexation of the islands to the United States was the initial point in the discussion of this question throughout the reign of Kamehameha V. There were advocates of a reciprocity treaty between the two countries, but there was also a strong sentiment favorable to annexation. There was a marked opposition both in Hawaii and in the United States senate to a reciprocity treaty on the score that it would operate against annexation, which was deemed more desirable. On Sept. 12, 1867, Secretary Seward wrote to the American minister at Honolulu:

Circumstances have transpired here which induce the belief that a strong interest, based on a desire for annexation of the Sandwich Islands, will be active in opposing a ratification of the reciprocity treaty. It will be argued that reciprocity will tend to hinder and defeat early annexation, to which the people of the Sandwich Islands are supposed to be strongly inclined. It is proper that you should know that a lawful and peaceful annexation of the islands to the United States, with the consent of the people of the Sandwich Islands, is deemed desirable by this government; and that if the policy of annexation should really conflict with the policy of reciprocity, annexation is in every case preferred.

In 1873, it is evident that the subject had not lost interest, for the American minister, Mr. Pierce, on February 17, two

months after the death of Kamehameha V, wrote to the American Secretary of State as follows:

Annexation of these Islands to the United States and a reciprocity treaty between the two countries are two important topics of consideration and warm discussion among government officials and foreign residents.

The cause of this agitation was a growing feeling that Hawaii must sooner or later abandon all thought of an independent government. The line of nobles and chiefs was almost extinct, and with Kamehameha V departed the last of the royal kings. Even in official circles in Hawaii those having the good of the islands at heart hoped for annexation. On his deathbed, Kamehameha V, realizing the dangers menacing the islands from weak and vacillating rulers, said:

What is to become of my poor country? Queen Emma I do not trust; Lunaillo is a drunkard; and Kalakaua is a fool.

One of his predecessors, Kamehameha III, known as Kamehameha the Just, perhaps the most patriotic of all the Hawaiian kings, favored annexation as the only means of securing a stable government. Consequently those who suppose that the idea of annexation was born with the overthrow of monarchy and the establishment of the Hawaiian Republic are mistaken.

It is believed by many on the islands and in this country that Hawaii cannot long maintain its existence as a separate government. The immense wealth accumulating in the islands will make them the prey of filibusters, which they in their weakness may not always be able to resist. The Louisiana Lottery Company has long been a menace to the peace of the people, and it is believed was at the back of the insurrection of 1895. In case of a general war, little Hawaii would really be at the mercy of the world.

The islands must belong to England, Japan, or America. There are many English people on the islands who from personal interest and location, as well as a matter of justice, argue that they should belong to the latter; while a few Britons living on the islands, from prejudice or love of country, favor annexation to Great Britain. The most repulsive thought to the Hawaiian people is a political alliance with Japan, and yet such a thing is not among the impossibilities. Under a treaty made by some of the Hawaiian kings and the Japanese government, it was stipulated that the Japanese on

the islands should be treated as the most favored of nations. Since the establishment of the republic, the Japanese under that treaty have been claiming the rights of citizenship, including the elective franchise, which the republic wisely refuses to grant; for, of the Japanese on the islands, the ignorant greatly predominate. But few have emerged from heathenism, and the majority are no more suited to self-government than the Sioux Indians. Besides, they are only sojourners in Hawaii, and never become permanent citizens.

Though most of the English in Hawaii scoff at the idea that Great Britain wants the islands, many things have transpired which convince a thinking person that this gem of the Pacific is really coveted by our cousins across the water. If England is jealous of any one thing in the world it is her commerce, and when she found America a successful rival, outstripping her in the islands, she began to grow jealous of this country, as the history of the past shows. This powerful nation, which once had 80 per cent of the Hawaiian trade, now has but 8.16 per cent of it, while America has almost reached the percentage that England once had. This of itself is enough to arouse the British lion.

An objection made to the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands is the distance they lie from the United States. This has been answered in the following manner: taking San Francisco as a centre, let a thread representing twenty-one hundred miles be swung on the map as in drawing a circle, and the line of circumference will touch Honolulu, the capital of Hawaii, on the southwest; Aliaska peninsula on the northwest; the Mississippi river on the east; the city of Houston, Texas, on the southeast; and the isthmus of Tehuantepec, Mexico, on the south. These facts illustrate the proximity of the Hawaiian Islands, and prove that Chicago and the thirteen original States of the Union are farther from San Francisco than is Honolulu. "One can sail fifteen hundred miles west from Honolulu, three times the distance between Buffalo and Chicago, and by thence following a great circle, sail due north and arrive at United States territory in Alaska." In all that distance there is no land, only a vast ocean teeming with commerce.

The Hawaiian Islands can no longer be called insignificant. Their wonderful productive qualities make them more desirable than the sealing fisheries or gold mines of Alaska. The Pacific Ocean is destined to some day float the com-

merce of the world. In 1852 William H. Seward in the United States senate said :

The Pacific Ocean, its shores, its islands, and the vast region beyond will become the chief theatre in the world's great hereafter.

In the furtherance and protection of commerce, contiguous territory is less advantageous than land that is reasonably proximate, while yet on the oceans' highways. That Hawaii would constitute a most important American outpost in the growing commerce of the Pacific cannot be doubted on geographical considerations.

It is impossible to be long in Hawaii without realizing that the energy and propelling powers in that wonderful land are American. Wherever there is directing energy, or organizing power, or enterprise, or action, there one will find the American. Americanism predominates among the intelligent and ruling classes of the islands. This is shown in a hundred ways. The republic was declared on the fourth day of July in order that the day might be doubly endeared to the hearts of the American people. Almost as much interest is manifested there in the affairs of the United States as in the States themselves. The results of elections and the policy of administrations are watched with the keenest interest. Candidates for the chief executive are voted for in Honolulu on the same day that we hold our presidential elections, and on the 3d of last November, Mr. McKinley carried the city by a good round majority.

The American is chief in business and politics. He is in the church and school, the counting-room, on the railroad and steamer; at the dry-dock and foundry; at the lumber-yard, at the mill, and at the tow-boat. He is on the wharf when you land, on the street as you pass, at the hotel when you register. Nothing goes on successfully without him.

The educational system of the islands is wholly American. A glance at the schoolbooks adopted by the Board of Education shows none but American imprints. The American Book Company, Ginn & Co., D. C. Heath & Co., and other schoolbook publishing houses familiar in America, are just as familiar there, so that the Hawaiian youth is being brought up in the same line of thought as the American youth.

Ignorance of the islands leads most people to believe them to be insignificant dots in the Pacific Ocean, not worth making any great "fuss" over. But in a commercial point

of view they exceed many much larger countries. The inter-island commerce of Hawaii supports two large steamship companies with a fleet of fifteen or twenty steamships each, both doing a profitable business of over a million per year. The Wilder Steamship Company pays a dividend of twelve per cent per annum. There are three railroads on the islands in addition to the many plantation railroads, all doing a thriving business. But Hawaii's greatest wealth lies in her rich plantations of sugar, coffee, rice, and all the fruits of the tropics.

In the United States the opponents of annexation make the same argument that was used in opposition to the Louisiana Purchase. It was then thought that we should never have any use for the territory of Illinois and all that vast region west of the Mississippi. Such a purchase was said to be unconstitutional, needless, and expensive, though the land cost only two cents per acre. President Jefferson admitted that he stretched his authority "until it cracked," though he never doubted the wisdom of the act. President Grant saw fit to purchase Alaska for seven million, two hundred thousand dollars, on account of its timber and cod fisheries. Texas was annexed after she had gained her independence; and yet there are those who declare that Hawaii could not constitutionally be allied to the union.

To enumerate the relative values of Alaska and Hawaii would be tedious and unnecessary. Seven million, two hundred thousand was paid for the former, while the latter is offered as a gift.

In addition to being a coaling and supply station in time of peace or war, Hawaii, with cable connections and more available steamship lines, which annexation would insure, would become a delightful winter resort for Americans.

According to Professor Alexander, the eight inhabited islands comprise an area of about six thousand, seven hundred square miles, much of which is mountainous and unfitted for agriculture. Not over twenty-five per cent of the agricultural lands are in cultivation, and not more than one-tenth of the vast grazing territory is used. It is said that Hawaii can produce as fine wool as Australia, and its vast grazing lands would support millions of sheep. The inhabitants of Hawaii number only about one hundred

thousand,¹ while in agricultural pursuits alone the islands would easily support half a million. Consequently annexation would afford homes for from four to five hundred thousand Americans. If manufacturing interests should become developed, or the islands become famous as a health resort, they would easily support a million inhabitants. Except the wool industry and the products of some of the extreme Southern States, Hawaii does not come in competition with any of the agricultural interests of the United States. Its exports, in round numbers ten millions per annum, can be increased to fifty, or perhaps one hundred millions, for some of its most profitable industries are just in their infancy. According to the custom-house reports and the statement of Mr. Damon, Minister of Finance, the revenues last year were one million, seven hundred thousand dollars. A present of one million, seven hundred thousand dollars per annum is a gift not to be slighted even by this great nation, and we must not lose sight of the fact that this annual revenue may be increased from four to ten fold.

Some argue that we ought to accept the present in order to keep our rivals England and Japan from getting it. As a republic, with the most friendly feelings possible toward us, 76.23 per cent of all the imports into Hawaii are from the United States, while only 8.16 per cent come from Great Britain. But suppose Johnny Bull should get possession of Hawaii, who knows what legislation and inducements would be brought to bear to reverse matters. Our chief exports to the islands are coal, iron, machinery, corn, hay, wheat, oats, flour, cotton, woollen, and linen fabrics, lumber, and wood. Every miner, miller, merchant, farmer, and mechanic is interested in the subject of annexation. If a political union with the islands will increase their inhabitants from one hundred thousand to perhaps a million non-competitive consumers of American products, then this union is certainly desirable; while, on the other hand, if a political union with some other country would rob us of the business we already have, such a union should be thwarted if possible.

¹The census of 1890 showed there were 89,990 inhabitants in Hawaii as follows: natives, 34,436; half-castes, 6,186; born in Hawaii of foreign parents, 7,495; Chinese, 15,301; Japanese, 12,360; Portuguese, 8,602; Americans, 1,928; British, 1,344; Germans, 1,034; Norwegians, 227; French, 70; Polynesians, 688; other foreigners, 419; total, 89,990. The increase in population in the last six years is supposed to be almost ten thousand, a large percentage of which is from immigrants from America. Another item should be borne in mind: of the 7,495 born in Hawaii of foreign parents, a large percentage are whites born of American parents, the descendants of early American missionaries.

The language of the country is English, and as a natural sequence the islands should belong to either England or America. Now, the great question is, to which nation shall they be allied. Though at present we have only 76.23 per cent of the trade, yet by a careful political alliance and wholesome laws it could be increased to 90 per cent; and the trade, with an increase of population to five times what it is at present, would not be inconsiderable.

If a political alliance with Hawaii can fulfil half the rosy promises of the annexationists, she would not only furnish homes for half-a-million of our people, but would annually consume from twenty-five to fifty millions of our products, would supply us with hundreds of thousands of tons of sugar, rice, and coffee, in addition to fine wool, silks, and countless numbers of tropical fruits and jellies, while the union would add to the revenues of this government from six to ten millions per annum. Hawaii's national debt is only about three millions, and her revenues are sufficient to liquidate that in two years.

An objection to annexation would be that the natives would make undesirable wards of the nation, and would have to be kept under as close surveillance as the North American Indians. This is a mistake, for the Hawaiian is wholly unlike the North American Indian. He is kind, gentle, peaceable, and not at all revengeful. His childlike good nature makes him beloved by all who know him. When educated to the point — and the Kanaka is easily taught — he would make an honorable and loyal American citizen.

The most serious objection to this proposed alliance is the Asiatics, who have always been repugnant to the American people. But the Orientals are no more citizens there than here. They make excellent plantation hands, are well paid, are furnished houses to live in, have medical attendance free for the term they are employed, and their expenses paid to return to their country. The people of Hawaii are dispensing with the contract-labor system as speedily as possible without injury to the plantations. Mr. W. J. Lowrie, manager of the Ewa plantation, opposes the system, and says:

We can well afford to give it up entirely in order to get annexation, and the benefits that would accrue from it.

Dr. C. T. Rodgers, secretary of the Hawaiian Labor Bureau, says in his last report:

As a great deal has been sought to be made out of our contract-labor system in the United States, it should be understood that even on the sugar plantations, for which the system was originally devised, and for which it is perhaps better adapted than to any other of our industries, less than one-half of the laborers are under contract, and the number and proportion of those not under contract is on the increase. The natural tendency of things is away from the contract system. The labor statistics presented at the meeting of the Planters' Labor and Supply Co. last month showed that the Japanese were the only class of plantation laborers among whom the contract hands were in the majority. In every other class and nationality of plantation laborers the free predominated over the contract labor, in some cases largely.

When the question of annexation comes before the President and senate of the United States, all the advantages and disadvantages of a political alliance will no doubt be taken into consideration, and a decision reached that will be profitable to both countries. To the patriotism, wisdom, and humanity of Mr. McKinley the subject will strongly appeal. On a careful investigation of the subject, he will learn that no people have been more maligned than the officials of the Hawaiian Republic. Being the descendants of God-fearing missionaries, they took a firm stand against opium smuggling, lotteries, Monte Carlos, and indecency of every character, and became the champions of virtue and honesty. From their little island homes, in their distress and dread, they turn their appealing eyes to America for protection. Shall their appeal be in vain?

WILLIAM MORRIS.

BY O. E. OLIN.

Far up he climbed upon the mount of light,
The sacred mount whose beauteous summit stands
Crowned with th' eternal bloom of all the years.
The laurel wreath was waving in glad hands;
But when his foot was on the topmost height,
He heard the cries of men borne up through tears,
And dropped the lute for shield and spear of knight.
Quick from its idle sheath the sword he drew,
And moving downward to the fields of woe,
He set the bugle to his lips, and blew
A mortal challenge to each brother's foe.
So when there came the boon of early rest,
'Twas written only, that he fell in fight.
O men, O loving Father, which was best?

THE EFFECTS OF NICOTINE.

BY JAY W. SEAVER, A. M., M. D.

The tobacco plant is well known by botanists as one of a large family, the Solanaceæ, and a peculiarity of them all is the production, in larger or smaller quantities, of some narcotic drug, nicotine being the principal one of the group. This drug is found in the plant to the extent of from three to nine per cent, the latter being an excessively large amount. The larger part of the product put upon the market contains from three to five per cent. The last census report shows that the export to foreign nations is about \$40,000,000 worth, and that we produce 500,000,000 pounds per year. It becomes as important a subject with us as that of bread and butter, for our community spends about as much for tobacco as for flour. But its greatest importance relates to the possible physical effects it may have, especially as used by the young people in the community. Somebody has said that in the combustion of tobacco in smoking the nicotine is entirely destroyed, broken up into oils and acids, and that the nicotine itself is not taken into the system. The combustion of tobacco, under ordinary conditions, does not destroy the drug. Kissling recovered 52 per cent of it from the smoke of a sample containing 3.75 per cent of nicotine, and from a lower sample 84 per cent.¹

I speak of nicotine as a drug because, if you take up any book on materia medica, you will find that tobacco is discussed in the same way as opium, quinine, or any of the drugs that are in common use by physicians, and that its physiological effects are stated there without prejudice. The amount of nicotine derived from a cigar in smoking is somewhere in the neighborhood of one per cent, if we presume that one-half is destroyed by the process of combustion and the other half drawn in with the smoke; and this is especially true in the use of a pipe, where the tobacco is completely burned out. As to absorption, it is a very volatile oil-like material, soluble in water, glycerine, oils, alcohol, etc., so that that part which touches upon the mucous sur-

¹ Dingler's Polytechnic Journal, colly, 284-246.

faces passes into solution and is pretty largely picked up. White¹ tells us that a dose of one-thirtieth of a grain will produce toxic symptoms in the body, so that we need absorb only a small proportion of the amount actually taken in during the process of smoking a cigar or a pipeful of tobacco to reach the limit of easy toleration by the system. Looking upon the matter from this standpoint, we can appreciate the fact that there is an immense amount of drug-taking in the community, and we might expect that there would be such physical effects as could be readily determined and stated.

All through the history of the use of tobacco, which goes back some 300 years, different writers have abused it and praised it, until one who might attempt to gain information would be at a loss to come to a definite conclusion as to its merits or demerits. Burton, in the "Anatomy of Melancholy," probably gives it its due when he says: "Tobacco, divine, rare, super-excellent tobacco! which goes far beyond all the panaceas, potable gold and philosophers' stones; is a sovereign remedy in all diseases; a good vomit I confess: a virtuous herb if it be well qualified, opportunely taken and medicinally used; but, as it is commonly abused by most men, which take it as tinkers do ale, 'tis a plague, a mischief, a violent purge of goods, lands and health."

Now, this is one of the peculiar drugs—opium is another—which, while they are to a certain extent harmful, have certain influences that are favorable, consequently a balance must be drawn between the good and bad influences. I wish to be fair in this matter, and say that the use of tobacco does not pass as entirely an evil, because we have plenty of people who are willing to bear witness to the fact that they get a certain amount of nervous comfort from it. Let us look upon it as it influences the human body, especially in the period of growth.

It has been my privilege to spend the active part of my life in working with young men, and I naturally am interested in that particular animal. The boy is always inclined to follow out those instincts to which we refer when we say that "he apes his elders." That is, if there is any act which he is in the habit of seeing a grown person do, the boy (or girl) wishes to imitate it, be it good or bad; and I fancy

¹ *Materia Medica and Therapeutics*, 1896.

this is the reason why we find so many boys smoking, hoping thereby to gain a certain reputation for maturity among their mates. This desire to be mature is common to all of us. We did not lay aside the idea with our knickerbockers.

Among boys in secondary schools the tobacco habit has become very general. In these schools the boys are away from home for the first time away from home, and they are allowed to mature somewhat too rapidly for their future keeping qualities. I have spoken to the principal of one of our largest preparatory schools within a year regarding the health of students who smoke, and, while he does not use tobacco himself, and says that "it is the bane of the school, and more boys break down in health and are sent home from its influence than from any other," yet there is no effort to control this use of the drug by the pupils. Unfortunately, in very many of these institutions there is an unpleasant condition of being dependent for financial income on the tuition of the students. In very few of these schools is there direct personal supervision of the health of the students, and the physical influences that have affected their growth or health are not recorded until the young men reach college, where it is possible, by comparing the measurements and tests of large numbers of young men, to determine in a fairly exact manner what influences have tended toward physical deterioration, and what have tended toward growth and improvement.

A tabulation of the records of the students who entered Yale in nine years, when all of the young men were examined and measured, shows that the smokers averaged fifteen months older than the non-smokers, but that their size — except in weight, which was one and four-tenths kilograms more — was inferior in height to the extent of seven millimeters, and in lung-capacity to the extent of eighty cubic centimeters. The observed rate of growth at this age would lead us to expect that the smokers, from their greater age, would surpass the others by one kilogram in weight, two millimeters in height, and one hundred cubic centimeters in lung-capacity.

The difference in age in the two groups points to an age limit to parental restraint, and raises the inquiry as to what might supplement this influence. The wide variation in lung-capacity demonstrates an influence on lung tissue that is also illustrated below.

The study of the physiological influence of drugs on the

muscular and nervous systems has led to certain valuable conclusions. Dr. Foster, in his "Physiology,"¹ speaks of the influence of nicotine on the nervous tissues, especially on the vagi, as paralyzing their activity, thus allowing the heart muscle to wear itself out. With this information we can easily understand how, in the beginning of the habit of smoking, the influence of nicotine causes so much disturbance to the circulation, for the vagus is the great controlling nerve of the heart, and that organ first gives obvious response to the poison. The influence of nicotine may be counteracted by the administration of powerful heart stimulants, like strychnine, caffeine, alcohol, etc. The whole nervous system is affected to some extent by even moderate doses of nicotine. This may be seen by its effect upon the pupil of the eye, where there is temporary dilatation followed by prolonged contraction of the pupil, which behaves very much as it would under the local influence of pilocarpine or under the systemic influence of full doses of morphine. Where there is prolonged use of the drug the bad effects are disclosed in the optic disk, which is the end of the optic nerve, readily seen in an examination of the fundus of the eye, and which is the only large nerve that is laid bare to ocular observation. There appears to be less irritation of the brain structure and the efferent (motor) nerves than of the afferent (sensory) nerves, but the power of fine coördination is decidedly lowered by the drug. The muscle cells are also apparently only slightly affected by it, but, the nerve supply to the muscles being affected, the practical motor ability is greatly impaired. This has been thoroughly demonstrated by experiments carried out by Dr. W. P. Lombard,² of the University of Michigan, who has shown that the administration of even moderate amounts of tobacco in the form of smoke lowers the working power of the human muscle by a high percentage, and there seemed to be no compensation for lowered temporary ability in increased duration of it. His experiments were made with Mosso's ergograph, and his results may be crudely summarized as follows: In from five to ten minutes after beginning to smoke an ordinary cigar muscular power began to diminish, and in an hour, when the cigar was burnt, it had fallen to about 25 per cent of its initial value. The total work of the time of depression, compared with a similar normal period, was as 24.2 to 44.8.

¹ Edition 1888.² Journal of Physiology, vol. xiii, p. 1 et seq.

So far as the alimentary tract is concerned, there is a decided stimulation of the flow of peptic fluids. For this reason tobacco has been recommended as a sort of gastric stimulant after eating, and it undoubtedly acts in this particular way. If this be true, however, the ordinary use of the drug must be extremely destructive to the digestive process. We have all chewed gum before dinner until, when we came to eat and tried to chew dry food, there was no saliva to mix with it, and we ate with discomfort. In this case exactly the same thing has happened to the salivary glands that would happen to the peptic glands if one were to smoke before meals during the period of rest for the stomach, for the gastric glands would be depleted, the fluids poured forth into the stomach under the stimulation, not being retained in that organ by food to be digested, would pass on into the intestinal tract, and when food was finally taken the peptic cells would be unable to pour forth adequate solvents for the proteid mass, and digestion would be delayed until such solvents could be formed by cellular metabolism. Meanwhile the food would be retained in the stomach in a warm and moist condition, favorable for the development of decomposition germs, which must always be present in the food we eat. The result of the decomposition process is the production of acids that are extremely irritating and cause the discomforts that are so familiar to the dyspeptic. Not only has the food been manufactured into chemicals hostile to the organism, but, so far as future nutrition is concerned, it is actually lost, for the physiological cost of reducing these decomposition products to available forms for absorption and use is more than the available heat that can finally be produced in their oxidation.

Regarding glandular activity, it may be said that nicotine stimulates secretion in general, as is illustrated by the influence upon the mucous glands of the mouth and general alimentary tract. This over-stimulation of the mucous area would naturally lead to the development of catarrhal affections, and it would seem that this drug was contra-indicated in all forms of tendency to catarrhal diseases. This must mean, if the popular estimate of the condition of the New England nose is correct, that few Yankees, at least, should use tobacco.

Now I ought to speak of one quality of tobacco smoke that seems to be sanitary to a certain extent, and that is, that it

has a considerable antiseptic value. If a person is so slovenly that he does not care for his teeth as he ought, it may be a preservative of them; and in certain catarrhal conditions one could almost be pardoned for the offensive fumigation on this same ground. I speak of this because I wish to give whatever credit is due, and this seems a fair statement of the result of experiments in the matter.¹

What is known of the influence of nicotine upon the blood may be briefly summarized. Some physiologists² claimed that the blood corpuscles seemed to ~~ass~~ appearance; but this is believed handling of the corpuscles and the influence of nicotine is believed to-day to be sought, although the spectrum of the blood is red, showing that they are affected in some way. It is true that anemia is a constant accompaniment of nicotine poisoning, but this is due to the disastrous effect of the poison upon the digestive system, which is unable to prepare abundant nutriment for the blood current. Anemia should therefore be referred to starvation rather than to corpuscular degeneration.

Another aspect of the physical deterioration produced by chronic nicotine poisoning is found in a report by R. L. McDevitt regarding the family life of cigar-makers in New York. He reports that in 337 families there was an average of 1.63 children to a family. The conclusions that may be drawn from this need not be pointed out.

The effect of nicotine on growth is very measurable, and the following figures are presented as a fairly satisfactory illustration of the extent of the interference with growth. They may be expected in boys from 16 to 25 years of age, as they are believed to have reached full maturity.

For purposes of comparison the men composing a class in the college have been divided into three groups. The first is made up of those who do not use tobacco in any form; the second consists of those who have used it regularly for at least a year of the college course; the third group includes the regular users. A compilation of the anthropometric data on this basis shows that during the period of undergraduate life, which is essentially 3½ years, the first group grows in weight 10.4 per cent more than the second, and 6.6 per cent

¹ Thesis, Yale Med. 1891, P. S. Robinson.

² Wood's Medical Reference Handbook, vol. v, 283.

more than the third. In height the first group grows 24 per cent more than the second, and 11 per cent more than the third; in girth of chest the first group grows 26.7 per cent more than the second, and 22 more than the third; in capacity of lungs the first group gains 77 per cent more than the second, and 49.5 per cent more than the third.

These results are essentially the same as those obtained by Dr. E. Hitchcock, of Amherst College, who observed a similar group of young men in a manner entirely independent. He says: "In separating the smokers from the non-smokers, it appears that in the item of weight the non-smokers have increased 24 per cent more than the smokers; in growth in height they have surpassed them 37 per cent, and in chest girth, 42 per cent. And in lung capacity there is a difference of 8.36 cubic inches [this is about 75 per cent] in favor of the non-smokers, which is three per cent of the total average lung capacity of the class."

The widely differing growth in capacity of lungs points to the influence of tobacco on respiration. Respiration is essentially a muscular act and as such would be seriously impeded by nicotine. But even farther than this must act the irritating substances of a smoke which readily causes inflammation and soreness of any mucous membrane. Now, to fully expand the lungs under such conditions is uncomfortable if not impossible, and respiration degenerates into an incomplete act.

I do not know how we can compare the work of the users of tobacco with that of the non-users in mental lines as we can in physical lines. I can tell you absolutely whether a man has gained a pound in weight during the year, but I cannot tell you by any such definite means the mental progress that has gone on in that time. We must always be exceedingly careful in handling statistics of the mental process. Out of our highest scholarship men only a very small percentage (about five) use tobacco, while of the men who do not get appointments over 60 per cent are tobacco-users. But this does not mean that mental decrepitude follows the use of tobacco, for we may read the results in another way, viz.: the kind of mind that permits its possessor to become addicted to a habit that is primarily offensive and deteriorating is the kind of mind that will be graded low on general intellectual tests.

If the whole period of physical growth be divided into seven or eight year periods, according to the physiological phases of our development, we should have the third period, devoted to the rounding-out processes, begin at about the

time when the most strenuous mental application is begun, and when the opportunities for outdoor recreation are decidedly curtailed. It is at this period that the tobacco habit usually is begun, if it is begun at all. This is the period of the development of high muscular coördination, and it is well to note that in mental processes it is the period of the development of the logical faculties.)Whether we believe, with some psychologists, that there is a direct relation between muscular ability and mental power, or not, we must believe that any curtailment of the activity of the great blood-containing and heat-producing tissue (the muscles) must react unfavorably upon the nerve structure, which depends so largely upon outside sources for its material for work, if not for its method of work.) Furthermore, the young animal seems to be especially susceptible to this poison, but the system can adjust itself so as to counteract the ordinary influence of it and go on with comparatively little interference. As a machine that is obstructed to a certain extent, can nevertheless apply a part of its energy to the sweeping away of the obstruction, so the organic machine can divert a certain amount of its energy to the elimination of this poisonous element, but only the residuum is available for normal processes of growth and functional activity.

Whenever it is desired to secure the highest possible working ability by the organism, as in athletic contests, where the maximum of effort is demanded, all motor-depressant influences are removed as far as possible, tobacco being one of the first substances forbidden. As a large part of the functional activity during this rounding-out period pertains to growth, would it not seem logical to remove from the system all motor depressants, in order that this line of activity may find its highest resultant in increased size and improved activity? This position has been taken by the directors of government schools, not only in this country, but in Europe, where the highest efficiency of the pupils is made the object of the schools, and where efficiently trained inspection, freed from personal appeals and special considerations, leaves the directors at liberty to manage the pupils upon the most approved scientific principles. It is satisfactory to note also that many private schools have taken this advanced position within the last ten years. May we not believe that, with a higher grade of intelligence among the patrons of schools, the same higher standard will be demanded soon in all similar institutions?

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY MARY LOWE DICKINSON.

The last decade marks an era of rapid change in general knowledge concerning our social and economic conditions. One striking indication of this change is the modified attitude of the public mind toward all humanitarian efforts of women. In such efforts on the part of men, women have always had a distinctive place; and often a disproportionate share in the execution of plans has counterbalanced the lack of any share whatever in their inception. The women auxiliaries, whose chief function was to apply all feminine forces and devices to the replenishment of depleted treasuries, have been so helpful a factor in philanthropic and missionary work as to foster the impression that the collector's function was the greatest of all for women, since thereby they supplied what is recognized as the greatest need in all work, for whatever helpful cause.

To-day we think of her as a collector of facts, an analyst of theories, a creator of plans, a co-worker in their execution, possessed of sympathies essential to the diagnosis of human needs, of insight that sends the plummet of investigation straight to underlying causes, an outlook that searches even to the horizon for sources of supply.

From the low estimate of the earlier time to this, which ranks her in service beside her brother man, the journey has been long and hard, and much of the way women have felt forced to walk alone, which loneliness, as unnecessary as it was unfortunate, no longer exists. From their first efforts to help men in their beneficent projects, women were like those who finding a slow old boat making its way through a canal, were ready to supply the means to push or pull it forward. When their eyes were opened they began to see new needs and to make new projects of their own, and in their eagerness they not only built new boats, but here and there attempted to dig new canals running parallel with the old, passing through the same region, yet separate and distinct. Now, after more or less lonely years of pushing and pulling, both men and women have discovered



1. **MRS. MARY LOWE DICKINSON**, President of the National Council of Women of the United States.
2. **MRS. LOUISE BARNUM ROBBINS**, Corresponding Secretary.
3. **HANNAH J. BAILEY**, Treasurer.
4. **REV. ANNA H. SHAW**, Vice-President.
5. **HELEN F. BRISTOL**, Second Recording Secretary.
6. **EMELINE B. CHENEY**, First Recording Secretary.

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that united crafts can be propelled by united forces, and that one channel is better than two for boats that go one way freighted with the same supply for the selfsame hunger and need.

For a time yet we shall go on inducing women to help in the organized work of men, and men to aid in the organized work of women, because each needs the other for the completion of much that is begun. But they read not aright the signs of the times nor keep abreast of the age's progress who are not looking for a day when organizations of men and organizations of women will be working together not for the benefit of one or the other separately, but in full recognition that separation is impossible, and working in full accord in thought and hope and toil for the ultimate good of all.

And in those modern societies, whether of men or women, which are of broadest conception and highest purpose and noblest type, one finds always an embodiment of principles as applicable to both as to one, and of equal value to human beings without regard to differences of sex or race or creed.

The National Council of Women of the United States aims at a united womankind as a means, in full recognition of the fact that the solidarity of womankind is the surest and straightest road to the solidarity of humankind, — a consummation devoutly to be desired.

In this National Council of Women, as in the organizations that preceded it, we have only another illustration of the outreach of human hearts toward each other and toward humanity, stimulated by the almost universal desire to better the conditions of human life for the suffering children of men.

This desire had been hidden like an underground stream from the day when Miriam first gathered women together to dance to the sound of the timbrel and to "sing to the Lord a new song." Here and there down through the centuries it sprang to the light in revelations like the life of Deborah, who not only sang to the Lord, but led the hosts to battle and sat in the judgment seat; or like Sappho, who sang such songs as stirred to valor the sluggish pulses of the warriors of Greece.

Further on this stream of love and longing for humanity sprang in many a silent soul that dwelt upon the heights, and found its way by one channel or another to a point of union with other streams whose spring and source was Love. Then came the first organized movements of women. Then

began to flow currents of mercy, of religion, of education, of the varied forms of philanthropy, which, in the great idea of the National Council of Women, converged and flowed for a little time together in one harmonious tide of blessing and comfort for the race. They met not in a sea in which each stream was swallowed up and lost, but in a stream whose waters mingled and, dividing, went on again, each making a wider, deeper channel, each spreading more broadly its beneficence to the land through which it flowed, because into the life of each had entered something of the power and grace and force and beauty of the whole; each bearing a broader burden of blessing, because of the mingling of the waters, and each drop tintured with the life of every other drop.

In other words, so met the various societies, in each of which the universal desire to help had found its peculiar mode of expression. The union of all meant no diminution of the power or the freedom of any one, but, on the contrary, an augmentation of the force of each by the addition of an impetus from the united forces of all.

We have heard in time past a great deal of what is called the *council idea*. Yet many a woman, even after nearly a decade of progress, is asking what it means. Again and again comes the question: Is it not simply the suffrage society under another guise? And while we answer unhesitatingly, No, that this society stands like any and every other in its representation, we should yet fail to be just if we made not frankest and most grateful acknowledgment everywhere of what the Council owes to the suffrage society. Let us turn back the pages a moment and read the story of the Council's birth.

We all recall the Bible record of the forty years during which a once enslaved nation wandered in a wilderness seeking for a promised land; and we all recall, too, the fact that, centuries after, a desire for a larger life and a truer freedom began to burn in the hearts of women like Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony, and kept on glowing until its warmth permeated many hearts questioning already if there was nothing better than the fleshpots of Egypt and the life of a captive amid the glories of Pharaoh's court. When the followers of Moses went out they left the plagues behind. When the followers of these early leaders went, the plagues went also. The banners above them bore no such word as "love."

They went the wilderness ways with no "godspeed" following after. Unlike the children of Israel, they got very little manna, and they never had wealth enough, even if they had desired to worship one, to fashion a golden calf.

And yet at the end of forty years they had made progress, and here and there a prophetess among them had the open vision of their promised land. And though their way had lain by a wilderness of wrongs, by highways and byways beset with hindrances, through thorns and briers of opposition, through deserts of prejudice and by dark paths where, instead of the songs of the night birds, they heard the squalls of the jackals of contempt, — though before them no red waves parted, and behind them went down neither chariots nor horsemen, — yet in the face of every obstacle the little band moved on. And in their wake *sometimes* a wrong *was* righted, *sometimes* a new and better law took the place of the old; *sometimes* women came to where they owned their wages and their children, and *sometimes* they even dared to dream of a day when they should own themselves.

And as the march went on, and new scattering recruits joined them, here and there the wail of weakness changed to a song of hope; now and then on some height, as one State or another came into line, flashed out the beacon light of victory. And by and by they came to a birthday of jubilee. And to that day they brought the love of freedom and of truth, and a hope for humanity out of which that inspiration, which has been called the *council idea*, was born. For from the height which they had gained, and where they paused to keep their jubilee, they could see coming from the shores of the East and from the mountains of the West, down from the Northlands and up from the South, army after army of women, each marching under its own banner. Some were hastening eagerly forward, some creeping slowly and silently upward, out of the dark of the morning twilight, some filling the shadows with the music of their march, but all with their faces set toward the morning, searching the horizon with eager eyes for the light of a new and radiant day, the way to which these pioneers, who had trod the wilderness for forty years, had shown.

And so it was that this one organization, the National Woman's Suffrage Association, including in its great central idea of freedom for body, mind, and soul all the other ideas that were blazoned on the banners of the converging armies

of women, called a halt after its forty years' march, and waited for the forces to come in.

And when they came to keep that jubilee in that first Council in Washington in 1888, they represented fifty-three national societies, each one of which represented in itself some one great thought or hope or inspiration for the race. Fifty-three national societies made utterance in over one hundred voices, and through these voices the womanhood of the world expressed its highest thought and hope for the world's education, its philanthropy, its temperance, its industries, its professions, its legal conditions, its political conditions, its moral education, and, last but not least, for the organization of all and the union of all, as the truest method for strengthening and developing every one.

If it was not an entrance into the promised land after the forty years of wilderness, if it was not a gathering of the hosts of the *free*, it was a gathering of those who longed for freedom for the race from the intangible and intolerable bondage of ignorance, of poverty, of intemperance, of idleness, of degradation, and from every form and phase of misery and sin.

Then all around that central society these many camp fires blazed. The multitude was like one army. Yet no two societies wielded the same weapons, chose the same methods of warfare, marched to the same music; but by whatever devious ways they travelled, they journeyed toward the same far country, and over them all was "the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night."

After such a coming together as that first National Council, it would have been strange if they could each have gone their way regardless of the rest. To recognize that, while "the ways they are many, the end is one" was the natural outcome and result of such conference and contact. There could be no basis of union without knowledge, and there could be no knowledge without contact.

Of contact like this there could be but one result. They saw that this centre was a common centre; that their eyes were on the same goal; that at their inmost hearts throbbed the same purpose. And when they clasped hands and made of themselves a national council, this heart-beat found utterance in this preamble to their constitution:

We, women of the United States, sincerely believing that the best good of our homes and nation will be conserved by greater unity of thought—

There you have it, the keynote of all this pulsing womanly purpose : first, "the best good of our homes ;" second, "the best good of the nation ;" two chords that run from heart to heart, unsevered by differences of race, religion, or condition. It was the needs of our homes, the needs of the nation, that brought them to feel the need of unity of thought. I have often wondered why they placed that first when it is the last thing to come. Unity of sympathy ; that is easily aroused. Unity of purpose ; that, too, may be expected when the best good of the home and the nation is at stake ; but unity of thought, that is a result rather than a forerunner of the other two.

"We believe," so they added, "that an organized movement will best conserve" — what? Again the "highest good of the family," and as an outgrowth of that, "the highest good of the state." And, therefore, "for the best good of the home and of the nation, for the highest good of the family and of the state," they tried to band themselves together in a federation of — not lookers-on, not dreamers, not followers merely of some leader who demands, as too many leaders do, nothing except that they shall be followed — but a federation of "*workers*," "committed to the overthrow of all forms of ignorance and injustice."

Are they not needed for this, every corps of the great army of organized womanhood? If they move on, each doing all its best, will it not take them all? Will it not need the societies for the protection of infancy, even while the laws of heredity are bearing upon the little hidden life? the societies that train childhood and protect it from the evil that lies in wait for it beside our cradles, and even at the thresholds of our homes? the societies that cultivate and train the religious sentiments and sympathies? the societies that would solve the labor problems and the other economic questions by which the misery of life may be reduced and its comfort and well-being increased? the educational societies that train to the highest uses the hand and the eye and the brain and the silent, sentient soul? Should any organization of national value be left out of a federation like this?

This declaration of principles summoned the womanhood of the world to the *overthrow* — not to the toleration, not to the quiet submission, not to the feeble effort, not even to indifferent thinking, not to dreaming, and above all things, not to the simple talking, but to the *overthrow* — of every

form of ignorance and injustice, and furthermore, "to the application of the Golden Rule to society, custom, and law."

Think for a moment what society would become if the Golden Rule were once for all applied. Think what changes it would bring to custom and to law. Here was a platform as broad as the sky. What woman could not approve it? What society, existing for whatever cause, in any part of our country, could not find points of sympathy with it? If this ideal can be made a reality, then the nobler the society the more eagerly and sincerely would it welcome a fellowship like this; for, in one form or another, all our organized work, under whatever name, means this same thing — the best good of the home and the nation, the family and the state; the overthrow of ignorance and injustice; the application of the Golden Rule.

If this first principle is reiterated and emphasized, it is because it is believed to be the ground on which the womanhood of the world will ultimately meet. That it has not yet met there means one of two things: either this common basis is not yet understood, or the work at its present stage of growth obscures the ideal. But we must not forget that every grand movement has to struggle through its era of difficulties. But a plan inherently noble in purpose and spirit may be retarded by obstacles which yet cannot prevent its ultimate development. If a work is needed in God's world, and if it is essentially good, it has its place then in the divine economy, and those who serve it need only to strengthen it along all lines, building on firm foundations, striving to keep it worthy, and trusting God to keep it strong.

Already twenty national societies, one after another, have come into its fellowship. There is neither need nor space to outline their scope or to dwell upon the familiar labors which are nobly performed by each in its own special field. They stand, as you well know, like so many links in a great chain, each link perfect and complete in its own circle, unhindered in its methods of work, uninfluenced, except as sympathy and interest may influence, by any other organization or by its affiliation with the Council. Each organization, as it comes in to give its strength to the Council, lengthens and strengthens the chain which shall draw the world away from ignorance and injustice and help to conserve the highest good of the family and the state; and each receives the advantage of the transmission of the force of the whole



1. SUSAN B. ANTHONY, President National American Woman Suffrage Association.
2. MRS. I. C. MANCHESTER, President National Association of Loyal Women of American Liberty.
3. MRS. ANNA M. HAMILTON, President Wimodaugheta.
4. NETTA G. McLAUGHLIN, President National Association of Women Stenographers.
5. REV. AMANDA DEYO, President Universal Peace Union.
6. MRS. AGNES HITT, President Woman's Relief Corps.
7. MRS. ZINA D. H. YOUNG, President National Woman's Relief Society.
8. MRS. J. ELLEN FOSTER, President Woman's Republican Association of the United States.

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chain to its particular link, the advantage of common purpose, of mutual interest, of the deepening of insight, of the knowledge of what each organization is to itself, and of what it may be to its affiliated organizations, of what it may be to the world.

The conditions of union are simple, as all great things are simple. When a work grows until in its scope and character and influence the nation has a right to claim it as a bit of its pulsing, throbbing life, its myriad hands should grasp the other hands that are outstretched from other national societies, and the union of the highest forces of all should transmit those forces, with multiplied power, to each.

Such forces have found their expression already in the triennial sessions of 1891 and 1895, when the nine organizations and one hundred speakers had increased to seventeen organizations and two hundred speakers. They found their expression also in the Congress of Representative Women during the great Chicago Exposition, when there gathered together delegates from twelve nations, to say nothing of the multitudes from our own country, who presented during 108 sessions no less than 150 topics, touching every interest that bears upon the welfare of humanity, covering topics ranging through every field of human progress.

With unabated interest and zeal followed the great triennial gathering of 1895, with its 27 sessions, its 106 addresses, its numerous discussions showing an earnest and thoughtful and scholarly spirit of investigation, its openness to truth, its charity and tolerance and harmony; its agreements and its disagreements, and its serene agreeing to disagree.

In October following the triennial meeting, came a week of conferences at Atlanta; in November of the same year the pioneer reunion in New York (a full record of which appeared in an article in *THE ARENA* of February, 1896), celebrating the eightieth birthday of Mrs. Stanton; and recently an encouraging series of public meetings in connection with the annual executive session in Boston.

Since the majority of our readers are already familiar with our subject, a statement of statistics and facts seems superfluous, but for the possible stranger to our work we submit the following brief outline gathered largely from the literature of the Council:

Ordinary organizations of women are composed of individual members. The National Council of Women of the

United States, whose existence dates back to the spring of 1888, is unique in that its membership consists of national societies. This body comprises national, state, and local councils, each including societies in different lines of work. Its national organizations have an aggregate membership of about seven hundred thousand women.

One of its underlying sentiments is that opening utterance of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton at that meeting at which the Council was born: "A difference of opinion on one question should not prevent our working unitedly for those on which we agree."

An outgrowth of the National Council of Women of the United States is the International Council, a union of the national councils of different countries, of which Her Excellency, the Countess of Aberdeen, is President. And if the National Council of the United States had done nothing else, the fact that as an outgrowth of its work have come the present councils in England, Germany (where over thirty national societies are united in the council), France, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, New Zealand, New South Wales, and Canada, its service has justified its right to be.

The National Council of Women holds a triennial session and an annual executive session. The International Council holds its sessions once in five years.

Among the lines of work undertaken by the Council under the auspices of its standing committees have been marked, first, the effort to secure the appointment of women on all State commissions working to change existing divorce and marriage laws.

They have also sought to arouse public sentiment in favor of greater attention being paid to health, freedom, and beauty in the dress of women.

Also, through its Committee on Education in Citizenship, to introduce patriotic teaching into the public schools; and it has endeavored to secure equal educational advantages for men and women, equal opportunities of industrial training for men and boys, admission of women to equality of men in the Church work of different denominations, and the demand for an equal standard of personal purity for men and women.

A Standing Committee on Household Economics was added at the last triennial, with Mrs. Helen Campbell as chairman.

Perhaps no better idea of the aims and plans of the Council

could be gained than by recurring to the resolutions adopted at its last triennial, in 1895. Especially significant among these were: the resolution in regard to capital and labor, urging that coöperation instead of competition be adopted as the standard to which industrial relations shall be brought, and that to this end boards of conciliation and arbitration be established; the resolutions urging the extension of practical religion into every phase of life — in the home, society, and nation — and protesting against all religious persecution and intolerance; and the suggestion that a peace commission, composed of men and women, shall be appointed to confer with the governments of other nations upon the subject of establishing an international court of arbitration.

As has been previously stated, the Council does not exist in the interest of any one propaganda, and each organization, no matter how large or small its individual membership, has two votes and two only in its executive board. It is therefore impossible for the Council to be committed to the tenets of any one society. It has no power over the organizations which constitute it beyond that of suggestion and sympathy.

And, furthermore, that national societies may be most broadly developed, most profoundly efficient, there should grow up also the State council and the local council.

Local councils are formed, in accordance with the council idea, not of those engaged in the same lines of work, but of societies representing different fields of activity. That is, a local council is composed of local organizations, each of which has its independent and different object, and thus becomes a clearing-house for all the organized activity of the locality. As a result of local-council work, cities have established free kindergartens, secured police matrons, placed women on the school boards, gained helpful access to boards of health and boards of public works, bringing the opinions of women to bear effectually upon these bodies, directing thus far their efforts chiefly to the improvement of public morals, to city sanitation, and to the increase of the educational facilities of their respective communities, organizing industrial schools and schools for training girls for service. In Canada the local-council work has made rapid advance.

Any local council of women, organized under a constitution harmonious with that of the National Council, may become a member of the national society by its own vote and the triennial payment of \$24 into the treasury of the

National Council not later than three months prior to its triennial meeting. This fee may be paid at the option of local councils in annual instalments of \$8.

The advantages that the Council gives to its constituents are indicated in the following summary of its objects, viz.: to make better known the magnitude and variety of woman's work; to avoid the multiplication of organizations of similar object; to bring together women of all lines of work; to give the united influence of all these women to such general kinds of work as can be heartily agreed upon by all.

Organizations of national character or scope may be admitted to the Council by application three months before any triennial, through the corresponding secretary.

As the National Council of Women is composed not of individuals, but of societies, provision has been made for "Patrons of the Council," these forming a bond between the organization and individuals. Any person whose name is acceptable to the executive committee can by the payment of one hundred dollars into the treasury, become a life patron. A patron may attend all meetings of the Council, public and executive, may propose questions, may join all discussions; a patron may serve on committees, and is entitled to receive all printed reports of proceedings of the Council. The names of the patrons appear on all printed documents of the Council, immediately after those of the officers.

Among those already patrons of the Council are men and women representing the professions, education, philanthropy, women's clubs, science, art, etc.

The Canadian Council has made an effort to change the law concerning the commitment to jail of the insane and imbecile, and the women are at work disseminating knowledge of the preventable causes of the increase of insanity. They have undertaken to bring before the boards of health the importance of the proper care of the teeth and eyes of children in the public schools, and are urging provision for free dentistry for the poor. They are also investigating the effect of the importation of pauper children on the social condition of the country. They work together to promote the establishment of public baths, and have taken active and to a considerable extent effective steps to suppress pernicious literature and to prevent its importation, especially from the United States.

I should do the Council injustice if I failed to mention that

on every side its outlook becomes more hopeful daily. Its organizations are becoming less ready to ask, What good does union with the Council do to us? and more ready to ask, What good can we do or be to all these united organizations that are joined to us by the bond of mutual service?

It is encouraging to note that there is increase in public interest in and sympathy for the Council, and greater growth in those foundation necessities that make a sure and strong life in the future a certainty instead of a mere wavering hope. In all its efforts toward substantial and permanent usefulness it welcomes most gratefully any suggestions from those wiser in experience and any indications of sympathy with its purpose or coöperation in its plans.

It is and must continue to be a student. One marked feature of its short life has been its effort to substitute actual knowledge based on the unalterable logic of facts, for opinions based upon sentiments and fancies and emotions. It is not only an organization for counsel, but a Council of organizations, each organization being absolutely unmodified in its ideas, objects, and methods of work by its affiliation, but each developing and formulating its own plans and processes and influence, and bringing its results as an object-lesson to be laid before every one of the other organizations which compose the Council.

Thus each can bring, in condensed form, its absolute best, to stand side by side with the absolute best of societies representing other lines of work; can take its opportunity for learning and for teaching, for comparison of value of service to humanity, which is, after all, the real test of the value of any separate work or of all work united.

As a broadening and elevating influence the council idea of union on all lines of agreement, and of absolute freedom on all points of disagreement, of interchange and mutual helpfulness with a view to mutual growth and wider usefulness, has already proven one of women's best educators. Through it many have learned to know that a difference of opinion is not a cardinal sin; that breadth of outlook depends upon one's point of view; that every step upward naturally widens one's horizon and broadens one's vision; that no one individual, no one society can make of itself the centre of the universe around which all helpful activities must revolve; that an all-round development never comes by looking at one side only.

There is not an organization in this Council that will not testify to the helpfulness to its own work that comes from the knowledge and appreciation of the work which is not its own. To a development and extension of that knowledge, to the stimulation of the spirit of unity, to the constant discovery of points of sympathy, to the constant diminution of points of difference, to the absolute consecration of the individuals composing the organizations to the very highest helpfulness that each soul may be able to obtain, and so to the multiplication of consecrated forces and the action of consecrated societies, we shall owe it that the individual is ennobled, that the home is purified, that wrongs against human beings are abolished, that the rights of human beings are established, and that the nations are redeemed from shame.

Admitting then that knowledge is the first essential to progress, admitting that our differences can be minimized only by recognition thereof, and our points of agreement emphasized only by our familiarity therewith, it remains for us to see whether, in this plan of a national council of women, if rightly and wisely developed, we have secured the best method discovered up to the present time of finding common ground for knowledge, for unity, for sympathy, for united work in all those lines where union is required. If we have, then surely to the development of this idea should cheerfully be given our most careful study, our wisest thought, our heartiest sympathy, and our most practical coöperation. But if in this we have *not found* the light, but are only *groping* toward the light, then even in the dark we move more cheerily if not more safely for taking hold of hands. If, like the blind leading the blind, we fall into the ditch, then the ditch is a less lonesome place than if we fall alone; and even in the ditch one may be keener than another to feel a way out and to reach a hand to lift his neighbor up; and together thereafter both go on more carefully for the mutual fall and the mutual comfort of the helping hand.

The motto of the Council is "Lead, kindly Light," and surely we are not going to be able to live that motto, seeing to it that the light in us be not darkness, but a kindly ray to cheer those who are still further in the shadows, so long as we will not lift up our eyes to see that God's pillar of fire is leading every other army as surely and as swiftly, as safely and as kindly, as He leads our own.



1. **FRANCES E. WILLARD**, President of the Nat'l Woman's Christian Temperance Union.
2. **KATE WALLER BARRETT**, President of the Florence Crittenton Missions.
3. **CAROLINE EARLE WHITE**, Representative of the American Anti Vivisection Society.
4. **MARY A. DAVIS**, President of the National Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society.
5. **ELIZABETH B. GRANNIS**, President of the National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity.
6. **M. R. M. WALLACE**, President of the Illinois Industrial School for Girls.
7. **MRS. H. SOLOMON**, President of the National Council of Jewish Women.
8. **LILLIAN M. HOLLISTER**, President of the Supreme Hive Ladies of the Maccabees.

The photograph of **MRS. ELMINA S. TAYLOR**, President of the Young Ladies' National Mutual Improvement Association, was not received in time for publication.

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When eighteen centuries ago one sat over against the well of Samaria and said, "Woman, give me to drink," He embodied in His own person the thirst of humanity, and that cry, echoing down through the ages, is ringing in the ears of the women of to-day. And whether it is the cry for knowledge, or wisdom, or freedom, or for relief from any phase of mental or spiritual thirst, the efforts of women to meet it are only so many indications of the amelioration and betterment of human conditions. And all our societies, and all our federations, and all our councils are, in another sense, only so many efforts to make a chain long enough and strong enough to reach the bottom of the wells of God's salvation, and to supply the infinite hunger and thirst, lest when He calls on even the least of His little ones for the cup of cold water, we answer "I have nothing to draw with, and the well is deep."

Below will be found the names of officers, cabinet officers or heads of departments, presidents of organizations, and chairmen of standing committees. To the life and work of any one of them, with extracts from her addresses delivered at different times before the Council, might easily have been given the entire space allotted to this article. A full record of the personal work of these leaders would be the best statement possible of what the Council has striven to do in the past and the best prophecy one could give of further endeavor and success.

OFFICERS.

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Emeline Burlingame Cheney, 1st Rec. Sec'y, Lewiston, Maine.

Helen Finlay Bristol, 2d Rec. Sec'y, 1238 Vermont Ave., Quincy, Ill.

Hannah J. Bailey, Treasurer, Winthrop Centre, Maine.

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Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, Sec'y.

DEPARTMENT OF RELIGION:

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WIMODAUGHSIS.

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NATIONAL LEAGUE OF COLORED WOMEN.

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Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood, Chairman.

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Mrs. Helen Campbell, Chairman.

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Mrs. Mary E. Boyce, Chairman.

For further information apply to Mrs. Louise Barnum Robbins, Corresponding Secretary, 25 Broad Street, Adrian, Mich.

A COURT OF MEDICINE AND SURGERY.

A SYMPOSIUM.

I.

BY HENRY O. MARCY, A. M., M. D., LL. D.

I have read with something of care Mr. Choate's article¹ with this title. At first it seemed a satire; but in serious criticism it is safe to conclude that, however able the writer may be in the discussion of legal subjects, he certainly fails to grasp the fundamental principles of ethics in the practice of medicine.

It is fair for each profession to concede to the other in the character of its members, equality of honorable purpose and faithful discharge of professional duties to their respective clientage. Neither profession will be free from dishonorable members, and each will continue to have a percentage of incompetent and ignorant adherents who would fain foist their services upon the body politic. The present tendency in both professions is toward a long, liberalizing general education, *e. g.*, university training before commencing the study of either law or medicine. Students in the professions must give evidence of the possession of a good moral character. The public is further guaranteed in this direction in most States by a special legal supervision before admission to the higher functions of their professions, to wit, admission to the bar in law, and on the part of the physician the possession of a certificate given by a Board, appointed by the legislature to the effect that the holder of said certificate is duly competent to practise medicine.

The lawyer may be disbarred, and the physician may be subject to punishment by fine or imprisonment, with the revocation of his license to practise medicine. To this extent the public is protected, and justly so. The oath of Hippocrates, as administered to the physician upon entrance into his profession, is still treasured as embodying

¹ In ARENA, January, 1897, pp. 211-214.

the correct spirit which all who practise medicine should possess. Not long since I was present when it was administered to the graduates of one of our prominent universities. I incorporate it here in all the quaintness of its early translation, in the belief that it will interest the dispassionate student.

I swear by Apollo, the physician, and Esculapius, and Health, and All-Heal, and all the gods and goddesses, that, according to my ability and judgment, I will keep this oath and this stipulation — to reckon on him who taught me this Art equally dear to me as my parents, to share my substance with him and relieve his necessities if required; to look upon his offspring in the same footing as my own brothers, and to teach them this Art, if they shall wish to learn it, without fee or stipulation; and that by precept, lecture, and every other mode of instruction I will impart a knowledge of the Art to my own sons and those of my teachers, and to disciples bound by a stipulation and oath according to the law of medicine, but to none others. I will follow that system of regimen which, according to my ability and judgment, I consider for the benefit of my patients, and abstain from whatever is deleterious and mischievous. I will give no deadly medicine to any one if asked, nor suggest any such counsel; and, in like manner, I will not give to a woman a pessary to produce abortion. With purity and with holiness I will pass my life and practice my Art. I will not cut persons laboring under the stone, but will leave this to be done by men who are practitioners of this work. Into whatever houses I enter I will go into them for the benefit of the sick, and will abstain from every voluntary act of mischief and corruption; and, further, from the seduction of females or males, of freemen and slaves. Whatever, in connexion with my professional practice, or not in connexion with it, I see or hear in the life of men which ought not to be spoken of abroad I will not divulge, as reckoning that all such should be kept secret. While I continue to keep this oath unviolated, may it be granted to me to enjoy life and the practice of the Art respected by all men in all times! But, should I trespass and violate this oath, may the reverse be my lot!

Nothing is more dangerous than a half-truth. In contrasting the two professions Mr. Choate says: "As a rule no other doctor is allowed to see the patient or know anything about his condition or treatment." Let me refer him to the Code of Ethics of the American Medical Association, the representative organization of the profession in America, and which through the State societies is considered the direct exponent of the entire profession, now numbering over one hundred thousand members.

ARTICLE VI. — Consultations should be promoted in difficult or protracted cases, as they give rise to confidence, energy, and more enlarged views of practice.

While this policy is encouraged by the profession for the good of its own members, and is in such general practice that many leading physicians and surgeons depend almost entirely

upon their practice as consultants, it would be hard to persuade the average American citizen to believe that he is not at entire liberty to select his medical adviser as he chooses, and to add to the number of the same as his need or inclination may direct. What truth is there then in Mr. Choate's statement, "Whether that end be the grave or a prolonged life of misery, not a breath of adverse criticism is tolerated, no opportunity for intelligent criticism of a physician's or surgeon's work is furnished"?

After reviewing the general practice of medicine and admitting that it could not be done in any public manner similar to a court at law, he asks, "Why should not all hospital work or at least all clinics be conducted in a manner similar to a trial of a lawsuit?" He then advises the establishment of the office of a clinical judge. The learned gentleman should know that is precisely what is now done. Each case at the clinic is recorded, the judge administers his advice, and the remedy is furnished in accordance with the verdict. If for any reason the conditions warrant, the patient is admitted into the hospital, which in figurative language might be called the Court of Appeals. There the case is tried in open session before other judges. The record is permanently preserved and is ever open to inspection. When, for any reason, a patient thinks himself aggrieved because of careless or incompetent attendance, he has his remedy in the courts of justice, where the case is taken into consideration by the exponents of the statutes, duly enacted for that purpose.

In the question of so-called expert testimony given by physicians before the courts, almost the only point of tangent where the physician and the attorney professionally meet for possible mutual criticism, much might be said in the advocacy of better methods for the attainment of the ends of justice. Here, the attorney seeks to win by the accomplishment of his arts as an extractor of opinion. The medical witness looks upon the exponent of the law as an inquisitor, seeking only professional ends. As a rule he is comparatively inexperienced with the forms of court interrogatory and makes a bad witness. For the reason that he has been summoned by one side or the other of the case in question, he is naturally looked upon as a partisan, and too often considered as a biased witness. Medical experts at law should be in some way summoned by the officers of the court and selected only

because of special qualification to sit upon the issues of the case in question. His position should be properly defined as that of a judge upon the medical or surgical subjects submitted to his consideration. In this way the medical expert would render a service in the cause of justice, and his opinion be accepted as of much greater worth and value than at present.

Both the legal and medical professions recognize the urgent necessity for the introduction of some such radical change in medical expert testimony before the courts. It appeals to all as a simple measure of justice, and would have long since been adopted but for two reasons: the desire on the part of the attorney to secure evidence which can be made to appear favorable to the side which he represents; and the desire on the part of a physician who is weak enough to be cajoled by flattery or other inducement into a position which he is not competent to fill.

If the present discussion can bring about a modification of the laws regulating the selection of medical experts before the courts, it will be considered of practical value by the leaders in both our great professions.

BOSTON, MASS.

II.

BY HON. ELROY M. AVERY, PH. D., LL. D.

Mr. Choate's idea of a court of medicine and surgery aroused my interest before I got beyond the caption of his article, for I am still suffering from a careless diagnosis, and Choate is a good name with which to conjure. That I was little likely to be prejudiced against the plan, *i. e.*, could not be in contempt of the court proposed, is fairly well indicated by the fact that several years ago I introduced, in the Ohio senate, a bill for a state board of medical examiners, a bill that aroused bitter antagonisms, and paved the way for the present diluted statute upon the subject. My first reading of Mr. Choate's article awakened a somewhat pleasant emotion; I had read it as most persons read the morning paper. But when I re-read it carefully and thoughtfully, I was first impressed with the idea that the writer did not really understand the kind of man that the average reputable physician is, and had, therefore, treated him unfairly. My final con-

viction was that the proposed "Court of Medicine and Surgery" is impracticable and undesirable. As set forth in the article under consideration, its features are confessedly vague; were they less vague they might be more acceptable — and they might be more objectionable.

The difference "between the practice of law and that of medicine and surgery is very marked," as Mr. Choate says in his second paragraph, but the algebraic sign of that difference is not what I understand the author to imply. The physician is not the irresponsible, happy-go-lucky individual therein portrayed. That he may be held to a rigid accountability, and often is so held, is a fact familiar to every lawyer, for every lawyer has pocketed a fat fee in some malpractice case, or has prayed (unconsciously perhaps, and perhaps informally) for an opportunity to do so. There surely is malpractice in the law as well as in medicine, but when redress is sought, the suffering patient has a great advantage over the unfortunate client. Even if a lawyer should be made defendant, he would be judged by one skilled in the law (presumably at least), but the physician-defendant is not judged by one skilled in medicine; he is denied a trial by his peers. The more one thinks of it, the more one is likely to see that the irresponsibility does not lie in the thicker stratum just where Mr. Choate seems to insinuate that it does.

It is true that in a lawsuit the lawyer writes out and files his diagnosis, but it is also true that if the physician should take the time similarly to dig down from the dusty top to the mouldy bottom of a professional library, hunting for precedents and decisions, the patient would, in many cases, die for want of treatment. Analogy is an interesting companion but an unsafe guide. The analogies between the games of war and chess have been often pointed out, but when the time-factor is introduced, the differences develop. Nor is poetry necessarily conclusive in argument. I like it, but I do not tie to it in the practical affairs of life.

Suppose that we admit all that Mr. Choate alleges about the privacy and exclusiveness of medical practice. I suppose an admission, because I cannot conscientiously make one, knowing as I do that reputable physicians welcome consultations, that consulting physicians often disagree, and that many important cases are discussed, and treatment is freely criticised, in medical societies and elsewhere. But suppose

that all that is said about it is true, cannot the doctors fairly set up the claim that without any "court" they come out right as often as their lawyer brethren do with a court? Whence the pungency of the jibe, "Law *vs.* Justice," and the trenchant wit of the definition, that a court of justice is a legally established device for finding out which litigant has the better lawyer? The physician is not so selfish and narrow as Mr. Choate paints him; but if he has to come into "court," as Mr. Choate proposes, and gets a decision from the "court" and gives his treatment in accord therewith, it would be cold comfort for the bereaved widow and sorrowing orphans to be told a few months after the funeral that the decision of the "court" had been reversed. The frequency of cases successfully appealed on error testifies with such conclusive force against the infallibility of earthly judicial decrees, that there was little need for the cumulative testimony contained in the Chicago platform.

Such a "court" is not necessary in order that the public may have "some means whereby the physician of real merit as well as the quack and pretender may be known." There is no confusion in the matter among intelligent persons, and as for the ignorant, they will continue to employ ignorance — quack and shyster, equally and alike. If the diagnosis on file in the "court" is to be a public record, patients will be subjected to a parade of their cases that would be intolerable to the average American. Think of your mother, wife, or sister, and let your imagination roam unchecked for a single moment. I do not forget the admission that "the general practice of medicine could not be done in any public manner." But if the protection of the "court" is necessary or good in hospitals and at clinics, where the highest grade of professional skill is brought into action, it is more necessary or better in private practice, where the unskilled pretender is chiefly found. The number of state officials required would be very great, or the work of the hospitals would be seriously delayed. It is doubtful if many clinical judges could be found with the supereminent abilities that would be required for a class of men who are to sit in judgment on the work of eminent specialists in the many different lines that constitute modern medicine and surgery. Even a Cæsar or an Angelo might hesitate to try to cover so great a field of preëminence; both are dead, and, so far as this issue is concerned, *sine prole*.

The outline of the proposed bill is very vague, but it occurs to me that it will tax the ingenuity of legislators to devise the necessary safeguards against abuse of power and other frailties of human nature. It is not enough that the state physician and clinical judge be competent and honest. The heretic-hunters and witch-hangers of early New England were able and conscientious men, but all the more dangerous on that account; and I fear that I should not wholly enjoy the intimate personal acquaintance of my equally distinguished and bigoted ancestor, Thomas Dudley, the second governor of Massachusetts Bay.

It seems to me that every good thing that the proposed "court" has to offer can be supplied by a state board of medical examiners, clothed with adequate powers to prevent the practice of medicine and surgery except by those who have given satisfactory evidence of proper qualifications. The composition of such a board, and the rules prescribed for its action, could be such as to prevent any injustice to the individual, whether he advertises or not, or to any school or pathy, and yet enable it to protect the community from the ignorant quack and empiric. I am told that in New York and in several European states this method is in successful operation, and that the examinations are so searching that it is common for medical students to pass their university "exams" and then put in a year or two of further study before venturing to take the state test of their qualifications. Need we go beyond this? In most cases, I think not. For instance, a patient has a diseased eye; the diagnosis discloses a cataract; there is no question as to the proper treatment, and no "court" is needed, but it does make all the difference in the world whether the operator is competent to provide that treatment. This requirement of certified ability ought to run through the whole gamut of medical and surgical cases. One man may be able safely and successfully to treat diphtheria and scarlet fever, and another to operate in like manner for cataract, while neither is qualified to operate for laparotomy, to open the skull, or to perform any other major capital operation for which special preparation should be required. If Minnesota cannot be satisfied with this, and feels that she must have a "Court of Medicine and Surgery," let her provide it. I think that Ohio will look on with patience and with a teachable spirit.

COLUMBUS, OHIO.

III.

BY EDWARD M. GROUT.

For who would bear . . . the law's delay,

* * * * *
When he himself might his quietus make
With a bare bodkin? — *Shakspeare*.

Given sufficient time and patience, and the law will undoubtedly sift every dispute into truth — barring always the admixture of technicalities which rival counsel and puzzled judges will inevitably introduce. But time — that is the element which rules. It is the value of that which makes compromise of more service in litigations than are actual trials and appeals; and, as against any reasonably fair compromise, not one dispute in ten is worth the time which litigation will consume to reach the exact truth of the matter. It is for this reason that wise litigants avoid, and wise lawyers seek to enable unwise litigants to escape, the hazards and delays involved in a judicial determination of rights, the *dernier ressort* when all other efforts fail.

This being true of claims for damages and debt, could it be less true of fevers and fractures? Damages do not grow less in time, at least until after final judgment, and debts do not decrease with the running of interest at six per cent per annum, but how would it be with the ills of bone and flesh? The high temperature needs instant relief, the broken bone immediate setting. Is it not now hard enough, even for the hospital patient, to get one doctor in an emergency, without waiting for a possibly belated state physician and an ease-loving medical judge, who, when found, must, in ninety-nine cases out of an hundred, hold a useless court of medicine and surgery, while the patient wails and waits for the determination which any fairly competent doctor would have reached at the outset? Take the word of one who sees altogether too much of such things in courts of law, and let us have no more of courts than we must.

We have already medical schools and hospitals, medical societies and stringent legal requirements, all to enforce a high standard of efficiency in the profession. One need not, if he will do otherwise, have an ignoramus or a blunderer, a quack or a pretender. Good doctors there are a-plenty. And they are ready enough, in doubtful or difficult cases, to call into consultation other and more famous, even if not abler, physicians. That answers every useful purpose which

can be claimed for a court of medicine and surgery. In the ordinary disputes of men one good lawyer of common sense can often reach an adjustment, and even in some difficult and more extraordinary disputes two lawyers of that uncommon quality can frequently make peace with satisfaction and honor, and can generally do it more quickly, more cheaply, and better than can judge and jury, with a round of appellate courts to make successive guesses at the truth which underlies the technicalities and sophistries of litigation.

Yet the doctor or the surgeon is even now practising in a true and in the best court of medicine or surgery. The field of nature, large or small according to the patient's years, his excesses, or his original equipment, is the forum. The patient is the client. The disease is the opponent. If the enemy be threatening, additional counsel in the person of another doctor is called into consultation. If the physician or the surgeon be incompetent or negligent, the law affords precisely the same remedy against him as against a lawyer. If he be skilful and successful, then, like the lawyer, his practice and emoluments grow. This is the common-law court of medicine and surgery, already here, and grown, as have our courts of law, by natural processes. Leave it undisturbed. Put hospitals and medical colleges under state regulation and license. That should be. The clinical demonstrations and the medical lectures afford the inevitable and necessary impact and friction of mind upon mind. An extraordinary or even a merely interesting hospital operation attracts visiting physicians and surgeons. The medical journals and societies constantly discuss rare experiences and improved medicines and appliances. These present methods give to the profession and to students all that the proposed courts could furnish. But for the patient, hospital or private, better not tempt him to listen to such disputes as medical experts give us in our courts of law, else may he be led, in very desperation, to "make his own quietus with a bare bodkin," as a simpler, quicker, and less painful and expensive method of reaching the same result.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

IV.

BY THADDEUS B. WAKEMAN.

The question presented gains its great importance from the fact that it is the latter part of human life which is, or

ought to be, the most precious and valuable. The wilful neglect of the value of lives which have passed the long and expensive training of youth and the experiences of middle life, is one of the greatest wastes and defects of our so-called civilization. Human life is the most sacred and valuable thing known, and it is the source of all value; for without it what value would there be to anything?

This indifference to the preservation of life we have doubtless largely inherited from ignorance of what life really is, and from the old theological fatalism which resulted from that ignorance. When we were taught to believe that life was a mysterious something "breathed" into, or in some way imparted to, or placed in our bodies, by some God, who could and would by some dispensation mysterious to us take it away—all the bereaved said, "The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away, Blessed be the name of the Lord!" It is time that this barbarous fatalism of ignorance should be replaced by the prevision and the consequent *prevention* of science. The *process* of life, the most precious thing on earth, should no longer be left to the helpless cries of superstition or the ignorance of quacks and charlatans. The public has the supreme interest in knowing that this, its most precious treasure, is most sacredly guarded.

After a loss of life the law indeed provides the coroner to inquire whether the loss was the result of crime, but the more important question is, How can the law provide against the chances of the premature loss of life itself by disease?

May not this most desirable result be attained by extending the functions of our boards of health over the treatment of diseases? At present they are principally occupied with hygienic prevention and the record of births, marriages, and deaths. Nothing is done by them or the public to prevent diseases from resulting in death. Yet the interest of society is as much involved in that as it is in the prevention of the disease itself by quarantine and the most expensive and scientific methods possible. The boards of health are certainly the most nearly allied to the performance of this new public function. The organizations of the several schools of medicine would not be available; they would not be able to agree, and they would be the very parties whose conduct and efficiency would often be in question. There could, therefore, be no "Court of Medicine" in any ordinary sense of the term. But through its boards of health in

county, city, state, and nation, the public could bring to bear the highest scientific knowledge and skill to prevent the fatal termination of diseases. And has not the time come for that to be done?

Those skilled in the operations of these boards could certainly suggest the best means for them to secure this result, but common sense can intimate some measures which might be practicable. For instance: Why may not each health board have also its division or section of therapeutics, with its dispensary, and its male and female physician for the free treatment or inspection of the treatment of all serious diseases? There would then also result a record of the advice, opinion, and treatment of all serious cases of disease within the allotted district.

In all our larger cities the dispensary system, limited to providing medicines, is found to be a public necessity and is largely increasing; but why should not the best medical skill be provided to go with the medicines? What public benefaction could exceed this in its saving of life and health? Suppose every private physician, nurse, or other person knowing of it, should be obliged to report at once (instead of waiting till death) every case of serious disease in the district to this therapeutic section for its inspection. Would not the public then have some security not only against contagion, but against the loss of life from neglect and ignorance?

The record of the cases, to which both the public and private attending physician should contribute, would soon become an invaluable storehouse of medical experience. The health-giving light of publicity would soon show by the facts who were the pretenders only to knowledge and skill, and which of the conflicting schools of medicine was most worthy of public confidence. By this means the patient might have the right to have a consultation with any member of any or of no school, he being always free to accept only the treatment he might prefer. The section should always have an experienced woman, as well as a man, physician, to be called upon especially in cases incident to her sex, no man to interfere in obstetrical cases unless a surgeon or extra aid is needed.

The consequent necessary contact of the schools of medicine would soon do away with the exclusiveness which is now the opprobrium of the profession. The Homeopath and the Eclectic, having obtained a public and legal recogni-

tion, should have their value practically tested by experience, as reliable and public as possible, under an impartial public supervision. And even the various forms of mental- and faith-cure practice might obtain a recognition, by science and the public, of the immense curative influences of the reaction of the nervous system under hypnotic and other psychological influences as various as the vagaries of the wildest imagination. As Herbert Spencer has pointed out in the last volume of his "Sociology," because the physician has been differentiated out of the rain-maker, medicine-man, and priest, and their spook theory of the mind and soul of man, he should under the light of science have only a surer control of the nervous and mental processes and affections by which all physical changes in the body are powerfully influenced if not entirely controlled. Certainly the "re-integrated" physician will not long merit the reproach of Comte, that the modern doctor is merely a veterinary surgeon practising on mankind simply as animals.

By the means proposed the law and the public would compel the coöperation of medical methods and skill now kept apart to the injury of all. For no one could refuse a "consultation" and his advice, when required, without dropping from the profession.

Certainly abundant objections can be made to this as to every beneficent innovation: It would be expensive, says one. Yet if it saves human life ought we to count the cost? Ought not every person to have the best medicines and medical skill at call? Besides, what could more effectively save the people from extortion and expensive quackery—expensive in every sense of the word? It would destroy private practice, says another. No; the public physician would attend generally upon notice of the disease from the private practitioner already in charge of the case, or he would call one in, with the consent of the patient, for mutual aid and protection.

Thus, with new industrial conditions providing for all the material necessities of life, supplemented by the best scientific hygiene and therapeutics, why may not the average man reach his hundredth year? Why not have in the latter half of life some compensation for the long preparation and expense which have made its higher uses and fruition possible?

NEW YORK, N. Y.

V.

BY LANDON CARTER GRAY, M. D.

If I correctly understand Mr. Choate's proposition, it is that the methods of medical practitioners will be improved by adopting those of lawyers who try their cases in courts. In support of this idea various proverbs are recalled, certain satirical lines are quoted, and it is stated that different schools of medicine succeed equally well, although proceeding upon diametrically opposite theories, as well as that the quack and the pretentious ignoramus are now on a level with the conscientious and scientific practitioner. Proverbs are not facts, but at the best are only partial statements of conditions that may have obtained at the period of the world when the aphorism was coined, whilst poetical sayings would not be admitted as evidence even in the courts that Mr. Choate lauds. Medical men might well wish that a doctor could bury his mistakes and thus dispose of patients who cannot be cured, or that the world would proclaim the real technical successes that they frequently have in merely keeping a patient alive or even improving his condition, instead of being blamed for not having effected a cure, or having the credit go to some flamboyant pretender who works upon the patient's emotions. Then, too, everyone who has ever been seriously ill knows perfectly well that two physicians have time and again saved a life by their joint wisdom, instead of having "wafted it more swiftly to the Stygian shores."

Nor am I aware, although I have endeavored to keep myself acquainted with the literature of my profession for a quarter of a century, that there is anywhere to be found what our legal friend would call a "scintilla" of proof to demonstrate that "opposite schools of medicine have succeeded equally well, although proceeding upon diametrically opposite lines." Indeed, I may go further, and challenge Mr. Choate to produce any such testimony. In what part of the country, I am curious to be informed, are the quack and the pretentious ignoramus on a level with the conscientious and scientific practitioner? It all depends, it seems to me, upon what is meant by being "on the same level." If the making of an equal amount of money puts men there, then this statement is an accurate one in some instances, but by no means as a rule, for I know of no quack or pretentious ignoramus in the United States who has as large an income

as the foremost of the conscientious and scientific practitioners, nor has my experience ever led me to believe that the average income of quacks and pretentious ignoramuses is equal to the average income of conscientious and scientific practitioners. But if being "on a level" means obtaining an equal respect in the minds of men, certainly the conscientious and scientific practitioner in the lowliest hamlet in the land towers head and shoulders above the quack and the pretentious ignoramus. Money is not the only standard, thank God, else we should have Spencer's great works condemned for Du Maurier's "Trilby," Shakspeare's genius outshone by the "Old Homestead," and Grant's mind deemed inferior to Jay Gould's.

I am therefore somewhat at a loss to understand from Mr. Choate why he thinks a change should be made in the methods now obtaining among medical men. His description of an average trial in court as being "an intellectual battle between opposing counsel, conducted with weapons consisting of the keenest wit, the most biting sarcasm, and the soundest logic," has a tendency to provoke a smile in anyone who has seen a few of the mundane conflicts of that kind; and certainly no very reassuring unanimity of opinion among the highest legal authorities was evidenced by the Supreme Court in the recent income tax case, or in the electoral commission in the Garfield-Tilden presidential issue, or in the rule adopted by the New York Court of Appeals that the votes of the judges upon decisions should not be published. Mr. Choate has not therefore, I fear, given adequate reasons for his assumption that legal methods would improve the practice of medicine. Law is the application of custom and usages so far as these have been determined by certain dogmatic authorities. It is not a panacea, however. There are many matters which are much better determined in less cumbrous ways, such as the regulation of a business establishment, the management of a household, the direction of an army, questions of taste, of art, and, I am inclined to think, of science. What would be thought, for instance, of the common sense of a plan that would permit the legislature of Mr. Choate's State, Minnesota, or of the writer's, New York, to set the standard for music, morals, painting, sculpture, or literature? Imagine the average State senator or assemblyman, even with the aid of the bosses, sitting in solemn conclave upon such subjects!

The limitations of law are made even more evident if we try to foresee the practical outcome of Mr. Choate's plan. First, the position of clinical judge must be created. Who is to select this gentleman? Either the governor of the State, the mayor of the city, the people at large, or the physicians of the hospital. Selection by either of the first three methods would be politics, and that has never shown itself capable of making the best choice, especially of medical men, for it is a notorious fact that in no State in this country are the public medical officers the highest types of their profession. The choice by the physicians of a hospital would probably result, in the majority of instances, in obtaining a competent man; but Mr. Choate evidently does not understand that there would have to be several clinical judges, because a surgeon could not pass upon medical questions, nor a medical man upon surgical ones, whilst a specialist would be needed in diseases of the skin, of women, of the nervous system, as well as in pathology and bacteriology.

Suppose, however, that all these clinical judges were elected, the trial of each case before them would need at least an hour, and that is about the usual time given by a visiting physician to a ward of patients, so that the trials necessitated by the whole ward would take a week or two, and would be totally impracticable. No physician of any standing would think for a moment of having his time consumed in this manner. In other words, Mr. Choate's tacit assumption seems to be that a judge is necessarily as wise as things really are, and that all the phenomena of the universe would be improved if they could be regulated by judges. As a matter of fact, a great many men believe that many matters in this world regulate themselves much better than judges could regulate them, because the veneration for the judge which becomes an unconscious part of the lawyer's mind is not shared by the rest of the community, although they may pay them all respect as the representatives of the authority which all good citizens should uphold. When I hear of a method of heating my house that is much superior to any other in use, I immediately go and examine the matter thoroughly, and if I satisfy myself that the claims of the new makers are genuine, I order the heating apparatus to be put in. Should I gain anything by going before a judge and submitting to his judgment? In the same way, when a sick person comes under my care, I

assume that I know what is best to be done, because of certain facilities that I am vain enough to think I may have acquired by my reading and observation. Do I gain anything by submitting the matter to a judge? No advance in scientific matters can ever be made in this way. Judges and courts of law are essentially conservative, even to timidity, while science is innately bold and progressive. Law is a matter of precedent; science is a matter of pure reason, founded upon observation, and unchecked by precedent. The right of men to *act* toward other men can only be determined by law; but the right of men to *think* as they choose, in morals, taste, art, literature, and science, cannot be regulated by law, unless they infringe upon the rights of other men; and when they do, the great courts of the land, rendered authoritative by the majesty of the state, ripe with the experience of thousands of years of human gropings, are the proper tribunals to take cognizance of the matter, and not an obscure clinical judge who would probably know little law and less medicine.

NEW YORK, N. Y.

VI.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARENA:

I herewith enclose what seem to me wise and just criticisms of my manuscript, given from a friendly standpoint.

Dr. Dunsmoor is probably the most popular and most widely known general practitioner in the state of Minnesota.

A. B. CHOATE.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., Dec. 7, 1896.

MR. A. B. CHOATE.

Dear Sir: There can be no valid objection to the general idea and purpose of your manuscript entitled "A Court of Medicine and Surgery," for every competent practitioner welcomes intelligent and just criticism of his work.

However, a public clinic, as now conducted, constitutes a court where the young, energetic medical students, fresh from the colleges, give as critical and technical criticism as it would be easy to secure in any manner, and which makes "playing to the galleries" to any great extent both dangerous and futile. The difficulty would be to work out the details of your plan in such a manner as to avoid defeating its general purpose. If this can be done, and the decision of the clinic judge stand the same as a decision in any other court of law, and not involve legal embroil, a more

effective court might be established than the present clinic, and decisions upon the merits of a physician's or a surgeon's work would be more likely to be correct than the bungling work frequently done by courts of law. I would suggest:

First. The secrecy and confidential relation necessarily existing between the patient and physician must remain absolutely inviolate, as the possibility of publicity of name or of the patient's disability, or that he may be required to appear as witness, would be certain to bar patients from either hospital or clinic which permitted such action.

Second. No politics should be allowed in the selection of the clinical judges and state physicians, and to insure this I would suggest the nomination of several candidates by the members of the medical profession, from which nominees the Governor should appoint the officers.

Third. One danger of your plan would be, that incompetent practitioners, through fear of public criticism, would keep their cases out of the hospital, where a minute and technical record is made of every case, and trained assistants are employed, and the result might be that more unskilful work, with greater secrecy, would be done than at present, thus increasing instead of decreasing the evils aimed at. It is not the public operation which needs the court; it is the operation done in private, where it would seem certain that all law pertaining to medicine and surgery to-day would render impossible the surveillance suggested in your paper.

— T. A. DUNSMOOR.

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 5, 1896.

MR. A. B. CHOATE.

Dear Sir: I have studied your article carefully and am perfectly willing that you should use my name as one who indorses the idea. In the way of criticism or rather suggestion I have this to offer:

First. Instead of having the legislation directed toward clinics, I would suggest that it be brought to bear upon every operation followed by death or permanent disability, because the clinical teachers are usually men of good repute in the profession, and, doing their work publicly as they do, are bound, in their own interests, to exercise the utmost care; and because, on the other hand, the work of incompetent men is usually done with as much privacy as possible.

Second. There should be legislation to prevent the man just out of college from undertaking major operations, or

those which endanger the patient's life, until after he has had ample experience in less dangerous operations.

Third. The combined wisdom of the medical and legal professions should decide how these judges and other officials are to be appointed or elected. As a rule the most competent men in the medical profession do not seek political preferment, and should these positions be filled by politicians or by incompetents, the law would defeat the very end in view.

JAMES E. MOORE, M. D.¹

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARENA :

The paper by Mr. Choate, entitled "A Court of Medicine and Surgery," was prepared at my suggestion, as a result of an informal discussion with him of the matters therein referred to. It is easy to see practical difficulties in the way of establishing anything so unique and original as the paper proposes, but such difficulties can, I believe, be overcome by the honest and hearty coöperation of the members of the legal and medical professions.

In common with my brethren in the medical profession, I have long felt the need of a more competent court to pass upon the work of the physician or surgeon than now exists. Much of the secrecy of the practice of medicine and surgery is perhaps due to the fear of being mulct in damages through the instrumentality of a court of law, which, however competent to pass upon the ordinary transactions of the business world, are not so constituted as to be able to deal intelligently with the questions which would come before the court proposed by Mr. Choate, and I therefore heartily indorse the general plan and purpose of the paper.

I would suggest, however, that, in addition to the jurisdiction proposed for this court in the paper, it should also have original, exclusive jurisdiction of all malpractice cases. I am confident there is a serious need of just such a court as is proposed, and if those having time and genius to do so will properly work out the details which Mr. Choate so carefully avoided, I am sure much good to humanity, as well as to the profession of medicine and surgery, would result.

G. G. EITEL.²

¹ Dr. Moore is Fellow of the American Surgical Association and Professor of Surgery in the University of Minnesota. — EDITOR ARENA.

² Dr. Eitel is one of the most widely known and highly respected physicians of the state of Minnesota. — EDITOR ARENA.

those days my thoughts turned continually to my grandfather. If God could do everything, He could let me be my grandfather when I got older, or He could turn me suddenly into someone else. And when I was sad, and those about me told me how "naughty" it was to ask questions about these things, I used to pray God to "turn me into a woman day after to-morrow," so that I wouldn't have to be "scolded any more." But God didn't do it; and yet my aunt had told me that God could do what He liked, and that He "answered prayer."

One day I took down the Bible and sat with it on my lap before the fireplace. It was God's book, and I wanted to see why. It looked exactly like other books; suddenly I wondered if it would burn. I tried it — and it burned. When I was punished for the act, not only was my faith disturbed, but also my sense of justice. It seemed to me that God might have saved that Bible from burning and myself from being punished, if He had wanted to. But He didn't answer any of my prayers. They told me it was because I was "so very naughty."

After a time I was forbidden to speak of my grandfather except as a white-robed angel, going about with a harp under his arm and snow-white wings folded back — rather a difficult picture to contrast with the one down in our parlor, of a hard, stern old man in regimentals. It would be impossible to convey an adequate idea of the fright with which I was inspired by the suggestion that this terrible-looking old warrior could be my guardian angel. Once when I was put to bed in the dark with the comforting assurance that I could not be alone, since God was with me, I sobbed out that it was the fear of God being under the bed which was chiefly possessing me. This not being considered that sort of fear which is the beginning of wisdom, I got little sympathy. And through such struggles I grew to girlhood.

They told me that the way to be happy was to accept conditions as I found them. But it was not easy to do this while I was possessed by the thought that it was quite possible to change the character of the conditions, if I only knew how to apply the effort, or until I was sufficiently satisfied that methods absolutely different may reach harmonious results. I was profoundly unhappy. No one pitied me. "She is a strange girl, with independent views," they said. "She doesn't remember that she is in a world with other

people, but she just makes everyone about her **wonder** what is the matter with all things in general. She **would be** happy enough if she would outgrow some of her **moody thoughts**." This reminded me of Tennyson :

Overlive it; lower yet, be happy; wherefore should I care?

Having a strong will, I determined, finally, to make the most of present opportunities to temporal ends. My aim was happiness. But my thoughts would go back to whether religion was the connecting link between soul and sense, and blind faith the way to rivet that link. The situation resolved itself into a choice of taking the theological opiate or being at incessant war with the physical world, even the mental conditions about me.

"He that believeth shall be saved," said the minister from the pulpit, presumably quoting Christ; "he that believeth not shall be damned." And I listened. No, I could not think Christ believed that one should be condemned for the agony of an honest doubt, nor could I believe that He ever spoke those fearful words. His mission was one of peace, His words were those of comfort. It was His disciples who spoke of damnation, and who, when young children were brought to Him, rebuked those who brought them. But when Jesus saw it, "He was much displeased and said unto them, 'Suffer the little children to come unto me and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven.'" I could shut the book with a fervent "Thank God!" that these words, at least, had not been lost.

The spirit of Christ's teaching is miscarried to many a hungry soul, and, as in the religions of the East, the good in all is being obscured through priestcraft. It is science, the demonstrator of truth, which must unravel the problem, and give to human thought, not a body of laws set in type, subject to mistranslation and all sorts of misconstruction, but laws written in letters of electric fire.

At that time, however, it was useless to think. I was still under the dominion of the flesh; I was still compelled to take up arms against, or accept quietly, an education which limitations made wholly false.

So I married, and, since my husband (whom I loved) regarded "advanced thought" as the peculiar property of men, or of women who must "think for a living," I took the easiest path — as most of us women do. I was quite young

and easily flattered ; perhaps, too, my very disappointment helped me — for pride's sake — to live the lie. I went piously to church, I bowed my head against the pew, and I rose, Sunday after Sunday, to join in the chorus of such hymns as this one by the saintly Dr. Watts :

Eternal plagues and heavy chains,
Tormenting racks and fiery coals,
And darts to inflict a thousand pains,
Dipped in the blood of damned souls.

There Satan, the first sinner, lies,
And roars, and bites his iron bands ;
In vain the rebel strives to rise,
Crushed with the weight of both Your hands.

It had struck me in the days gone by, when I was a silly little girl, that it really was too bad that poor Satan couldn't rise if he wanted to, and make an effort to undo some of the ill he had done. There was also in those days something incongruous in the thought of God Almighty having nothing better to do than to use both His hands (for, of course, He could not have more than two, man being made after His image) in holding Satan down in hell, while Satan was supposed to be actively engaged elsewhere — on one occasion in particular, when he helped me to burn the Bible ; and in God sitting on a great white throne before pearly gates, figuring in a monstrous book, alternately on the debit and the credit side.

As a woman, however, I was more sensible ; then, of course, these things were simply and solely "mysteries," which I was compelled to believe, indeed, but not in the least expected to understand. They say it is sorrow that brings out the good. In my case, it was sorrow that forced me to think. I wanted — oh ! how I wanted — to believe. It was "pride of intellect," they said, that prevented belief. I could believe if I would put by analysis.

It had seemed that the gates of paradise opened to me with my husband's love, and that they swung back and left me on the other side when I learned his faithlessness. Is it well to keep these thoughts with me still — thoughts that have made my blood to boil and my flesh to creep, while the scales fell from my eyes, and my child was born in misery and I left a wreck — a cripple, aged before my time ? It was easy enough to think of a way out of this misery — this moral and physical degradation, this intellectual slavery ; but, I was a woman and divorce was hateful to me. There

was but one thing to thank God for, that to me, at least for the future, no more children could be born; the curse of bringing helpless infancy to bear the burden of its father's sins was made impossible in my case. But I thought of other wives and mothers, suffering in silence, helping this miserable world to be fuller of diseased humanity, — because women are afraid, or because their idea of the grandeur of self-sacrifice is but a relic of barbarism. How I hated the whole world, and how the whole world hated me! I was blamed, of course. No man could be expected to be faithful to such a disagreeable wife as I. Divorce meant disgrace, to myself, even to the poor little child whose life was a burden to it. So I bore my sorrow, and those who knew me best, sometimes spoke of me as a martyr.

Then, after years had gone by — years spent in wondering why I more than others, had no brightness — a famous surgeon came and talked with me. It was confidently believed by him that if I would submit to a surgical operation I might be able to walk again. There was danger, but there was also hope. I prepared to die; whatever the change, it could scarcely bring me more mental suffering (the physical seemed but a parody) than my loveless sojourn on earth.

* * * * *

Under the influence of anæsthetics, my soul wandered out of its physical tenement; I was outside of the limitations of earth, and reviewing the accumulated experiences of untold ages through which my immortal soul had passed. I saw then why it had not been a part of the plan that I should remember, in the flesh, what I had been through before, and I recognized that in the contemplation of my errors in other incarnations was all the hell any crime can merit — all the realization of lost opportunities that can stimulate the soul of the thoughtful to recover lost ground. The soul neither rests in the Devachan of the Buddhist nor suffers in the Purgatory of the Roman Catholic; it is thinking and moving forever. And I wandered on and on, endlessly, aimlessly; and it seemed that I passed and re-passed astral bodies, and though we tried we could not make each other understand. I was a new-comer, and, like a babe, had to learn my bearings in the state to which I had risen, or possibly to which I had returned. But how was it that I understood that I was not in accord with astral relativity, and strove to become so? How do we know many things on earth and strive for others which are without the pale of previous experience?

But suddenly I felt the Ego in a spark of the solar sun struggling with the cosmic forces for chemical affinity. I underwent the process and grew thence into a broader expression of the life-principle. In what, perhaps, would be a thousand years of the earth's time, I was a tree growing on Mars, in that time having changed from a spark to an expression of life. In vain I tried to make other expression; I felt the flutterings of my unevolved vital consciousness — then I was lost in an infinity of ages. And it seemed during that time that I had arrived through vital to conscious and then self-conscious force, but that I had fluctuated so equally between the good and the bad, that my place remained stationary in a spiritual sense; I went neither backward nor forward, but oscillated continually. I wanted no knowledge beyond that of those about me. Whatever physical tendencies I inherited in my human existences, I made use of to temporal ends. But it had happened in the course of time, that I went into a body which peculiarly unfitted me to continue this unchanged spiritual experience. That body was reduced to sad extremities, and in combating with misfortune which was only physical, I fell too far to regain the equilibrium which I had sustained so long. Though it was a retrograde movement, and though it sent me back into the body of an animal to there go through a much-needed school, it was soul-building, and so I could not but see. But I rebelled. I was a fierce beast of the forest, and all the evil of my soul was brought to bear on my surroundings. I roamed savagely about, destroying the weaker; sometimes even I preyed upon my kind. Then came another period. I was living in the astral body, wandering unclothed in the realms of air, unfit to become manifest in the higher state; grown out of the lower. I had to wait until the world into which I would enter could bear me. My Karma did not fit me to be born at once. I lived in numberless other worlds before I came back again to earth, living existences higher, and always falling back to the lower; having opportunities I would not improve and being sent back, by the workings of a perfectly just law, to suffer until I could live aright. And it seemed to me that in some of those existences I was permitted, through the possession of a sense never known to those of our Earth, to view the changes which were going forward on another planet.

I saw islands springing up in mid ocean, and the land of continents receding in the east and extending toward the west, as if forcing itself to cover watery wastes. And I saw man

cultivating land until it refused to yield, giving up, moving on, leaving the country desolate, which, years — hundreds of years — after, was discovered by other races as a fertile tract, an immense, extended, glorious continent. And where were the other races? A continent had split in two, and a great tract of ocean had flowed between them. From the one, man, in the process of ages, had retreated, leaving the other to inferior orders of creation. When I saw myself again, I was seated on a throne. I was a king, with all the unextinguished savageness of the animal, though through that ferocity were glimmerings of better things. I loved torture — especially torture for the sake of religious opinion, I was convinced that men ought to be able to think alike. I witnessed men and maidens struck down in the bloom of youth to satisfy my avarice or my revenge, but I wept over the burning of my capital, and for my Greek mistress I felt the awakening of something like love.

When Columbus “discovered” the other part of that divided continent, I was living in astral realms, but my existence was shorter than usual. Years on earth passed. A king on a throne was seeking an alliance with one who was to become my human mother. Their union would certainly result in the production of a body fitted for me to enter. I waited for the unfolding of that drama. I became a queen, succeeding my sister, who was a tyrant. She was a Roman Catholic, I a heretic, since I was the child of a union unhallowed by the Pope; and to become a Roman Catholic I must admit that I had no title to the throne.

No principle urged me to take so decided a stand against the Church; it was a purely physical matter. I was politic, but I was selfish, and more than aught else I rebelled against womanhood, and resolved to act as if I were a man. I had not yet learned that the end of existence is to rise above externals. I resolved to plan my life and my reign as best suited myself and my convenience, and determined that no soft spot in my heart should give a man a chance to share my power. I steeled my heart against better impulses, against softer, kinder desires — those things which life in the weak body of a woman is peculiarly adapted to secure to the evolving soul. The idea of motherhood was distasteful to me, and I shrank with horror from the thought of that possible hour which most women have to meet, when, with the dew of death upon my brow, I should give to earth another body to clothe another immortal soul. That was a

time in the soul's experience from which I shrank, both as a woman and as a queen, but especially as a woman; and in all the majesty of my intellect I persuaded myself that it was a superior sense which was assisting me. I had yet to learn that nothing in the whole divine plan is worthy to be despised, nothing small enough to be neglected. The very immensity of the soul's experiences excludes the hope that anything, however revolting to the sense possessed now, can be wasted by our desires or by our will.

I was a better queen than I had been king. I possessed infinite longings, I had infinite hopes for something better. But my trials were often too much for my spiritual strength, and gradually my struggles resolved themselves all into ambitions. I loved only for myself, but I suffered for it — suffered terribly even in the flesh, while I laughed, and while I seemed so strong. History has sometimes reviewed with terrible discernment the lesson of my deathbed as that queen, and it is the keynote to my whole life.

When I saw myself on earth again, I was a religious recluse, who believed that all things highest were attained by neglecting the duties of life and spending time in meditation and prayer. But owing to the examples of those about me, who were not what they seemed, my folly was of short duration. I left the cloister and worked boldly among my fellow-men. I learned the significance of those lines, "He who loseth his life shall find it." Yet, with all this, I was strangely intolerant. I saw the truth only from my own perspective. I held up the Church, with all its errors excused. In my heart I could not believe in the infallibility of any Chief Priest or Pope, but I thought that the schism in the Church was responsible for infidelity, and that anything to avert that was justifiable. So, though I went to a leper colony and gave my life to save those struggling souls, I had yet much to learn.

I came back for the last time, a woman who was called upon to suffer all that falls to the lot of womanhood, the "pangs of despised love, the law's delay," the agonies without the satisfactions of motherhood, physical and mental torture in the extreme! In that last life, it seemed, I had suffered infinitely more than in the whole sum of previous existences. Was it because my soul was more highly organized — that I was further on the road to absolute good?

At any rate, a great light, as of infinite satisfaction, came to me, and I knew that the cause of all my suffering had

been ignorance, but that just as surely was suffering to open the door to transcendent bliss. This was stealing over me now, this joy, coming slowly, stealthily carrying itself on a voluptuous whisper, as if moved by the breath of a rose-scented summer morning with sunrise on the hills; then an angelic presence surrounded me, and my eager feet were hastening on and on to happiness — which still seemed to me the end of all things. We are told that it is not in the power of man to conceive what "God hath prepared for them that love Him." Neither can I describe that journey into a joy which propelled me breathlessly into a constantly multiplied sense of its infinite omnipresence; and then it seemed that the angel would have held me back, but I cried:

"Oh, no, no! More, more! I want to see the excess — the culmination. I want the extreme of happiness."

Again the angel would have held me back.

"Take me to the end," was my vehement pleading, regardless of all the past I had reviewed, "take me to the end."

And the voice, sweet as an Eolian harp, answered:

"It is a circle, dear child. I speak in love — there is no end. The extreme of happiness is the beginning of pain." And there were as if tears in the voice and a prayerful supplication. But I would not listen.

"Do you want to go back to earth?" the unseen presence whispered.

The warning was in vain. I could not but press on, grasping the joy that was engulfing me — on, on to the infinite. I cared not for knowledge, I cared not for the lessons of my past. Still, still, to my soul, happiness was the end of all.

"The end of joy," the angel whispered, "is the beginning of pain, and you must go back. . . . I will keep your hand; be not afraid when the change comes. It is only that you are not ready to come."

Then, as in a heart-beat, though I comprehended nothing of what was said, I fell from downy pillows on to a highway strewn with thorns, and as I gave vent to a heartrending shriek of agony, the tearful face of my poor, deformed earthly child was bending over me.

"Thank God! thank God! thank God!" she sobbed. "The crisis is passed. . . . I have been with you all night. . . . God has been very merciful — you have been 'on the threshold' of death."

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

THOMAS LEWIS NUGENT, THE IDEAL REFORMER.¹

REVIEWED BY REV. JABEZ FOX.

Great in natural ability, highly cultivated and scholarly, up-to-date in political and general information, wise, conservative, with a large heart and a warm and constant sympathy for all the unfortunate and oppressed, Judge Nugent could not fail to be a leader of the farmers and laboring people of western Texas in their unequal struggle with the landgrabbers, usurers, and plutocrats. He saw and felt the injustice and hardships of the condition of the common people of the region in which he lived, as an upright, clear-seeing, and learned judicial officer could not but see; and it was inevitable that he should become the counsellor and advocate of these people, in their effort to ameliorate their condition. Naturally therefore he became their captain; a great captain, great in power, and greater in the unique excellence of his character and motives.

He could not be a member of the Farmers' Alliance, for a lawyer was ineligible, but he became the wise friend and adviser of that order. It followed that, when the people of that section of our country organized for defence against the trusts and monopolies which are oppressing them, he was their leader and candidate for governor. It was in his county, Erath, and with his advice, that the Populist Party began. Twice he led, as only such a man as he can lead devoted followers, in a great struggle for right and justice; and his personal character was a prominent factor in the rapid and solid growth of the Populist Party in Texas.

It is unusual for political opponents to speak in very high terms of praise of the character and aims of candidates for office. But in Judge Nugent there was that which disarmed even partisan hostility. All men spoke well of him. Hon. C. K. Bell, M. C. for the 8th district of Texas, says: "There were radical differences of opinion on political questions between Judge Nugent and myself"; notwithstanding which he writes:

As a practitioner he was always courteous and fair, and one of the most successful attorneys I ever met. . . . It was, however, as a trial judge that he laid the foundation for his enduring reputation. I am prepared to speak particularly on this point, for I practised continually before him during the ten years he was on the bench. . . . I do not hesitate to say that a more conscientious man never lived. . . . There was absolutely no prejudice in his composition. . . . He was an eminently learned lawyer, and excelled anyone I ever knew in his ability to express legal propositions clearly and satisfactorily in his charges to a jury. . . .

¹ "Life Work of Thomas L. Nugent," edited by Mrs. Catherine Nugent, Stephenville, Texas. Laird & Lee, Chicago.

In many instances the supreme and appellate courts of our state have commended in the highest terms, and in several instances they have ordered the reporter to report in full as correct models, the instructions given to juries by Judge Nugent. . . . The services rendered to his state by Judge Nugent, not only in the fair and just discrimination of the law while on the bench, but also in settling many complicated questions . . . cannot be overestimated.

The volumes of his memoirs contain many like testimonials to his preëminent ability and worth as a lawyer, a judge, and a man. But equally emphatic is the praise, by clergymen and Christian men and women, of his pure and lofty spiritual life and character. The Rev. Dr. Packard, of the M. E. Church of Missouri, who knew him well, writes :

A great intellect, a great conscience, a great heart, rooted and grounded in great thoughts, great motives, and great principles; grandeur and beneficence, majesty and sweetness, strength and purity, these are the elements of true greatness: and these were conspicuous in the life and character of Judge Nugent. . . . Some men are the slaves of the age in which they live; . . . but there are men whose lives are cornucopias of blessings to their age. Such a man was he. He seemed wholly redeemed from the slavery of selfishness, and raised to a divinely disinterested patriotism, philanthropy, and love. . . . He loved his fellow-men; and nothing dear to human interests was a matter of indifference to him. . . . He never asked "What is popular?" but always "What is right?" . . . It was his distinction that he united in himself excellences which at first seem mutually repellent. For example, he was a man of lion heart, victorious over fear, gathering strength and animation from danger, and bound the faster to duty by its hardships and privations; and at the same time he was a child in simplicity, sweetness, innocence, and benignity. His firmness had not the least alloy of roughness.

Judge Nugent's deeply religious nature, even in his boyhood, directed his mind toward the ministry of the Methodist Church, and his early education had direct reference to this. But in maturer years his judgment disinclined him to all ecclesiasticism. He felt the spirit of the present age, which sees and protests against a divorce of dogma and life. For the externals of a religion that is dead or moribund, he had no use. Empty shells did not attract or deceive him. He looked to deeds rather than to professions. He always remained a very religious man, and indeed grew more and more so with increase of years; but his love of freedom, and his devotion to the substance of a heavenly life, with small regard for the external conventions, which seemed to him often to obscure and hinder rather than to promote a genuine spirituality, kept him out of church organizations, although they did not prevent his actively working for what seemed to him a true Christianity. He accepted, with little reservation, or none, the theology contained in the writings of Emanuel Swedenborg; and his Christian life was most exemplary. Dr. Packard, without indorsing his peculiar doctrines, testifies to his true spirituality and Christian living, saying :

He had religious sensibility, but a sensibility which never rested until it had found its true perfection and manifestation in practice. He believed in God as revealed in Jesus Christ, the Divine Man; and he was not a man in whom such a belief could lie dormant. This faith wrought in him powerfully. He was not satisfied with a superficial religion, but was particularly interested in those instructions from the pulpit which enjoined a deep, living, all-pervading sense of God's presence and authority, and an intimate union of the mind with its Creator. He was calm, inquisitive, rational, and unaffected by bigotry or fanaticism. That great maxim of

Christianity, "No man liveth to himself," was engraven on his mind. Without profession or show of emotion, he felt the claim of everything human on his sympathy and service. His professional engagements did not absolve him to his own conscience from laboring in the cause of mankind, and his steady zeal redeemed from business time for doing extensive good. . . . His greatness was unpretending. He had no thought of playing the hero. He was immeasurably above show and the arts by which inferior minds thrust themselves on notice. There was a union in his character of self-respect and modesty, which brought out both these qualities in strong relief. . . . He made no merit of the sufferings he had incurred by fidelity to principle. It was a part of his faith that the highest happiness is found in the love and lofty principle through which a man surrenders himself wholly to the cause of right and of man; and he proved its truth in his own experience.

As one who contributed largely, at the very beginning, to the movement which has culminated in the great uprising of the people against the tyranny of the money power, Judge Nugent and his labors should be held in great esteem by all who look for an amelioration of our present financial and economic evils.

AN AMERICAN IDYLL.¹

REVIEWED BY ELLEN A. RICHARDSON.

"An American Idyll," by the Countess di Brazzà, is a true story told in a most charming way. It gives graphically an easy understanding of a phase of human life, primitive and natural, such as can only be found on our continent among certain tribes of our North American Indians.

The story has for its hero a noted scientist, whose name is not given; he is called throughout the tale the white "Shaman," or Medicine Man. The heroine is an Indian maiden bearing the name of Ampharita (the silent one).

It is so rare to find a tale of Indian life which gives the pure, sweet, honor side of the Indian nature that this book of the Countess di Brazzà is more than a valuable contribution to our historical or folk-lore libraries; it is as well a *story* of healthy sentiment and a grand tribute to these children of nature.

The scene of the story is laid in Arizona and among the Sierra Madre mountains in northwestern Mexico. The Pima Baja tribes of whom the story treats belong to the best agricultural tribes of all the North American Indians: they are noted for their peaceable, industrious, hospitable ways. They are of a religious nature, and easily convertible to Christianity. Their own beliefs would make a valuable contribution to the study of comparative religions as carried on in the Monsalvat School at Greenacre, Elliot, Maine.

"The Scientist," who is the hero of the story, was on an exploring expedition into the southern portion of what we call the Great American Desert, not only to study the "topography of the country, the language, customs, and physiognomy of its human inhabitants, its meteorology and geology; but also to collect and classify, as far as possible, speci-

¹ "An American Idyll," by Countess di Brazzà (Cora Slocomb). Illustrated by the author. Pp. 244. Price, \$1.50. Published by the Arena Publishing Company, Boston.

mens of its flora and of the animals, reptiles, and insects of the highlands of the Sierra Madre, which are even less known to science than the scattered aborigines of the same desolate region."

There are descriptions of the adobe, mesquite, and cactus wood houses, of the plants, flowers, insects, and reptiles of that region, all of which are made more interesting by the illustrations drawn by the Countess, who seems to be as facile with her pencil as with her pen.

Ampharita was one of the children of the Pima Bajas who ran hither and thither collecting specimens for the "Shaman." She was a keen observer and lover of nature, and her knowledge was quite as accurate as her master's. "Whether as guide leading him on arduous expeditions up the mountain side, or when seeking for unknown growths on the mezas or in the barrancas, he found her never at fault."

Nature had taught Ampharita the quality of her creatures, and she in turn taught much to the Scientist. As time went on he grew fond of his silent companion, and beguiled many a homesick hour while resting from his arduous studies, by describing to her his own home, and life in the cities of the civilized world. He told her about the schools and the amusements of the educated people, of music as it is known to the cultured; he described our museums, hospitals, and churches. Of the hospitals she would ask over and over again, "trying to grasp the stupendous suggestion contained in such an assertion as: We have especial homes for poor children who have lost their parents. Many of them wider and higher than this barranca, and filled with more babes than there are men and women and children in your whole tribe." The description of "the churches, though grand, left her somewhat cold, for she did not like the idea of a roof, the emblazoned walls, and stained glass windows, which she said must shut out the breath of God."

However, "the more Ampharita heard about the world as white women know it, the more her wonder grew, and at last gave birth to an intense yearning actually to behold some of the marvels with which she had become familiar by hearsay."

The master and assistant teach many lessons to each other, equally valuable to the reader of the book, who may well ask as she lays the book down, Is it better to be civilized or uncivilized?

We find ourselves drawn into the soliloquy of the Scientist, when he asks, "What is civilized learning? What is our philosophy? They are the servants of the love of the world. Our existence is an unknown mystery, insolvable by science. 'Thou hast hidden these things from the knowing and prudent, and revealed them unto babes.' Our many books crush the spirit. Eyes grow dull that see only printed words. Incessant analysis of matter atrophies the soul. Death is the most wonderful of all the changes in Evolution. Science stops at the grave as if the circle of life were completed, as if the component parts were dispersed and reabsorbed, as if a man's entity were gone."

The pleasing and skilful management of light and shade throughout the book, in the contrast of the kind of knowledge possessed by the hero and the heroine, and the test that is put to truth in their episode of

sentiment lead the reader to ask if the greater study, "Man, know thyself," is not the neglected science, which has turned our conditions topsy-turvy. "So many delving in Science know only the prejudices of the world, taking in one-sided views of events and human intercourse; what they call self-development is supreme selfishness. Things that are eternal do not figure in the calculations of such. Truth walks with us here, but we know it not. Are human sacrifices needful to wake the intellect and catch the vibrations of one's own soul?"

"An American Idyll" is a healthy book, calculated to inform and better the world. It is not only most entertainingly written, but it is truth, conveying simple and strong lessons of life in a style to be easily assimilated.

THE DUKE AND THE HUMANITARIAN.¹

REVIEWED BY ELLEN A. RICHARDSON.

We have here a story of life in America under the reign of capital, which the author claims is cursing our land.

A romance runs through the book, a story of love unrequited, and a story of so-called matrimony, where fortune is exchanged for title and for misery.

Both of these conditions might have their scenes laid in any other part of the world inhabited by human beings; but the tale is made truly American, and it reflects all too clearly our peculiar social conditions. These facts cannot fail to interest the reader.

The story of a great reformer is incorporated into the sentimental part of the book, and the staunch agitator completely overshadows the other characters, even in his grandly met death. "He never looked upon himself as a martyr; he considered his fate simply as the natural consequence of the stand he had taken. The time was not yet ripe for men like him."

The inconsistencies of our social conditions are brought out in strong relief throughout the book, but not more forcibly on any page than on that wherein the public press is made to exult over the execution of the man who stood for "just laws," for "bad government to be made good government," for methods which should "bring about the happiness and stability of humanity;" while in the "same paper of the same issue there were several columns devoted to a prize fight, in which a fighter of great popularity had the day before killed his opponent by a blow on the temple, although the attending physician announced publicly that the man died of heart failure immediately after the blow that had felled him."

The Humanitarian, the prize fighter, the millionaire, with a beautiful daughter for sale, and the adventurer, with his title to purchase fortune, are made the moving men in this chess game of life. Intensely interesting it is to watch the progress of the game, while all the incidentals—of the American politician talking tariff, the unveiling of the miseries of life

¹"The Duke and the Humanitarian." By Libbie Israel Hollinger. Beacon Series. Pp. 183. Price, paper, 25 cents. Arena Publishing Company.

through the touches with slum life, and the many natural elements of daily life on several planes — touch deeply our sense of justice, on the one hand, and our sense of ludicrousness in the follies, on the other.

As we have already indicated, the glow of a burning zeal for humanity sustains the light and love of gold. Looked at from a literary point of view the story is but the eye of the needle that carries the threads of life's colors.

But no one will object to the accompaniment of romance, if we may thereby win attention to the problems of human life.

DEBORAH.¹

REVIEWED BY NEWELL DUNBAR.

At this stage in the game, with that ghost practically laid, a book on Mormon polygamy seems somewhat an anachronism. Yet in "Deborah" Mrs. Todd has written a story of which it may be said that it interests now, and that it will be read to the end by every one who once takes up the book.

Of course, the entire history and evolution, and at least the salient features of the doctrine and practices of Mormonism — in other words, the facts to present which the book was written — are very much in evidence, as its message is emphasized by every literary work. Indeed in this case, to speak plainly, they are made rather *obtrusively* prominent; the *ars celare artem* is somewhat noticeably wanting, and the framework of the structure is naively exposed. There is too pronounced a flavor of "giving a good deal of information." This mars the art of the story, while completing the picture of a state of society in regard to which the obvious question seems to be, Why should it be described at all? It is now happily extinct, and so does not require to be *attacked*; it was so recently in existence among us as to be still generally *known* about; and it lacks the glamour of antiquity, the charm, as well as the *excuse for presentation*, that comes from being constructed from the records of a long buried past.

The descriptive and the expository element, however, does not compose "Deborah." Accompanying this ingredient, more or less completely interwoven with and flowing into and constituting it (the trouble from an artistic point of view being, as has been already hinted at, that the two constituents are not skillfully enough welded together, the "joint" being too perceptible), is the love story of Deborah and Jedediah. This stalwart youth and stately maiden grow up side by side in Mormondom, are orphaned, wed, are separated by the cunning and subjected to the temptations of the wily elders, Deborah in her husband's absence being, as she herself expresses it, mightily "wrestled with," while Jedediah, sent on a mission to England, returns thence with a "plural" wife, who on comprehending the injury she has done to Deborah comes to a tragic end, whereupon Deborah and Jedediah are reunited, renounce Mormon-

¹ "Deborah, the Advanced Woman: A Novel," by Mary Ives Todd. Price, cloth, \$1.25; paper, 50 cents. Arena Publishing Company, Boston, Mass.

ism, and escape to Gentiledom. Being an "advanced woman" the heroine, of course, has done some thinking; she has "views" of her own, and does not believe in her sex being subordinate. In verbal engagement, as is to be expected, she is represented as putting to rout cleverly with her arguments and intuition the redoubtable and autocratic Brigham Young himself.

"Deborah" is worth reading. On the whole it is a strong, if not a thoroughly artistic story.

LIFE'S GATEWAYS.¹

REVIEWED BY MARGARET CONNOLLY.

I have just finished reading "Life's Gateways; or, How to Win Real Success," and feel that a new power has been given to me, a new incentive to success in life's struggle, a new weapon with which to fight for victory — and to win. Probably most of us, not allowing for differences of temperament, are apt to believe that a book will affect others as it has affected ourselves. I feel, however, that this essentially is a work which will not only strongly appeal to all who read it, but which must inevitably leave its impress upon their lives, the inner as well as the outer — if the one does not include the other, for the outer life is but the expression of the inner or soul life.

The book is composed of a number of essays which appeared from time to time in the *Toledo Blade*, with which journal the author has been prominently associated for many years. In her preface Miss Bouton says:

These talks contain nothing new. They only repeat again and again truths which are as old as humanity itself — truths which, recognized and acted upon, would bring the highest success possible to human attainment. If they seem strange to any, it is because in the rush after material prosperity everything has been brought down to a purely physical basis, whereas it is the spiritual which, through the mental, is at the root of all that is, has been, or ever will be upon any plane.

This is true, but much, everything, depends on the way in which a truth is presented to us. Miss Bouton presents these old truths in such an attractive, simple, and yet dignified manner that they have all the charm of newness, while every page is pervaded by a broadness of vision, a sincerity and nobility of purpose, which carry conviction to the mind of the reader and enthuse him with the spirit of the author.

The book includes twenty-four chapters or essays, each being complete in itself and containing a practical, helpful lesson, each drawing the mind upward, nourishing it with high and spiritual thoughts, while at the same time giving such strong, sound, common-sense suggestions and advice that the most material and worldly-wise must admit that the writer is eminently practical as well as altruistic.

The following headings of chapters will, perhaps, help to give some idea of the nature of the book: "Law is Universal," "The Rule of

¹ "Life's Gateways; or, How to Win Real Success," by Emily S. Bouton. Pp. 187. Price, cloth, \$1.00; paper, 50 cents. Arena Publishing Company, Boston, Mass.

Life," "To Gain Life's Prizes," "True Liberty, Which is Self-Mastery," "Self-Dependence," "The Value of Concentration," "A Purpose in Drudgery," "What is Success?" "Potent Elements of Success," "Do Not Look Backward," "Help Yourself," "Change Means Growth," etc.

In the first chapter, "Law is Universal," the writer emphasizes the fact that "law is operative everywhere." "It is," she says, "just as potent upon the mental plane as upon the physical, although we have not yet learned to trace the effects so clearly when it is broken upon the former." If we, individually, recognized and acted up to this truth and also realized the great underlying principle of the oneness, the unity, of all life, Miss Bouton asserts that — and we must all agree with her — "the present condition of unrest and discontent would pass away." "It is not strange," she continues, "that there is discontent, for greed and lawless competition, the handmaidens of selfishness, are uppermost, and their clamorings are fast silencing the voice of brotherhood."

All through the work, underlying its strong, practical, helpful thoughts, runs the spiritual undercurrent, the great truth that the first element to enduring and real success, which is not to be measured by a calculation in dollars and cents, is to recognize the spiritual in life — that all else is subordinate to this. The author insists that if this fact is once recognized, each individual believing in himself and the divinity within him, success in life must come as the result of law. Her own words are: "Believe in yourself, not with a selfish egotism that decries all around you, but with such reverence for the 'god that is within you' as to render failure impossible." Without this belief in one's self, in one's own powers, which is something entirely apart from self-conceit or egoism, it is impossible for the individual to attain to the highest or best that he is capable of, for he is forever beset with fears and held back by a timidity which palsies all his efforts. This is strongly emphasized in the chapter on "Self-Dependence," toward the close of which Miss Bouton says: "Courage is what is needed, that kind of courage which the knowledge of power gives to the individual man or woman. And everyone has this power, only that he does not recognize it. He does not know that there is within him that which makes him the king over circumstances and environment, if only he seizes the chance for its exercise."

The author dwells upon the necessity of concentration, perseverance, having a distinct aim in life and holding to it, not allowing one's self to be swerved to the right or to the left, faithfulness in little things, living in the present and making the most of every hour, self-control, self-dependence; in a word, all that goes to the making of a fully rounded character. Strong, uplifting, noble in purpose, and from a purely literary point of view admirable in every respect, "Life's Gateways" may be read with profit and pleasure by the old as well as the young.



David Lumsy.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN CITIES.

By HON. JOSIAH QUINCY,
Mayor of Boston, Massachusetts.

OBSERVERS of modern municipal development on both sides of the Atlantic cannot but be struck with a curious anomaly. In some countries of Europe, where the administration of city affairs is controlled only to a very limited extent, or not at all, by the great mass of the citizens, municipal governments are conducted upon broader and more popular lines than in the United States, where universal suffrage prevails. In a certain sense, Berlin and Paris are actually more democratic than New York and Chicago. The people of the former cities have indeed nothing like the direct control over their city governments which those of the latter enjoy, in theory at least; but if we form our judgment not by the scope of the elective franchise, but by that of services rendered, we shall have to award the palm for variety and usefulness of municipal activity, for benefits conferred upon the masses of the people, to the foreign cities. An intelligent observer, with no other knowledge than that derived from a comparison of work done and results secured, would doubtless conclude that the people ruled more fully in Paris than in New York, in Berlin than in Chicago. In a score of different directions the interests of the average citizen are better and more fully cared for, his wants more fully met, in the great city of Europe than in that of America. Municipal government in the old world seems to be for the people, if not by the people.

My object in calling attention to this curious contrast between the theoretical character of city governments and the results they actually attain, is by no means to draw a comparison unfavorable to democratic institutions or universal suffrage. To an American, liberty of thought, of speech, of action, is even more desirable than perfection of administration; we would not be the subjects of an imperial master for all the advantages of Berlin. If we must choose, we prefer representative government even to good government. We would not exchange a poor administration representing the will of the whole people, susceptible of improvement as they become wiser, for a better one expressing only the ideas of a ruling class. To slavishly copy the methods of older communities would be as foolish as to decline to give any attention to their experience. But with the rapid increase in the population of our great cities, and the growing complexity of their life, we may well inquire whether we cannot learn something as to the lines of profitable municipal development in America by a study of the work done abroad. When a European city is found to be promoting the well-being of its people by services of a character not yet undertaken by our municipalities, the question should at once be asked, why cannot we, in our own way, do as much? The presumption should certainly be that the people of New York are capable of organizing any branch of public service which the city of Berlin finds it for the interest of its people to undertake.

There are three broad classes of municipal services: First, There are those which are of absolute necessity for the existence of a civilized urban community, such as the construction of streets, water-works, and sewers, or the maintenance of police and fire departments, of hospitals and almshouses. Second, There are those which are now considered indispensable, if not of primary necessity, such as the inspection of certain articles of food, the regulation of the liquor traffic, the protection of the public health, together with the provision, either directly under the control of the city or through the agency of quasi-public corporations, of facilities for passenger transportation through the streets, and of gas and electricity. Third, There are those branches of public activity which provide for wants which are above the primary ones, which supply what may be called municipal conveniences or privileges; under this heading fall libraries and facilities

for higher education, parks, playgrounds, public baths, gymnasias, and facilities for recreation or comfort.

The principles of sound administration are very simple, and they are the same in America as in Europe. To make any executive organization efficient it must have a head — whether elected by universal suffrage, chosen by a select body, or appointed by the central government — who is intrusted with proper powers of control and direction. Perfect men would doubtless make any system of government produce good results; men as we find them only do satisfactory public work when it is properly systematized, coördinated, and controlled. If a large American city wants good government, it must intrust to some one man the full power of executive direction. The successful performance of any important branch of work in a great city calls for careful and intelligent organization and constant watchfulness. To obtain results as good as those reached abroad we must, through universal suffrage, secure the adoption of the systems and methods best adapted for the purpose, and the appointment of administrative officers of the requisite capacity. The task of directing any important department of a great city calls for ability of a high order. Public opinion must be educated up to the point of demanding that, whatever play may be given to political forces, only men of the requisite qualifications shall be intrusted with high municipal office. This country is as rich as any in the world in capable administrators of large affairs; with proper city charters and the right men intrusted with power under them, we can immensely raise the standard of city administration in a short period of time.

A very large and important part of modern municipal work is of a purely technical character. The engineer, the landscape gardener, the architect, the physician, and other men of professional training have to be intrusted with it, either as regular officials or through special engagements. It is of the first importance to a large city to have a regular and capable professional force, maintained upon a permanent basis, independent of political changes; and this is perfectly possible even when the party system of government prevails. It is cheaper to have a dual organization, one political and one technical, than to forego the advantages of having trained and experienced experts connected with every branch of work. When outside professional work or advice is required

for special pieces of work, the rule that only the best talent is good enough for the city should be constantly laid down and adhered to. The amount of public money that has been largely wasted in our American cities in erecting buildings designed by second or third rate architects is something not pleasant to contemplate. An aroused public opinion can readily control matters of this character.

The question whether such public services as lighting, by gas or electricity, and passenger transportation in the streets, should be intrusted to corporations or performed directly by the municipality, is one which is giving rise to a great deal of discussion in this country, and the sentiment in favor of municipal ownership is unquestionably growing. The fact that franchises and locations in the streets have been so universally given to private corporations in our great cities, and that an enormous amount of capital has been invested in their securities, makes any attempt to inaugurate the European practice of public ownership, with operation either directly by the city or under a lease from it, exceedingly difficult. But aside from the question of dealing fairly with vested interests, there seems to me to be no reason why an American city should not take up any service of this character which may be recommended by business and financial considerations. There is no principle that stands in the way, for instance, of the municipal ownership and operation of an electric-light plant. It is purely a commercial question in each particular case. The electric-lighting business in particular, with the present improved dynamos and engines, is one which a properly organized city ought to be able to conduct for itself with some economy and advantage.

The argument is sometimes made that new fields of work of this character cannot safely be entered upon until the civil-service system is more firmly established in our cities, and their general standard of government is higher; but it does not seem to me that such reasoning rests upon a sound basis. Any extension of municipal functions must tend to arouse a public interest which cannot but assist in improving administration and hastening the adoption of a strict civil-service system. The indifference of the more intelligent and well-to-do citizens, and their willingness to vote their party tickets blindly, while exercising little or no influence over party nominations, is the curse of many of our cities. Business

men of large and unselfish views can control a city government if they will take the pains to do so. If some extension of municipal functions in the directions above indicated would arouse some who are now apathetic to a sense of their vital interest in sound administration, it would do a good work. We should not therefore wait for a perfect municipal organization before we undertake any desirable addition to the services now rendered directly by the city, but should be willing to trust something to the educating and awakening effect of imposing further responsibilities upon a municipal government, and thus bringing it into a new and close relation with the citizens.

It should also be borne in mind that municipal ownership does not necessarily involve municipal operation. Even the highly organized cities of Europe, with their permanent civil-service systems, find it better policy to lease certain franchises for a term of years than to operate directly such branches of public service as street-railway systems or gas-works. Many who are alarmed at the suggestion that an American city should manage a great and intricate electric-railway system, with its hundreds or even thousands of employés, are quite willing to consider fairly, as a question chiefly of finance, the proposition that a city should acquire the ownership of the street-railway locations and tracks in its streets, with a view to leasing them on proper terms and conditions for a period of years. It does not follow because municipal operation may be decidedly inexpedient that public ownership and control may not be desirable and beneficial.

In the case of electric-lighting plants, the conditions are such that ownership and operation naturally go together. The comparative simplicity of this service, and the present perfection of apparatus, make it a peculiarly favorable field for municipal enterprise. There are certainly many considerations in favor of placing the lighting of public streets, grounds, and buildings, at least, upon a municipal basis. Indeed, it seems to me that the case is so clear that the only question for a large city to consider is what legal difficulties or other embarrassments there may be in terminating existing relations with private companies. In the present state of development of electricity and steam, any competent city engineer should be able to calculate the expense of installing, maintaining, and operating an electric-lighting plant for a

given duty. Of course, if a city has not a competent technical and administrative force, it cannot successfully install and operate an electric-light plant; but neither can it properly build and maintain streets without such a force. The latter work calls for scientific and practical knowledge, as much as the former; if a city government is properly organized for the one service, it can easily be adapted to the other. If looseness in methods of accounting and book-keeping is tolerated, of course the real cost of electric-lighting will not be shown; but neither will that of other branches of municipal service. Aside from the question of general public lighting, every large city should maintain a force of its own for doing all the electrical construction and repair work required in connection with its public buildings and institutions. Electricity must play a large part in the service of every progressive city, and everything pertaining to its use should be brought under the charge of a properly organized department of the city government.

Only the business considerations in favor of municipal ownership have been hitherto touched upon, but the broad political considerations are even stronger. The power now necessarily wielded by the great corporations which control such branches of public service as lighting and transportation often gives them too great an influence over municipal governments. It has been said that the government must either control corporations, or be controlled by them. Without fully accepting this sweeping declaration, it must be admitted that there have been many cases in our American cities where corporations have practically dictated the action of city councils. Their influence over nominations and elections, where they choose to exert it, may often be a determining one. Even a corporation holding a municipal franchise that has nothing further to ask of the city, and only desires to be allowed to prosecute its business without interference, is often drawn into municipal politics by the skilfully planned attacks of politicians who have purposes of their own in view. In short, the connection between quasi-public corporations and the city is necessarily so close that corporate interests are bound to make themselves powerfully felt at times, both by their command of capital and by their influence over large numbers of employes.

The great problem of municipal government under universal suffrage is to reduce the play of purely selfish or indivi-

dual interests, so that elections may be decided upon broad grounds affecting the great mass of the citizens. The modern municipality touches so many people in such a variety of ways, and is necessarily brought into collision with so many private interests, that any narrowing of the scope of such interests is for the public good. It may be urged, on the other hand, that the influence of the additional city employes made necessary by the taking over of branches of service now performed by corporations will be equally great and equally selfish; but experience proves pretty conclusively that this is not the case. It has frequently been demonstrated that any influence which may be exerted by municipal employes in favor of a party in power is likely to be fully offset by the opposition of those who have been disappointed in obtaining public office or employment. And even those engaged upon city work are sure to have grievances, real or imaginary, against the administration in power, and are never solidly united in its favor. Moreover, with the extension and firmer establishment of the civil-service system, public employes are coming to feel fairly secure of their positions, regardless of political changes.

In respect to the third class of municipal services above mentioned, namely, those falling under the head of conveniences or privileges, the American city has been far behind its European prototype. In the variety and excellence of public facilities for healthful exercise, both indoors and in the open air, for bathing, and for the convenience and recreation of the people, we have much to learn from what has been done abroad; but we are fast waking up to this fact, and are beginning to supply these deficiencies. Whatever theories may be entertained as to the proper limits of municipal service, or as to the purposes for which money raised by taxation may properly be spent, the doctrine that a city may advantageously assume any functions generally beneficial to its citizens has in our time become firmly established in theory, and is fast being put into practice. Steps in the direction of what may fairly be called municipal socialism are undertaken with the full support of strong opponents of state socialism, in its broad aspect. The question where to draw the line has now become one of expediency, or of financial limitation, scarcely one of principle. A large degree of paternalism is already an accepted fact in every great and pro-

gressive American city, and irresistible forces are constantly tending to widen still further the field of public action.

The wonderful growth of interest in athletics and in various kinds of outdoor sports which has taken place in this country within recent years, has naturally directed attention to municipal gymnasia, playgrounds, and baths. The public is awakening to the fact that these can be supplied by municipal agency at an expense which is very small in comparison with that incurred for many other purposes, or when measured by the widespread benefits conferred. Facilities for cleanliness, for physical development, and for healthful recreation tend to the social and moral development of the masses of the people. The duty of a city is to promote the civilization, in the fullest sense of the word, of all its citizens. No true civilization can exist without the provision of some reasonable opportunities for exercising the physical and mental faculties, of experiencing something of the variety and of the healthful pleasures of life, of feeling at least the degree of self-respect which personal cleanliness brings with it. The people of a city constitute a community, in all which that significant term implies; their interests are inextricably bound up together, and everything which promotes the well-being of a large part of the population benefits all.

Even from a purely economical standpoint, the provision of the municipal facilities above referred to is fully justifiable, through their effect in increasing the capacity of men and women to perform useful service, whether manual or mental. The people of a city live by labor; they grow practically nothing from the soil, but they exchange their products or services for food grown by others, perhaps many thousands of miles away. Everything which increases the efficiency of labor, whether of the head or of the hand, increases the capacity of producing or of serving, and therefore adds to the means of livelihood of the community as a whole. The man or woman who is rested and stimulated by healthful change of occupation and by new ideas, who is afforded some opportunities of development, of enjoyment, and of social contact, becomes a more efficient agency for the production of wealth, to look at the matter from the lowest point of view.

But there is a much higher and truer standpoint. If any civilization is purely material in its aims, if it regards the masses or mankind merely as human machines for doing cer-

tain work, or as animals to be housed and fed merely that an appointed task may be performed, it will deservedly perish. The social elevation of man must, indeed, rest upon a secure material foundation. He must work, with all the powers with which he has been endowed, in order that he may have sufficient food, clothing, and shelter. But he does not work for these alone; they are but the foundations upon which he is to build. The object of his existence is the development of all his faculties, physical, mental, and spiritual. Toil is a necessary part of his training, but recreation is a part scarcely less important.

In cities, men are brought more closely together and have a greater number of vital interests in common than in the country. The sentiment of municipal solidarity is constantly growing, and the conception of the true functions of the city government is constantly widening. If socialism is ever attempted, it will come through great cities, not through agricultural settlements. In the great city, universal suffrage is subjected to its most crucial test; the results of that test, so full of import to humanity, will be estimated in the twentieth century. If the nineteenth century — as the period of municipal evolution in the United States — has contributed its full share of waste, inefficiency, and corruption, it can show some great achievements. There are encouraging signs that its closing years will be signalized by the growth of a sounder and broader civic spirit and a higher conception of the duties and opportunities of a great municipality. For the accomplishment of results of far-reaching beneficence, nothing more is needed than that the same American intelligence, energy, and determination to succeed, which have gained such notable victories in every other field of commercial and intellectual activity, should apply themselves to the special problems presented by city governments. But these must be approached with full confidence that they can be solved. Without shutting our eyes to past failures or existing defects, let us not lose one whit of belief in the beneficent workings of the principle of political equality when it is given a fair chance. Let us set up a high ideal of what a city government should be, and of what it should do for all its citizens, and then proceed, with reasonable caution but also with manly courage, to undertake any function, or to discharge any duty, which tends to promote the well-being of the people.

THE SOLIDARITY OF TOWN AND FARM.

BY DR. A. C. TRUE,

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BETWEEN 1870 and 1890, speaking relatively and in round numbers, two million men gave up farming and went to join the great army of toilers in our cities. Taking their families into account, six million people from the farm were added to the population of the town; or, to put it in another way, in 1870, according to Carroll D. Wright, 46.72 per cent of all the persons engaged in gainful occupations were employed in farming. In 1890 only 36.44 per cent were so employed. The farms lost ten per cent in these twenty years. The same causes which produced that great movement of population to the towns are still operative. The rush to the cities continues, and will continue. Nor is this movement confined to this country. The same thing has taken place in Europe. Such cities as Berlin and Budapest have grown in recent years almost as rapidly as Chicago or Buffalo.

For this tendency to leave the farm and seek his fortune in the town, it is common to lay great blame on the shoulders of the farmer's boy. He is popularly supposed to be an uncommonly restless person who, weary of the dull routine in which he has been reared, and attracted by the glare and excitement of city streets and pleasures, leaves the plough in the furrow, and, without so much as casting one look backward in regret for separation from old friends and associations, hastens to mingle in the strife and turmoil of the town. By many he is sneered at as a very foolish boy who comes to town in total ignorance of the hard conditions of the average city worker, thinking to leap with a few bounds into fame and fortune. Thrilling tales are often told of the desperate struggles and sufferings of the would-be merchant or banker, until he finally sinks in sullen despair to his rightful station as street-car driver or motorman.

Many good people have thought that if we could in some way surround the country youth with more comforts and

pleasures, if we could relieve the solitude and monotony of the farm, he would stay at home and become a wiser and a better man. Various schemes to this end have been devised, and have come to naught. Not discouraged by repeated failures, philanthropists have kept up their strivings in this direction. They have even hoped to make country life so attractive that great numbers of city people would move out of town, and thus relieve the congestion in certain districts and industries of the city. Nothing is more common than to revile poor people in the slums of our great cities because they will be so foolish as to herd together in tenement-houses and foul-smelling alleys, when they might be out on quarter-sections breathing the pure air of heaven and looking abroad over the boundless areas of vast prairies. It is true that, since the Commissioner of Labor has assured us that people in slums have on the average about as much money as other people, and that the bacteria which inhabit their stuffy rooms are not particularly dangerous, we have perhaps been more inclined to leave the slums to their dirty happiness, and content ourselves with thanking God that we are not as other men—even these city-loving ragamuffins. Still, the talk about preventing the rush to the cities goes on. Lately, however, a few students of modern life have come to see and to say that, while present industrial conditions continue, the movement of populations to cities will continue. The fact is that, broadly speaking, men leave the farms because they are not needed there.

The introduction of labor-saving machinery and rapid transportation has produced the same result in agriculture as in other kinds of manufacturing. A smaller number of men working in our fields turn out a much greater product than the greater number of laborers could possibly secure in olden times, and the products of all lands are easily carried to where they are needed. For a time in this country cheap land, superficial methods of cultivation, rapid development of farm machinery, and the swift increase of population engaged in mining and manufacturing enabled our farmers to extend their operations with profit, and to give employment to thousands of new men. But gradually, and more rapidly within the past twenty-five years, invention has gained the mastery in agriculture as in other arts. The brain of man has triumphed over his hand here as elsewhere. Enough is pro-

duced to feed and clothe the world. Fewer workers per acre are required. The horse or the machine, steam or electricity, has taken the place of the boy or the man. Make farm life never so attractive, and there will be but little difference. There are more birds in the nest than the parents can take care of. Some must get out and pick up their own living abroad, or else all will be poorly nourished. It is not love of the town so much as necessity to earn a livelihood off the farm which drives boys to the town and makes them competitors in the great industrial struggles at the centres of population.

The clear apprehension of the great fundamental fact that the conditions of agriculture are steadily approximating to those of our other great industries is very important at this crisis in the industrial life of the world. The individual farmer needs to see this in order that he may conform in his business to those sound rules of procedure which experience has shown to be necessary to success in other branches of industry. To be successful to-day the farmer must think and work as other business men think and work. In order that he may come into sympathy with the workers in other lines who are studying and struggling to improve their industrial environment, he needs to see that the industrial problem of agriculture is the same as that of other industries. Hitherto it has been common among a certain class of conservative thinkers on industrial problems to set the farmers off by themselves as a class firmly fixed in old ways and traditions, who could be safely counted on to oppose change, and who could be used politically and otherwise to counterbalance the radicalism of workers in other industries. The farmer is beginning to arouse himself to the real merits of the great labor controversy, to feel that he cannot afford to be a mere buffer against which agitation may recoil, to see that at bottom his interests are one with those of the toilers in the factory and the mart.

On the other hand, the city worker needs to be brought more fully into sympathy with the farmer, and to see that the changes going on in agriculture are promoted by the same general causes which affect the city industries. He should see that the farmer is forced to leave the farm, that he comes to town to compete in the labor market on the same terms as other men, that in the working out of plans for bettering in-

dustrial conditions the surplus labor of the farm must be given its proper share, and a large share, of attention. It is well also that the city worker should realize that his competitor from the farm brings to town a stock of firm health and persistent vitality which will be a great factor in determining success in industrial efforts and effecting changes in industrial organizations in both places. When once men in both town and farm come to see that this is so, when they join hands to promote their mutual interests, we shall come more rapidly to a wise and permanent solution of the problems which perplex and annoy us all.

As long as the farmer says to himself, "I am not needed on the farm, there must be place for me in the town. I will go and mingle in the busy life there, trusting to my superior vigor to gain me the mastery over my sharp-witted city competitor," — regardless of the fact that there are too many workers in the town already, — there will be disappointment for the newcomer, or suffering for the man whom he displaces. As long as the city man says to his unsuccessful brother, "Go out into the country and raise cabbages. There is plenty of air and work out there. Why will you starve in your miserable garret in the town?" — regardless of the fact that farm products are already a drug in the market, and farm machines are daily crowding more workers off the farm, — there will be little hope of bettering the condition of industrial life in either city or country. But when both city and country workers say, "We are in the same fix. There are too many of us working at one thing. We must devise methods to diversify our industries, to raise the level of wages and expenditures, to more fully organize and perfect the system of distribution of products so that the wants of all men will be more fully met and the general conditions of life be more comfortable," then there will at least be greater reason to hope that in some way men will find a solution for problems which our age seems to find insoluble.

It is, I think, very desirable to lay stress upon the great common interests of town and farm at this time, because in some important ways the superficial tendencies of modern industrial development have seemed to widen the breach between city and country life. Thus far the tide of industrial success seems to have run in the direction of vast accumulations of wealth in the hands of a few men, accompanied with

the rapid development of vast hives of industry where these accumulations are stored. Not only is the modern city populous; it is exceedingly rich in all that can gratify the palate, the eye, the cultivated taste of mankind. And in our own country the pomp and glory of the city are no longer a thing which belongs to the state and seems to reflect the greatness and power of the community. It is rather the material success of the individual which is impressed upon the visitor to Boston, New York, or Chicago. The magnificent private residences, the lofty business houses, the great railroad depots, — these represent solely the fact that some men have been more successful than their fellows in the fierce warfare of modern industrialism.

In other civilizations the palaces of kings and nobles, the gorgeous equipages and ceremonials, were, and are still, felt to belong in a sense to all the people, and to be necessary to the maintenance of the power and prestige of the nation. The peasant could not aspire to these things, it is true, but still he felt that he enjoyed a certain ownership of them. The farmer coming to town nowadays naturally feels that he has no lot or part in the great things of the town. If he is to have any, he must come and struggle for it with the rest.

The increase and concentration of wealth in large towns have also produced complex social habits and distinctions which make the country man feel less and less at home there. From close contact the poorer city man is able to maintain at least a weak imitation of the social life of his more fortunate neighbors. But the country man, coming infrequently to town, hardly knows how to act in the city, and is mystified and distressed by the unexpected situations of city life which confront him at every turn. This has been intensified by the efforts of our "smart set" in recent years to ape the manners of transatlantic society. In fact, we may say that in certain quarters there has been a studied effort to build the artificial barriers of caste, to create here, as in the Old World, a class of peasants, and put into it all tillers of the soil.

And so in various ways the disparities between city and country life have been magnified, until many have really thought that farm and town had no interests in common, but that one should be set over against the other in an eternal industrial enmity, and that the farmer was being relegated to a position of obscurity and menial service. But I believe that

these separating tendencies which occupy so much of the attention of the popular mind to-day are only superficial, and that down underneath them is an irresistible current of common interest and sympathy which is drawing men closer together to work for human elevation and welfare. To those who fondly imagine that it would be a good thing to restore the old system of classes it is perhaps enough to urge the folly and danger at such a time as this of exaggerating the differences of life and condition which seem to separate men, or to set up artificial barriers to prevent the free movement from one kind of life to another. Moreover, to assert that this is actually the trend of society is at variance with the facts of modern progress. For, however great the differences in wealth, the tramp and the millionaire to-day are a thousand times nearer in sympathy and in estate than the feudal baron and his serfs, or the Roman senator and his slaves. Barriers of caste, of law, and of custom have been broken down. One or two yet remain. What useless labor to try to build again what our fathers have destroyed! Let us rather find a way to break down the rest.

When once the dwellers in town and farm realize that at bottom the same serious problems of life confront them all, they will, it seems to me, cultivate a kindly spirit toward each other, and be pleased to study in detail the ways in which town and farm are interdependent or may be mutually helpful. Let us very briefly consider a few points of contact between farm and town, with a view to promoting plans for the benefit of both.

From the farm the city largely gets the fundamentals of physical life, of manufactures, and of commerce. Foods, fibres, and wood — how dependent the city is on the supply and quality of these things! Business men know how much depends on the success or failure of the crops. However much the relative importance of agriculture may decline as our industrial system grows more complex, it must always remain one of our greatest industries. The farm will always be a large factor in the commercial prosperity of the town. What folly then to propose or attempt any scheme of trade, transportation, or finance based on the selfish interests of either town or farm alone! If our smart city broker overreaches his country brother, and chokes up the natural channels of trade, a few men may amass fortunes on 'change, but

the ruin of the farmer will drag down the prosperity of the average city dweller as well. Great accumulations of wealth, wrung out by any unfair dealing with the multitude of toilers on our farms, will ruin our great cities and the civilization they represent just as surely as the treasures of plundered provinces enriched but destroyed the city of the seven hills. If the farmer borrows hard cash of his brother, and then is persuaded to plead the homestead act, or any other poor excuse to repudiate half his debt, the city man is not the only sufferer. The farm must pay its honest debts as well as the town.

The business interests of both farm and town can only rest on a solid basis of enduring prosperity when all join together to devise and carry out an honest and just policy. The great problem of the equitable distribution of the products of labor on farm and in factory will not be settled until the common concern of both town and farm, in a just settlement, is acknowledged and acted upon.

From the farm come in large measure the strength and vigor of great cities. Call the roll of great manufacturers, merchants, bankers, teachers, preachers, and officials in any large city, and you will be surprised to find how many of these leaders in metropolitan enterprise are graduates of the farm. Can these forget the mother who bore and nursed them? Or can those who cheerfully follow their leadership neglect to pay the debt of gratitude they owe the farm for providing such high service? Is it not a matter of some concern to the town in what atmosphere that strong body of its citizens sure to come to it from the country is reared? Can the city afford to do anything to destroy the purity or independence of farm life, or to reduce the farmer's family to the condition of a stolid and unprogressive peasantry? When the new blood that flows into the city's arteries is tainted or diluted at its source, what reason have we to expect that the city's moral health or vitality will continue? History shows that it will not.

To a greater extent than most men are aware of, the health of a great city depends on the quality of the products which it receives from the farm. We are beginning to appreciate that it is not only the city dealer in provisions whose business methods we must inquire into, but also the farmer's ways in raising or treating the products he brings to town. Already

boards of health insist on inspecting dairy farms. The United States Government inspects the meat as it is received at our great cities. Is not the town interested to know whether hog cholera, or trichinosis, or tuberculosis is raging among the live-stock on the farm. What kind of bacteria makes the flavor of your butter, or whether milk or oleomargarine fills your cheese, is a matter of some concern to the city dwellers. And beyond this the nutritive quality of the meat, flour, and vegetables your city markets afford may affect your life and happiness. Your purses, too, will be affected by the kind of farming done in the neighborhood of your city. In the vicinity of a certain city the farmers are too ignorant or too lazy to raise good chickens or vegetables. The market men are obliged to send long distances to get the grade of produce demanded by their customers. I have no doubt both farmers and citizens in and near that city curse the middlemen for poor returns and high prices. Can a city afford to be surrounded by an unintelligent and shiftless yeomanry?

I happen to be the representative of the United States Government in its efforts to make more intelligent farmers by means of agricultural colleges and experiment stations, and to teach the people that there is a relation between good, pure, and sufficient food and the vigor and progressiveness of the population. Are not the interests of town and farm in such questions mutual? When we seek to train better farmers, and to produce better food, do we not at the same time subserve the welfare of the city dwellers? I am glad to note that people are beginning to appreciate the interrelation of farm and town in these fundamental matters. I only wish that such a spirit might be reflected in the debates and in the organization of committees under the dome of the great capitol at Washington. Too often a narrow class-spirit seems to pervade those august halls, and there seems to be a delight to stir up strife rather than to consider the best interests of all the people. Let us have men from both farm and town on the committees when measures affecting agriculture, manufactures, or commerce are being considered. It is the people's business, not that of any class or clique.

The great change which recent times have brought in the summer habits of city people is an ever-increasing means of bringing into clearer light the common interests of farm and town. In New England especially, the value of the farm and

of its products depends more and more on its availability as a summer residence for city people. And these city boarders are beginning to see that the farmer's surroundings and mode of life may largely affect them for weal or woe. Bad cooking at a farm-table has ruined the digestion and health of many a city dweller who fondly imagined that the larger air-space of the country was all that was necessary to give him renewed vigor of mind and body. Many a sojourner on a farm has brought back typhoid fever to blight his happiness all winter, if not to end his life altogether. The location of the farmer's barns and outbuildings, with reference to the pollution of the domestic water supply, has thus become a matter of vital importance to thousands of city dwellers.

Of still more importance are the mental and moral conditions of the farmer's family and his hired help, as affecting especially the boys and girls who go from the city to spend their summer vacation on the farm. And on his side the farmer may well consider what sort of people they are whom he brings from town to associate so closely with his own children. Do they come to inculcate extravagant notions of living, and sow the seeds of discontent in his family? Do they bring a low moral atmosphere with them, or are they ready to throw off proper restraint of manners or morals simply because they have come into the country? Have we not all seen city boarders who excused their boorish conduct on the ground that it did n't matter much what they did "on a farm"? Some years ago I knew a little rural community where labor was seriously demoralized by a wealthy city family who paid extravagant wages or fees, and gave their workmen "free beer."

There are evidently two sides to the problem of "summer boarding," and farm and town would do well to get together to discuss them.

The bicycle seems destined to be an important factor in setting people to thinking about great problems of modern life. Everybody is supposed to know what wonders the bicycle is to accomplish in "the emancipation of woman," whatever that may mean. But the effect of the bicycle on the transportation problem — one of the greatest problems of modern society — has hardly yet been realized. It may be truthfully said to have brought farm and town together on the matter of good roads. How all of a sudden thousands of city people

have discovered that it is a matter of vital importance that good roads shall be built to aid the farmer who hauls his produce into town,—and incidentally to accommodate the bicyclist who rides out of town! And now that farm and town have joined hands in this road-building, we may naturally expect that they will fall to discussing railway transportation by steam, electricity, or compressed air, until some of the ugly questions that have hitherto perplexed us regarding the economy and convenience of methods of transportation for city and country business and people are settled on the just basis of the common interest. The electric railway may also help to bring farm and town together. It will, moreover, spread out the town and make the conditions of town life approximate toward those of country life.

Efforts to better the conditions of farm life need the help of the cities. The cities should interest themselves in giving the country places good schools, libraries, and postal facilities; and in general should help in enriching the common life of the people. The wealth of the cities should contribute toward the bettering of farm life. It is not well that cities should draw definite limits and spend all their resources in building up and improving themselves. They have a duty toward the rural communities, not simply to yield to the demand of the farmers whether what they ask for is wise or not, but to take an active interest in their affairs and counsel with them, so that the best plans for mutual benefit may be devised.

The attempt to purify city politics and revive civic pride and self-respect is very encouraging. But this must not be done to the neglect of the interests of the State, which, after all, is the great unit of our national life. The State government deals with the great problems of marriage, education, health, transportation, industrial organization, etc., which profoundly affect the daily life of all the people.

There are those who think that our greatest failure in government is in the management of State affairs. The legislature is not close at hand, and so the ordinary citizen forgets his interest in it. It is not sufficiently elevated to draw public attention to it as does Congress. It is likely to be the refuge of mediocrity, if not of corruption.

In general, to sum up, the problem of our times is not how to send men back to the farms where they are not needed, not how to scatter population into myriads of little communi-

ties, but how to raise the level of farm life and farm product, to more thoroughly organize the great towns, to improve the means of communication between farm and town, and to harmonize the manifold elements which compose the modern state, so that each will do its appointed work in the best manner, and the interests of all the people will be conserved.

There is a grand old word used in Thanksgiving proclamations in Massachusetts which, taken to heart, should bring town and farm into closest sympathy. Let us never forget that, wherever we may dwell, strong bonds unite us as members of the "Commonwealth."

THE RELATION OF BIOLOGY TO PHILOSOPHY.¹

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IN the relation of biology to philosophy is found the key to whatever is distinctive in my own views. If the free spirit of man is naught else than the anima, or soul of animals born into a higher world, and the animal soul was itself evolved out of the general forces of nature, as I hold, then right here if anywhere we ought to find the key to the vexed problem of the relation of the spirit of man to nature, and of both to God. Surely, this is the most important problem of philosophy, if it be not the corner-stone of philosophy itself. The subject is far too large to be treated in a short paper, even if I were able to do so at all, which I am not. I shall be abundantly satisfied if, by removing some misconceptions of evolution contained in this chapter, and very widely prevalent in the popular mind, I may be able to clear up some points left obscure in my previous writings. My object in this paper is therefore twofold : first, to show the misconceptions of the author in regard to the nature and scope of evolution ; and then to show that, properly understood, evolution is not excluded from the domain of human activity, as he seems to think.

The fundamental mistakes of Professor Watson (and of many other thinkers) are : first, the limitation of evolution to Darwinism, or organic evolution ; and second, the limitation of Darwinism to natural selection. Thus, evolution becomes for the author synonymous with natural selection. Of these two grades of limitation I take up the latter first.

I. — DARWINISM *vs.* NATURAL SELECTION.

It is the fate of great thinkers that their disciples narrow their views to whatever is most distinctive, and ignore all the qualifications and extensions existing in the mind and ex-

¹ A Review and Criticism of Chapter vii. of Professor Watson's book entitled "Comte, Mill, and Spencer."

pressed in the writings of the broader-minded master. Darwin's theory of evolution, in so far as it is distinctive, consists in the introduction of the selective factors, namely, natural selection and sexual selection, but especially of the former. It was the discovery of these factors that put the theory of evolution on an acceptable basis. Evolution in a vague form had been held by philosophical thinkers from the earliest dawn of thought. Organic evolution also had been previously brought forward, not as a vague idea, but as a scientific theory, by Lamarck and others; but it had been repudiated by the most authoritative science as a fantastic speculation. But by the introduction of the selective factors, especially natural selection, Darwin made it credible to the intelligent popular mind and an effective working theory for the biologist. Thus it has happened that organic evolution has come to be associated in the popular mind, and even in the minds of some of the best biologists, with natural selection alone. The tendency to identify these has been greatly increased by the writings of Weismann and Wallace, who hold that natural selection is the sole cause of organic evolution. These great biologists write with so much confidence that the inexpert are imposed upon; and with so much power that they have attracted a large following (though by no means the largest) among biologists themselves. To read Weismann one would think that there was now no longer any room for doubt that natural selection is the sole factor of organic evolution; since, according to him, acquired characters cannot be inherited at all; and yet most German biologists take a very different view. Again, Wallace wrote a book taking the same view, entitled "Darwinism," thus implicitly pledging Darwin to this view. It ought to have been entitled "Wallaceism," not Darwinism, for Darwin would never have accepted any such extreme views.

Darwin everywhere and at all times, and more and more in successive editions of his great book, recognized and insisted upon the existence of many other factors besides natural selection, although, indeed, he regarded the latter as the most potent. Although some very distinguished English biologists agree with Wallace and Weismann, by far the greater number — including Spencer, Huxley, Romanes, and, as already said, Darwin himself — take a different view. In America, nearly all biologists take ground against the

extreme views of Weismann and Wallace. To distinguish these new views from true Darwinism, they have been called Neo-Darwinism. Now, as might have been expected, the eloquence and skill of these powerful writers, assisted by a previous tendency to identify organic evolution with natural selection, have deeply affected the minds of popular writers, leading some in the direction of a materialistic view of evolution and therefore of human progress, and others, by a revulsion from this extreme, into a dissociation, partial or complete, of human progress from organic evolution of any kind. Thus, to mention only two notable recent books, Kidd in his "Social Evolution" bases his whole reasoning on Weismann as the only true expression of evolution, and therefore removes moral and religious progress from the category of evolution, although in so doing he is compelled to remove them also from the domain of reason. The two fundamental fallacies of this book are, first, the unquestioning assumption of Weismannism; and second, the definition of reason as the activity of the human mind for purely selfish purposes. For him whatever is unselfish is thereby irrational. The other book showing the same tendency is Balfour's "Foundations of Belief." This book is wholly reactionary; and the reaction—as usual in such cases—is based wholly on an extreme materialistic view of evolution, and especially on an identification of evolution with natural selection. But my object now is not to criticise these books, but only to give them as examples of a misconception of evolution and even of Darwinism. Why the limitation of organic evolution to natural selection should have this effect, we shall explain later.

Now Professor Watson shares in the common misconception. He everywhere assumes the identity of Darwinism with natural selection. It is necessary, therefore, before going further, to characterize very briefly the various factors of organic evolution. I have already explained these more fully in another article to which I would direct those desiring a fuller account.¹ I believe that there are at least five known factors, and perhaps others unknown. The known, briefly stated, are as follow.

1. *Pressure of a Changing Environment.* Changed environment produces change of function, and therefore change of

¹ *Monist*, April, 1891, vol. i. p. 321.

structure of organs, and these changes, being produced by the environment and in harmony therewith, are selected and transmitted by inheritance and integrated through successive generations without limit so long as the pressure continues in the same direction. This, in the beginning, — in the earliest states of organic evolution, — was the *only* factor. It is still the only one in the lowest protozoa; and, in connection with natural selection, in all plants.

2. *Use and Disuse.* Use increases the size and strength of organs, or changes their forms; disuse produces diminution, obsolescence, and finally disappearance. These changes, small at first, are transmitted by inheritance and integrated through successive generations without limit, so long as the changes continue in the same direction. It is evident that this factor requires consciousness and volition, and therefore must be characteristic of animals as distinguished from plants.

In regard to these two factors, it is necessary to remember that the whole change occurring in one generation is *not* carried over by inheritance to the next, but only a very small and often an infinitesimal part. Otherwise, evolution would be rapid indeed. All the objections to the admission of these factors by biologists of the Weismann and Wallace school are the result of the non-recognition of this limitation. These two are called the Lamarckian factors.

3. *Natural Selection.* This, the most distinctive Darwinian factor, acts in an entirely different way from the other two. In the Lamarckian factor the change is wholly during the lifetime of the individual, and inheritance only transmits it unchanged to the next generation. It is a change or character acquired during the individual life. In natural selection, on the contrary, there is no change in the individual lifetime, or, if so, it is not inherited, but the change takes place in the offspring without the coöperation of consciousness or will, or, as it were, fortuitously, in all directions — divergent variation; and the effect of the environment is not to make changes, but only to select from those ready made, namely, those that are fit to survive. It is evident, then, that the operation of this factor is conditioned not on consciousness and volition, as the previous one, but wholly on sexual modes of reproduction. For the non-sexual modes of reproduction, such as by fission, budding, etc., may be regarded as only extensions of the in-

dividual, with all its acquired characters. In these modes of reproduction, therefore, there can be no such thing as the divergent variation of offspring, or, indeed, offspring at all in any proper sense.

4. *Sexual Selection*. — This is the result of the contest of the males, by combat or by display, for the possession of the female, and the greater success of the strongest and most courageous or the most attractive males, whereby the qualities of strength, courage, and beauty are perpetuated and increased from generation to generation indefinitely. This factor is, of course, conditioned on consciousness and will, and is therefore confined to animals, and even to the higher animals — especially to birds and mammals. These last two are the distinctively Darwinian factors.

The four factors above-mentioned are all recognized both by Darwin and by Spencer, but Spencer regards the first two, and Darwin the last two, as most potent.

5. *Physiological Selection*. — This may be defined as the segregation of varieties within the limits of inter-fertility, and their assimilation by cross-breeding to a common type called a species, and the correlative separation, more and more, of the mutually infertile varieties into distinct species. This factor was introduced after Darwin's death by Romanes and Gulick, and is undoubtedly of great importance.

It is easy to see now why I object so strongly to the limitation of organic evolution to the operation of the single factor, natural selection. For of all the factors above enumerated and characterized, this one seems most mechanical and materialistic in its tendency, and therefore has peculiar attractions for some biologists. Variation of offspring seems utterly fortuitous, and selection of the fittest, and destruction of all others, the most wasteful and unintelligent, though perhaps most effective, of all possible methods of improvement. Now, although of course no one believes in fortuity in the sense of causelessness, but only in the sense of a complexity of conditions and a delicacy of their balance so great as to render prediction of results impossible, yet surely such a process as natural selection is not suggestive of intelligent purpose, although certainly not inconsistent with it. Other factors, on the contrary, such as use and disuse, and sexual selection, being dependent on consciousness and will, lend themselves more readily to this conception.

II.—EVOLUTION *vs.* ORGANIC EVOLUTION.

My second objection to the author's view (and I may say to that of a whole school of thought) is that he limits evolution to organic evolution. As Darwinism, or organic evolution, is far wider than natural selection, so evolution is far wider than organic evolution. In a word, there are several different kinds and grades of evolution, of which organic evolution is only one. There are in fact four very distinct kinds, — namely, 1st, Physical, or Cosmic; 2d, Chemical; 3d, Organic; and 4th, Human, or Rational, — each determined by a different force and carried forward by a different process, to reach a different goal. We take these in order.

1. *Cosmic Evolution.* — This is the gradual evolution of the present universal cosmic order out of primal chaos. It was determined wholly by physical forces, mainly by gravitational attraction. The details of the process are not exactly known, but the best attempt to formulate it is known as the nebular hypothesis. This is the most fundamental of all kinds of evolution, and was the first in the order of time. It preceded all, but continues through all, and forms the condition of activity — the theatre on which is enacted the drama of all other forms of evolution.

The other three are closely connected with one another in continuous series. Each has not only its own process, and is carried forward by its own characteristic force, but it has also its own definite goal, and then gives place to the next higher kind.

2. *Chemical Evolution.* — In the earliest stages of cosmic evolution, we have good reason to believe that matter existed only in elementary — or perhaps in still simpler — condition. Chemical affinity was overpowered and held in abeyance by intensity of primal heat, which we know dissociates all compounds. Such is the condition of things on the sun to-day. As cooling of the earth progressed, chemical affinity came into play, and compounds were formed. These, by repeated combinations and re-combinations, became more and more complex and unstable, until that most complex and unstable of all known substances, — so complex that we strive in vain to determine its exact composition, — protoplasm, was achieved. Chemical evolution could go no further. Since the dawn of life it has never gone any further. It had definitively reached its goal.

3. *Organic Evolution.* — But evolution did not stop there. For chemical evolution, in achieving protoplasm, achieved also the conditions necessary for a new and higher kind of evolution, namely, organic evolution, under the control of a new and higher force, and by a new and higher process — organization of the substance protoplasm. The course of evolution was taken up on to a higher plane under the guidance of life forces and by means of the general process of organization, but more specifically by means of the five factors already named as characteristic of this kind of evolution, and went forward to attain higher and higher forms of plants and animals, until finally it reached its goal and completion in man. It could go no further. Evolution has never gone any further on that line — that is, the line of organic evolution. Man is the highest possible animal. No other animal is now on its way man-ward or reason-ward.

4. *Human Evolution — Social Progress.* — But in achieving man and human reason, organic evolution achieved also the conditions necessary for a still higher kind. Evolution was therefore transferred to a higher plane, and carried forward by a higher force, — free will guided by reason, — by a higher process of organization, — social organization, — to form a higher kind of organism, — the body politic. Shall this also attain its end and complement? Yes, when it has achieved the ideal man, — the divine man, — and the ideal body politic, — the kingdom of heaven on earth. With the attainment of this last goal, the whole circle of evolution will have been completed. For it will have returned to the divine plane from which it originally descended, and returned not empty-handed, but bearing with it, as the fruits of the whole process, immortal sons of God.

Now, it is with this human evolution that we are especially concerned. It is necessary to sharply distinguish it from all other forms, but especially from organic evolution, with which it is often identified.

Remember, then, the five factors of organic evolution. By the operation of these the animal kingdom was brought up to the very door of humanity, — yea, more, man himself in his lowest form was thereby achieved. Now right here, that is, with man, was introduced another and higher factor, — a sixth factor, if factor it may be called (for it is much more than a factor), a factor not to be found in organic evolution, and

therefore not recognized by biologists, namely, the will of man guided by reason, consciously and freely coöperating with nature in the work of evolution. In all the lower forms of evolution the process is by necessary law, and without the coöperation of the thing evolving; man alone, and more and more as he rises in the scale of humanity, freely coöperates with nature in the work of his own evolution, until, in the highest individuals and in the most highly civilized communities, he takes the whole process mainly into his own hands.

I have called this a factor, but it is much more than a simple factor coördinate with other factors. It is rather another and higher nature determining another and higher kind of evolution. As physical nature uses all the five factors to carry forward a high organic evolution, even so the higher rational nature of man uses all these same factors to carry forward a higher kind of evolution on a higher plane. To distinguish this higher kind of evolution characteristic of man alone, we call it progress. I have already, on several occasions, given in detail the characteristics of this kind of evolution, and the great differences, even contrasts, between its phenomena and those of organic evolution. It is sufficient to say here that all these differences follow as a necessary consequence of the introduction of a higher nature, rational and moral, coöperating in the work of evolution and determining its course by a law of reason instead of a law of force, a law of freedom instead of a law of necessity.

But although we speak of human progress as a different *kind* of evolution, we do not mean that there are no beginnings and foreshadowings of coöperation to be found in the higher stages of organic evolution also. In some sense, and in an imperfect degree, some of the factors of organic evolution — for instance, use of organs, and sexual selection — suppose the coöperation of consciousness and will in the evolution of animals. But there is this difference: animals coöperate for immediate ends determined by desire only; man also for distant ends foreseen and approved by reason. Animals seek immediate ends, unknowing and uncaring whither they tend, — what may be their effect on evolution. Man, on the contrary, in addition to immediate ends, conceives a distant end, the “far-off divine event,” — the ideal, — and consciously, voluntarily seeks this.

Again, the different kinds and grades of evolution are connected together in unbroken series, although, indeed, change

is more rapid at certain points. Thus, when chemical evolution was introduced, physical laws and forces were not thereby abrogated, but only subordinated to the higher chemical forces. They still underlay and conditioned the process of chemical evolution, which, therefore, is not only higher, but also more complex than the physical. Again, when organic evolution was introduced, chemical forces and laws were not abrogated, but only became subordinated to the higher life-force, and were used for *its* higher purposes. It still underlay and conditioned the whole process of organic evolution. So also when rational evolution, or social progress, was introduced, the factors of organic evolution were not abolished, but only subordinated to the still higher rational and social forces, and used by them for their higher purposes. They still underlie and condition the whole process. Thus in all and everywhere the higher dominates and uses the lower, but the lower underlies and conditions the higher, and the whole process becomes not only higher and higher, but more and more complex. But in each case the dominance of the higher is at first feeble; as we rise it becomes more complete. Thus, in social progress, man at first was mainly under the sway of organic factors, unknowing and uncaring whither he tended; but slowly the free voluntary striving after the higher in the individual and in society gained strength, until now it is almost the only factor.

Again, it is interesting in this connection to note the gradual change in the nomenclature of the forces of evolution as we rise in their grades. In physical and chemical evolution we speak only of necessary law and compelling forces, although indeed there is a difference even here, chemical forces being more special and individual than physical. When we come to organic evolution, we have life forces individuating, and to some extent self-active, and therefore we have here already a semblance of coöperation in evolution. We now for the first time speak of factors or modes of operation of life force in evolution. The name is appropriate only for this grade. In social progress we have for the first time a true, conscious, voluntary coöperation in the work of evolution, and therefore a great step in freedom. The word "factor" is no longer appropriate here. It is rather another *nature* using the factors for its higher purposes. Thus, we have, 1st, forces; 2d, factors; 3d, new nature.

Again, I have spoken of different kinds of evolution, and especially have insisted on human evolution, or social progress, as a different kind. I know that biologists insist that the difference between man and animals, and therefore between organic evolution and social progress, is one of *degree* and not of *kind*. Professor Watson objects to this, and insists that the difference is one of kind also. In this I think he is right; but he seems to think that this implies a break in the continuity of evolution and of natural causes. To this I object.

What do we mean then by differences in kind as distinguished from differences in degree? In pre-Darwinian times the distinction was plain enough. Differences of degree came by natural, differences in kind by non-natural or super-natural, processes. But now that we know that all differences came by a natural process of evolution, how shall we draw the distinction? Is it not evident that a difference in kind, since it came by evolution, is naught else than a great difference in degree? We call it a difference in kind when the difference is great and the intermediate shades have dropped out, as in the cases of all the differences in organic forms constituting species, genera, orders, classes, etc. Are not these different kinds? Or else when the change seems to have come somewhat suddenly with the introduction of new forces, properties, capacities, etc. We have abundant examples of this in chemical combinations. Surely the formation of water by the combination of oxygen and hydrogen is the sudden creation of a new kind of thing, and yet it is a natural process. Now, have there been any such sudden and great changes in the history of evolution? There certainly have been. In the earliest times of cosmic evolution, chemical compounds did not exist, chemism being held in abeyance by intense heat. By gradual cooling to a certain temperature, chemism came into being, a new force determining a new group of phenomena, the materials of a new science, chemistry, suddenly, perhaps, but still derived from physical forces by natural process, for we see the same taking place now. Ages passed away until the conditions were favorable, and *life* came into being, a new force determining a new group of phenomena forming the materials for a new science, biology. It must have come somewhat suddenly, but not therefore by other than a natural process. For the process takes place daily

and under our eyes. When the necessary conditions — sunlight, chlorophyl, and living protoplasm — are present, light and chemism change at once into life force, and mineral matter into living matter.

The difference, then, between the living and the non-living, the conscious and the unconscious, are certainly differences in kind, if there be any such at all. And yet these have come by a natural process. Equally great is the difference between the self-conscious and the non-self-conscious, the rational and the non-rational, the moral and the non-moral, — in a word between man and animals. May we not conclude, therefore, that this also, though a difference in kind, came by a natural process? It will be remembered that all these somewhat sudden changes, attended with the appearance of new and higher groups of phenomena, but especially this last one, I have compared to successive births. The most important of all these, as giving significance to all the others, is the birth of self-consciousness and reason in man. Now, what I contend for is that the apparent break in the continuity of appearance in these cases does not imply break in the continuity of natural causes and natural processes, any more than physical birth breaks the continuity of physical life.

I have now explained, and I hope justified, my objections to the author's view of evolution. His identification of evolution with organic evolution is perhaps excusable, for this is the most usual and perhaps the most authoritative scientific opinion, though I think it wrong; but for the identification of organic evolution with natural selection he is not excusable, for this is not the most common or authoritative view among biologists.

III.—THE TELEOLOGICAL OR PURPOSISM VIEW OF EVOLUTION.

But for the rest I find his criticism of prevalent evolution views eminently just. He is right in insisting that "Nature is in no sense a product of Chance; but must be conceived from the point of view of immanent Teleology." I would put it still more strongly. A teleological or purposism view of nature is naught else than faith in a moral order of the cosmos, and as such is a necessary postulate of our moral

nature, precisely as faith in a natural order of the cosmos is a necessary postulate of science. Yes, teleology is necessary, not teleology in any narrow sense, — not the watch-making, cabinet-making design of Paley and the older writers, not a special design for each particular thing as separate from other things, — but a design or rather a purpose affecting nature as a whole, embracing all space and stretching through all time, including, absorbing, and determining every separate design. It is not a design preceding its realization, for with God, thought and realization are one, nor operating on foreign material, for nothing is foreign to Him, but a purpose coexistent and coextensive with its realization. In a word, it is not a design in any human sense, but rather a law of eternal and progressive Divine self-revelation.

Now the fundamental vice of modern evolutionism is the ignorance of this wide teleological view of nature. This may be somewhat justifiable in strictly scientific work, although not entirely so even there, as we shall presently show; but biologists carry it also into their philosophy, where it has not justification. This state of mind is undoubtedly a revulsion against the narrow teleology of the older writers, and, as such, must be short-lived. But meanwhile, being a false view, it must and does lead to false methods of work in biological science itself. Let me explain.

There are two points of view from which we may regard nature, — the mechanical and the teleological, the fortuitous and the purposive. From the mechanical or fortuitous point of view we look for explanations in the beginning, because the process is simplest there. From the teleological point of view, on the contrary, we look for explanations at the end, for there only is the meaning or purpose distinctly declared. In the one, therefore, we pass from the simplest generalized beginnings upward, tracing every step of increasing complication, and this we call an explanation. In the other, contrarily, we first find the meaning, the purpose, the significance of the whole process as declared in the end, and then we trace backward the dimmer and dimmer foreshadowings of the same in lower stages. I have said that this latter point of view is not without its uses even in science. I must now show this.

There are two great departments of biology, namely, morphology and physiology. The one studies form and structure, the other function. Function always implies purpose. It is im-

possible to write about function without using the language of teleology. Darwin himself is compelled to use it, though he apologizes for it as a concession to common usage. But it is not a mere concession. It is necessary and right. The function of an organ is the work it has to do; it is what it was made for. Thus, while morphology is best understood by studying first and most profoundly the lowest and simplest forms, and thence tracing, step by step, the process of complication by differentiation and specialization as we go up; physiology, on the contrary, is best understood by studying first and most profoundly the highest forms, and then going down the scale. In the lowest forms, all the functions are mingled and combined in every part, and therefore imperfectly declared. As we go up the scale, functions are separated and localized, each in its own organ, and therefore proportionately perfected, and their purpose plainly declared.

Thus, then, while in teaching morphology, the best order is admittedly to begin with the lowest organisms and go upward, following the order of evolution, yet in teaching physiology, — as I have always maintained, but contrary to the custom of most biologists, — the best order is just the reverse, that is, to begin with the highest form, man, and go down the scale, showing the modifications and simplifications, and especially the merging of functions successively into one another until all distinction is lost. In the lowest forms, functions cannot be understood except by knowledge previously gained higher up the scale. Function, like purpose, can only be clearly understood in its fully declared form. That this is not generally admitted arises from the fact that in these latter days, under the influence of a materialistic evolution, morphology has completely overshadowed physiology. This cannot continue. The reaction has already commenced.

So also there are two corresponding points of view from which we may regard evolution, namely, evolution as a formal process, and evolution as a teleological process, that is, a process having an end, a goal, a purpose, — in a word, a function, — in the scheme of nature, a function in the cosmic organism. From the one point of view, the best order of study is the order of history; from the other point of view, the only order is the reverse. From the one point of view, we must carry forward the laws, the factors, the processes which we find in the evolution of animals, and apply them fearlessly to

man. From the other point of view, we first find what seems the purpose and significance of the whole process in man, and then try to find the beginnings, the foreshadowings, of these in animals, in plants, and even in inorganic nature.

This point has been rightly insisted on by our author. Darwin says, and rightly, "What explains animals must explain man also." Watson retorts, and rightly, "Whatever fails to explain the phenomena of human life, for example, natural selection acting alone, must also fail to explain fully the phenomena of animal life." The only mistake the author makes here is identifying natural selection with evolution. Again, Darwin says, and rightly, "Intelligence and reason are no new things in man, for we easily see the beginnings of these in the higher animals also." Watson retorts, "If so, then neither are they any new things in the higher animals, but in less and less perfect form, which we no longer call by these names, they are present in lower animals and plants also, and in inchoate condition immanent even in inorganic nature itself."

Now this, as all must recognize, is exactly the contention of all my writings on this subject. The immanent Divine energy which in its generalized, diffused, unindividualized condition we call the general forces of nature, individuates itself more and more through all geological time by a process of evolution until it reaches complete individuation as a separated, but not independent, a free, but not unconditioned, part of the Divine energy in man. The effluence from the Divine Person which informs nature and determines all its phenomena, after long embryonic development in the womb of nature, 1st, as physical force, 2d, as vital force in plants, 3d, as conscious force in animals, finally comes to birth, 4th, as the self-conscious spirit of man. Man thus becomes, not a creature only as other things, but also a child of God, an image not only in the sense that a work is the image of the worker, but also in the sense that a child is the image of his father. He is not only made, he is begotten of God. He becomes thus a partaker of the Divine nature, therefore immortal.

Is it not evident, then, that by simply extending the meaning of evolution, Professor Watson's line of reasoning leads inevitably to my conclusion? The unity of nature cannot be broken, even for man. He fully recognizes this, but he also

adds, "The Darwinian evolution — that is, natural selection — cannot explain the unity of nature, because it breaks down at man." True, it breaks down at man, but not because man is separated from nature, but because it breaks down everywhere, though in different degrees, all along the line of evolution. The failure has been growing all along the line, but becomes conspicuous only at the end. In a word, Darwinian evolution, not only in the narrower sense of some modern biologists and of the author, as limited to natural selection, but also in the broader sense of Darwin himself, as including all the factors of organic evolution, fails to some extent to explain even organic evolution itself, much more to explain human evolution. Moreover, it is its conspicuous failure to explain the phenomena of human evolution that brings into strong relief its partial failure all along the line of evolution, but more and more as we rise in the scale. Evidently, it fails for want of some idea left out. It is clear, then, that what we want is not a repudiation of evolution as applied to man, but a broader and more philosophic view of evolution as the Divine process of creation of all things, including man.

I have said that Darwinian evolution fails more and more as we rise in the scale, for want of something left out of account. We see what this is by observing the cause of its conspicuous failure when it comes to man. This is evidently that it leaves out of account the coöperative factor so conspicuous there. Applying now the retroactive principle spoken of above, there must be some similar factor left out also below man. That factor is coöperation in some sense. As self-consciousness is the underlying condition of the free, voluntary coöperation with nature in the work of his own evolution so characteristic of man, so consciousness is the underlying condition of the voluntary purposive activity of animals in the operation of the factors, use of organs, and sexual selection, so characteristic of animals as contrasted with plants. The purposive voluntary activity of animals becomes higher and higher, and its agency in evolution becomes greater and greater, as we approach man, although it never reaches a conscious, voluntary coöperation in the process of evolution itself. Animals coöperate with nature to attain immediate ends, and thus unconsciously coöperate to carry forward evolution; but they cannot perceive, much less coöperate to bring about, the end of evolution, because

they have not attained the formation of abstract ideas, much less the formation and pursuit of ideals. Thus there is also a gradual evolution of coöperative activity as of all else. In plants, even, there is self-activity and therefore coöperation, the unconscious with physical nature in evolution. In animals, coöperation becomes conscious, but directed only to immediate ends. In man it becomes free, self-conscious coöperation in the work of evolution itself.

Thus reasoning from matter upward by the methods of science alone, at first all seems necessity and mechanical automatism, without intelligent design or purpose; and since nature is one, the same must be true of man also. Thus we reach, seemingly logically, the universal-automatism philosophy of some modern thinkers. But, contrarily, reasoning from self-consciousness downward, and assuming again the unity of nature, we equally logically arrive at a universal immanency of consciousness and will. But this again equally destroys our individual freedom by absorbing it in the universal consciousness and will. Now, these two mutually excluding philosophies are completely reconciled in my view of immanent Divine energy gradually individuated through all time to completeness in man.

Or, to put it in another way: In the history of philosophic thought, (1) Man is first entirely separated from nature by an impassable gap, and is alone free. (2) Then the unity of nature is recognized and becomes indeed a condition of rational thought; but the scientific study of nature, having commenced from below, led to the conception of an automatic cosmos in which there is no room for freedom, even for man. (3) Then thought, returning to the human point of view, rejects mechanical automatism, but now finds unity only in a pantheism, which again destroys individual freedom by swallowing it up in the all-including Divine activity. (4) Finally, in my view, unity in nature is preserved, and freedom restored, by the gradual evolution of freedom out of apparent necessity until it becomes complete in man.

IV. APPLICATION.

Let us now apply these principles in answer to the specific objections of the author.

Professor Watson says Darwinism cannot explain human

freedom. Surely not; but evolution, as I understand it, can and does. For, by my view, there has been a gradual evolution of freedom from the beginning. All grades of freedom are found in the course of evolution. (1) First of all there seems to be only physical and mechanical necessity. But even there necessity is only seeming, for free Divine activity underlies all. Freedom is immanent and potential. (2) Then energy assumes the form of life in plants, — self-activity individuating itself, — and therefore begins to be separately embodied or free. (3) Then energy becomes conscious life in animals, self-directing, but only to immediate ends under the guidance of impulse. Surely we have here a higher form of separate individual freedom. (4) Then it becomes self-conscious and self-directing to a distant end — to an ideal. This is what we call the free will, or moral freedom, of man. Now at last the separateness is completed, but not yet the freedom. The highest is not yet attained; it is not yet freedom in the highest sense. The ideal may be only limited and selfish. The self-active spirit may still chafe against the bounds set about it by the laws of nature, which are the laws of God. (5) Finally, in the last stage, the ideal man, activity is no longer conditioned by self, but directed toward the absolute, the Divine ideal. There is now complete recognition of the law of the whole humanity and of the whole cosmos as the law of reason and the law of perfect righteousness. The individual will now moves freely and without friction, because in perfect harmony with the perfect will of God.

I put it in still another way, as the gradual evolution of the individual will. I have said that the free will of man, coöperating with nature in the work of his own evolution, is more than a mere factor coördinate with other factors. It is naught else than that which in a more imperfect form underlies and determines all evolution. Will, or purpose, is indeed the unknown factor, without which evolution may possibly be scientifically though not philosophically intelligible. It underlay and determined evolution from the very beginning. (1) First it is immanent in nature in generalized form as physical and chemical forces. It is not yet individuated as will. (2) Then it becomes visibly purposive in the individuating life forces of plants. We still do not call it will, although it is certainly self-active and purposive. (3) Then it becomes conscious in animals, and for the first time we call it will. (4) Then it

becomes the self-conscious free will of man. But even yet not wholly free, until, (5) and finally, it freely and lovingly accepts the all-embracing and all-righteous will of God as the law of its own activity. Throughout the whole process the determining cause is the Divine will, but a portion separates itself more and more to complete freedom in man. Yes, complete freedom, but only in order to be again progressively united with the Divine will through the higher law of love, and now without loss of freedom, because love is the perfect law of freedom.

Again, Professor Watson says, "Natural selection cannot explain knowledge." Surely not; but evolution, as I understand it, can and does. For, again, there has been a gradual evolution of the capacity for knowledge also; though it does not attain real knowledge, as we know it, until man. There is, indeed, a great change along the whole line of capacities right here with the origin of man, as I have already shown in another paper.¹ Right here, consciousness becomes self-consciousness, animal will becomes free will, animal affection becomes human love, and sense-perception becomes knowledge. But in all these respects organic evolution brings the animal soul to the very door of humanity, to the very birth of the free spirit.

Nowhere is this clearer than in the matter of knowledge. For what is the essential and necessary condition of knowledge? It is the conception of relations abstracted from things. Animals perceive things only; man, in addition, perceives also the relation of things to one another. Or, if we insist upon calling these relations things also, then are they intellectual, not material, things. To put it otherwise: animals have percepts only; man, in addition, creates concepts also. Now, knowledge is founded on concepts only. It is evident, then, that knowledge is impossible to animals. Animals are brought very near, as it were, to the door of knowledge. They certainly have a practical awareness of the relations of things to one another and to themselves, for how else could they adjust themselves to external conditions? They have, I repeat, a practical awareness of relations; but not as relations abstracted from the things related and considered separately. But all knowledge comes of this latter alone.

¹ *Monist*, April, 1895.

Let me illustrate: (1) Take number. Animals perceive a number of things, — one thing, two things, three things, etc. ; but they have no conception of number abstracted from the things. Now, the whole science of number — for example, arithmetic and algebra — comes wholly out of this latter. (2) Again, take space. Animals perceive space as occupied by objects, but they have no conception of space abstracted from the objects contained. But all science of space — that is, geometry — comes out of this latter. (3) So again, time. Animals perceive time as containing events, but they have no conception of time abstracted from those events. Now the whole science of time — that is, history, even the history of self — is based on this latter alone. Thus the animal kingdom in its highest parts was brought by organic evolution to the very door of knowledge, but man alone entered and carried evolution upward to a higher plane.

Finally, Professor Watson says, "Natural selection cannot explain morality." Surely not; but evolution, as I understand it, can and does. For there has been also a gradual progressive evolution in the basis of morality, namely, love. Surely animal affection, especially in the form of motherly affection, is brought very near to human love; and out of human love has grown the love of the ideal, that is, the love of God. Add love to freedom and knowledge, and have we not the bases of morality and religion?

In one word, I would say (and doubtless Professor Watson would agree with me) that natural selection cannot explain that which is the underlying condition of all these, namely, self-consciousness. Surely not; but evolution, as I understand it, can and does, that is, teleological evolution operating by many other factors in addition to natural selection. According to my view, this is the very meaning and purpose of organic evolution. I have said that the formation of abstract ideas is the distinctive characteristic of man. Now, the discovery of self, of the Ego, is an abstraction from the facts of consciousness. It is the most complex and yet the most fundamental of all abstractions. It is the abstraction which gives meaning and reality to all other abstractions, and therefore the basis of all that is most characteristic of man. The discovery of the Ego is indeed the discovery of the world of reality as contrasted with the world of appearance, the noumenal as contrasted with the phenomenal; the world of spirit as contrasted with the world of matter.

WOMEN IN GUTTER JOURNALISM.

BY HARYOT HOLT CAHOON.

IN the world of modern wild-cat journalism the woman reporter lasts about four years. She brings her education, her personal attractions, her youth, her illusions, her energy, her ambition, and her enthusiasm to the encounter, and the first year she rises rapidly. The second and third years she enjoys the zenith of her popularity; with the fourth year she begins the descent, lingers about the horizon for a time, and then she disappears from view.

There is no vocation into which women have entered where disillusion materialize so rapidly as they do in journalism. The stage is looked upon with horror by conservative people whose knowledge of it is based entirely upon prejudice; but in comparing the career of the actress with that of the newspaper woman, I have no hesitation in asserting that the experiences of the actress who attains success through love of her art and devotion to it are infinitely preferable to those of the successful woman who finds her field in the modern newspaper. The path of the woman between whom and the public is the glare of the footlights is paved with fewer stumbling-blocks than that of the woman who seeks public applause through a pen in modern journalism. She knows more of personal comfort, she meets with fewer temptations, and she has a better opportunity for cherishing the illusions with which she started in life.

In the sensational newspaper a woman with a love of adventure finds her taste gratified. It is the young woman always who is the prey of the sensational press. We all like to believe that the young have of sentiment a goodly share, and I have seen them come with a whole cargo of it into the newspaper office. The woman who is trapped into a career is generally an out-of-town woman. She usually comes from the West or from the South. She has had some little experience in the office of a village paper or county weekly, and as she knows how to write local society matter, her townsmen have told her she has talent. She has written poetry and a few essays that have been applauded by her friends, and once one

of them found its way into a great metropolitan Sunday paper. That settled it. She at once determined to try her skill in the field of journalism in New York.

I can see her now as she is ushered into the editor's presence, with her little card of introduction from some well-meaning friend who wants to help her to get a foothold. She is fresh and fair, and her eyes are bright with hope and credulity. Her attire is not of the city type, but it becomes her in spite of that. Nothing could mar her youth, and there is just a shade of anxiety and eagerness, and a brave attempt to overcome shyness, for her heart beats very loudly. The sensation editor is always looking out for new people—new women—who are new in the sense that they have courage, enthusiasm, and talent. If the newcomer has "gumption," if she is clever, if she can see where she looks, in the fact that she is a newcomer lies her chief advantage. She is impressionable; everything interests her because she sees everything.

Here, then, the editor recognizes a possibility. Only youth and enthusiasm and a love of adventure combined would be equal to the task he has in mind. But he breaks her in gently. For a week or two he gives her trifling assignments, to see what she can do with her pen. It is not really the pen that the sensational journalist wants. He wants untried courage that is looking for a trial. He wants force and determination combined with personal attractions. The last is needed always, and in a certain trusting naïveté and fearlessness that is part and parcel of the out-of-town maiden he recognizes her stock in trade. The pen part of the work is a secondary consideration.

So he writes her out a list of questions, and sends her to interview a prize-fighter. Does this individual know a pretty woman when he sees her? Certainly, and her very innocence makes her fearless and adds to her charm. The prize-fighter is an easy assignment; she puts forth her best energies, and her interview is a charming one, and appears over her signature. This speedy flight to the pinnacle of fame is far beyond her wildest and most ambitious imaginings. The result intoxicates her; the whole office is talking about her; and the men ask for an introduction. They shake hands with her and congratulate her; already she is a co-worker. They had no idea there was so much in the little country girl.

One of the fellows invites her to dinner; but she is shy and she is afraid to go.

After that she has a police-court assignment. The police court is brutal, and she winces some under what she hears there; but she must not wince. She reasons it all out to herself, and she places herself in the background, because she belongs to journalism now, and every virtue and every emotion must be subservient to that one of filling her assignment and procuring the news for her editor. She must not be thin-skinned if she wishes to succeed in her chosen vocation, especially as the editor thinks she is qualified. So few women are qualified, she tells herself, and so few women have the opportunity. She must not forget to be grateful; she learned appreciation at home. So she steels herself, and mantles her womanhood with the mud-stained garment of modern gutter journalism.

Then she must do the slums; she cannot consider herself educated for a career until she has seen the filth of slum life, and investigated the opium den, Chinese vice, the brothel, and every other mysterious place in a great city that always stands ready to gratify morbid curiosity. But hers is professional curiosity. She must know about everything, or she can never expect to be a successful journalist. One day she attires herself as a Salvation Army soldier, and marches with the Salvation Army through sections of the city in which they are expecting rocks to be cast at them. Then she writes about it, and has pictures made illustrating the sensation, and then she signs her name to her effort. Fame now seems quite within her grasp.

After that she does some missionary work, and presents herself in the capacity of a teacher in the Chinese Sunday-school. She teaches there six consecutive Sundays before a Chinaman makes love to her. She has to have him make love to her, or else she would not get the story. But she makes a pretty good Sunday-school teacher; she used to teach in the Sunday-school at home, and even that attainment serves her now that she has become a journalist. Little she thought how all that good home training of years was simply fitting her for grand achievements in the future. She had a great story about the goings-on in that Chinese Sunday-school; it filled seven columns, and it had a number of pictures illustrating the situation, and her name printed in

display type. All New York was talking about the great exposé; she had never dreamed of fame like that. It hardly seemed true, but it must be so; for everybody congratulated her, and she went to dinner that night with another woman and two men, so that she could enter more graphically into the details of her experience. She is a regular heroine now, — a thoroughbred. Through her the newspaper poses as a great moral reformer.

Next, she follows up an old woman whose son has committed a crime. As the old woman is in a charity hospital, she must go herself to the charity hospital; and in order to get in there she must pose as a sufferer from an incurable disease. The physicians examine her, she explains to them about her imaginary symptoms, and they believe her. She plays a difficult part, — acts every minute of the time; and when a reporter comes to see her in the guise of her brother, she gives him such bits of news about the miserable old woman as she has been able to glean, and he, setting his imagination to work, gets up a fairly good story. But she remains in the charity hospital until she is enabled to gain an audience with the poor old creature, when she recovers very suddenly, and takes unceremonious leave. She has a magnificent story this time, with her name signed to it, and fame actually staring her in the face. She was paid \$10 a day for her work, and the newspaper had a big "beat." She sold what is rarely offered at \$10 per day: her word, her honor, and her self-respect. She sold them pretty cheap.

Her taste for adventure is by this time well whetted, and she subsists on the stimulant of a self-exaltation of the most spurious kind. But she has plunged into the work, and her thoughts are busy with the task of the day. She has no time for retrospection, nor for introspection. Ambition lashes her heels, and she labors under the misapprehension that she is working at legitimate journalism.

Next, I see her going the rounds of all the charitable institutions; she wears a shawl over her head, carries a basket on her arm, and leads a little child — a borrowed child — to lend credence to the situation. She is desirous of finding a home for herself and her child. She tramps all day, and then she writes a story about the charitable institutions of New York City. She illustrates the article with pictures of herself in the attitude of a mendicant and an impostor, while she proves the

fact that in none of the institutions, to the back doors of which she applied for admission, could a woman and her child be sheltered. Under office orders she carefully avoided the institutions in which she could have found shelter. They were not along the lines of what she was desirous of proving, and the next Sunday, in a page article, she sets forth her adventures, with a harangue against the organized charity of the city. Again the newspaper poses as a great moral reformer and detective of injustice. Fame fairly grasps her by the hand this time.

Whatever work her editor lays out for her, that she stands ready to do, whether it is figuring in a balloon ascension or a fire-escape descent, posing as an artist's model, camping all night on a millionaire's grave, trotting round the globe in eighty days, or, in short, doing any of the things that are beneath the notice of any man on the staff, or, to put it more mildly, "outside of a man's province."

But for some time she has been enjoying the zenith of her newspaper glory. Her name is featured about town on posters and bill-boards, and she creates an enormous sale for the newspaper. Attrition with the world in which she has lived has removed from her the bloom and delicacy of the womanhood with which the Creator endowed her, and a blunting of her moral sensibilities has — what has it not done? — what that is undesirable has it left undone? If she stops to think, she must be appalled that she finds herself no longer in possession of the characteristics which she possessed at the opening of her career, and which, through a love of adventure, a lack of restraint, and misguided ideas of her duty, she has surrendered. Nor are these incidents in her life, as a victim of gutter journalism, all there is to tell.

Years ago a degenerate public was nourished by a newspaper story of a young woman who called upon the various prominent physicians of New York, representing to them that she wished to lend herself to a criminal operation at their hands. As the tangible fruits of her canvass, she gathered an interesting collection of prescriptions. Then she published, together with the prices she paid for each prescription, the name of each physician and the interview. After this tragedy, in which she played the leading part, it sounds little to say that during the Parkhurst raid on the Tenderloin she appeared to its leader and his gentle wife in the guise of a homeless

fallen woman who desired to be sheltered from the keen blasts of the winter season, during which, you will remember, the raid occurred. That story was tame, because it was honest.

But her usefulness as a tool of gutter journalism is waning. For the want of a better idea possibly, she is sent out upon the streets at night, in the hope that men will insult her. She stands at the door of theatres in order that men may accost her, and then, in both instances, she proposes to write articles showing up the depravity of the male sex. I have it from her own lips that she was not molested in either capacity as a vice detective. Nevertheless, she wrote her story just the same, painting in valentine hues from the paint-pots of her distorted imagination. The editor expected it to fill a few columns, more or less, and she must not disappoint him.

Disregard for the truth has by this time crowded out the results of her early training. The great public, personal and general, friend and foe alike, are but subject-matter for her pen. She knows how to intrude herself into the family circle, through letters of introduction, her tact and intelligence winning the way for her, and then, during a kindly interview on an impersonal subject, she leads the conversation along personal lines, and the article published in the paper she represents proves to her innocent victims that their visitor was merely a wolf in sheep's clothing. But they are armed for the future against all women of the press; she has burned the bridges behind her.

Where now is the hopeful, credulous, enthusiastic, ambitious girl who came to the city about four years before, or less? Ill health from exposure, self-neglect, late hours, and weariness stimulated to strength has begun to plough inroads into her system. Ambition begins to wane; the fire of enthusiasm burns low; there are no more worlds to conquer, and she could not conquer them if she would. As she has no more ideas to offer her newspaper, it has no further use for her; and her place is soon filled by others who offer themselves a willing sacrifice upon the altar of sensational journalism. Now at last she has time to reflect in bitterness, and to behold herself in a true light. She has lost all the capital she had when she began, — youth, health, credulity, her ideals, her self-respect, her enthusiasm, and her ambition. Disillusionized of every sacred ideal of her heart, having given all, and with nothing left but ill health and experience, no longer with any

wares to offer, she realizes that what she took to be fame was only vulgar notoriety, and that it was unworthy of her. It is an unpleasant picture, but it is a true one.

Then, too, she has not had a very good time. She has learned to adapt herself to the society of vulgar men who have no standard of purity for either men or women, and she has had the benefit of a view from their standpoint. She almost sees through their eyes, and, if such a thing were possible, her ideas would become as perverted as theirs. There was a time when she thought that her path led toward an editorial chair; but she sees her mistake now. As well may a pettifogging lawyer expect to sit in a chair of the Supreme Court of the United States.

In presenting these facts, my idea is not to tear down, but to build up. It is to make a plea to the gentle apostles of the pen in journalism that they will hold themselves from becoming burnt-offerings upon an altar where the sacrifice avails nothing. It should be the woman first, and the newspaper second. The individuality that holds the pen should be a woman's individuality that is above price. The newspapers need women. They need a woman's pen; she has proved that. They need a woman's eyes with which to see, and they need a woman's sentiment with which to clothe the rude realities of life. In prostituting her talent the crime she commits is a double one. Principle, not environment, is the guardian of our talents. It is not the editor that is to blame. It is the woman who becomes the tool, the agent, who is the guilty one. When time at last proves her a failure, she has only herself to thank.

There is legitimate work upon a newspaper for a woman to do, — work that requires no surrender of feminine dignity and self-respect. The world of conscientious, womanly newspaper-workers have suffered keenly from the stigma placed upon them by the worker who has no particular standard by which to reckon the principles that govern action.

It is in view of this fact that I maintain that the woman who sacrifices herself upon the altar of gutter journalism, who makes herself valuable to a newspaper by relinquishing her individuality and her womanhood, who sells her honor for a column of newspaper matter, because it is expected of her, is the greatest stain upon the escutcheon of intelligent womanhood that exists to-day.

BRAINS FOR THE YOUNG.

THE DESIRABILITY AND THE FEASIBILITY OF THE ACQUISITION
OF SOME REAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE BRAIN
BY PRE-COLLEGIATE SCHOLARS

BY PROF. BURT GREEN WILDER,
Of Cornell University.

I BEG the reader's attention to the title, and particularly to the sub-title, of this article. The title is "Brains *for* the Young," and the sub-title sets forth in guarded language the thesis in its entirety, the desirability and the feasibility of the acquisition of some real knowledge of the brain by pre-collegiate scholars. Never before has there been such general and such keen interest in the study of the structure and functions of the brain. In attempting to determine the affinities of various animals to one another, the brain is more and more regarded. When I was a student, bones almost exclusively were thought of. Skeletons were supposed to be the guide to the affinities of structure, and a large part of the three years that I spent on the study of human anatomy between 1859 and 1862 — a too large part of that period — was spent in the study of bones, and I have had a very decided reaction from that early state of mind.

The number, the extent, and the significance of the resemblances and peculiarities of the human brain constitute some of the most difficult morphological problems. Compare the appearance presented by the human head cut in two in the middle, and that of the head of a chimpanzee which has been prepared in the same manner. Then compare the brain of a child at birth, as seen from the side, with the brain of a young chimpanzee. Upon comparison of these two aspects of the divided brains, the resemblances are seen to be very much more numerous and significant than the differences. Indeed, the differences are insignificant; the resemblances are startling. Nobody has yet succeeded in defining what it is that constitutes the human brain, as different from the brain of any other animal. We may recognize it. Any skilled anatomist would recognize the human from the animal brain, but that is a very different thing from formulating the differences, and

that is what we aim at. It is one of the-objects for the remainder of my life, to be able to say in words what it is that differentiates our brain from the brain of other animals. The development or embryology of any brain presents a series of marvels. Unless the reader has seen a representation of the series of stages through which the brain of a child comes into the adult condition, he will have to take upon faith my statement that what is most prominent in the embryo brain is the region which is completely obscured in the adult human brain. What does this mean? I don't know; nobody knows. I only state that this is one of the thousand extraordinary things which meet us in this study.

With regard to the difficulty of formulating the differences between the brain of the human and the animal, it is a consolation to be able to say that in the course of the development of the human brain there is manifested a condition which has never yet been observed in the brain of any other animal. At a later stage than the embryonic, each of the cerebral hemispheres presents a wrinkled or corrugated outline. Still later that wrinkling disappears, and permanent corrugations and depressions and ridges come into existence. Now, in no other creature whatsoever has there ever been observed in the developing brain the wrinkled condition which we see at a certain stage in the human brain. But take not too much flattering unction to your souls, for nobody has ever seen an embryo chimpanzee or a gorilla at a corresponding age; and it is one of the desires of the anthropologists and biologists of to-day to be able to determine from actual inspection whether there is in apes at this period a condition which some expect and rather hope to find, but which others would be very much dismayed to discover.

If a chart of the brain be examined, the observer will see certain compressed lines. These constitute a certain pattern, which is recognizably different in every brain. We are as yet unable to correlate the pattern of the fissures with race, sex, character, or education. In these later years has arisen what may be called a scientific phrenology, founded upon a partially observed and collated result of experiment, disease, and accident. Disabilities are now often relieved by surgical operations on the brain that a few years ago would not have been attempted. Some of the greatest advances of microscopic methods have had for their main object the elucidation of

nervous difficulties. The effects of fatigue and over-stimulation upon the nerve cells have been actually demonstrated under the microscope.

Special periodicals devoted to psychology are published in all civilized lands, including our own. Even newspapers print articles, lengthy and illustrated, but not always reliable, and sometimes giving very wrong impressions, though trustworthy as witnesses to the extent of the interest in the subject at the present time. But, after all, how many outside of the little band of neurologic experts can comprehend what is said of the brain. Among the most frequently reiterated assertions are, first, that the human brain is absolutely larger than the brain of any other animal, and second, that it is relatively larger. But it is a well known fact that, relatively, or in ratio of the weight of the brain to the weight of the entire body, man is surpassed by a large number of birds, and by most of the smaller monkeys. Many monkeys, indeed, have brains twice as large in proportion to the body as our own. Man's superiority does not depend upon either the absolute weight of his brain or the relative weight. Is it not even true that schoolboys may describe the rivers of Africa, and yet be but little acquainted with their own brain? And, except in unusual cases, is not the real knowledge of the brain gained only in colleges and medical schools, and the alphabet then learned at a period when its use should be second nature? Does not that humbug, phrenology, waste the time of thousands of inquiring, but half-educated, persons, who might be saved such folly by a little real knowledge of the anatomy of the brain? How may these incongruities be eliminated? How may these various needs be met? How may the practical difficulties be overcome?

Let us summarize the conditions; let us recognize clearly where we are. First, the human brain is probably the most complicated organ in nature. Second, of parts or features of the human brain visible to the naked eye, there have been already described at least five hundred. And for those five hundred there have been coined and are on record at least ten thousand five hundred different names in various languages. Third, to understand, to teach, and to investigate concerning the brain, involve the prompt recognition of these many parts and the ready recollection of their names. Fourth, such recognition and recollection imply an

exercise of the memory which becomes less attractive and more difficult every year of our lives. Fifth, it is commonly assumed that the knowledge of the human brain must be gained directly from that organ or from diagrams and models.

Among the branches of knowledge which the liberal, educated man should possess, President Gilman names as first, "the knowledge of his own physical nature, especially of his thinking apparatus, by which his intellectual life is carried forward." Professor Goodwin, of Harvard, is reported to have declared that whatever branch of knowledge is to be most successfully pursued should have its foundation laid in the scholar's mind before the age of fifteen. The painter Hamilton has said this, which deserves to be inscribed in every library and public school: "Personal familiarity alone makes knowledge." And to Joseph Henry, the revered head of the Smithsonian Institution, we are indebted for this: "In the order of nature, doing comes before thinking, art before science." We have turned this upside down. An ancient Latin proverb reminds us that "carpenters don't learn their trade upon rosewood, nor tailors upon cloth of gold."

Granting, then, the desirability of a general knowledge of the human brain, I propose a natural, rational, and logical, although perhaps novel, system of education in the subject, beginning with the lowest grades of schools, and adapted to the mental and emotional status of the pupil. These gradations can be demonstrated to be natural stages of progress in study, whether they be applied to the individual at various periods of life, or whether they simply be applied to the same individual at a given period.

At the beginning, we have stage A, adapted to the primary schools. The student should be encouraged to observe. It was Agassiz, I believe, who half humorously said that he hoped "to be remembered as having trained at least one observer." The primary pupil should be taught to use his eyes and his hands. Later, it may be desirable to teach that the laying on of hands is unwise; but at the beginning I am convinced that the child sucks in information through its finger-tips, and that it should have the specimen that it is to study in its hands as well as before its eyes. He should be given the specimen, and encouraged to find out things for himself. The child should be compelled (and compulsion

may be exerted so that it will not be felt to be such) to draw — to represent what he sees by lines upon paper. It makes no difference whether the parents feel that "artists are born, not made." Art in the high sense is not here in question. What I claim is, that any child which has eyes and hands can represent what it sees by means of lines upon paper; and I insist, furthermore, that that kind of exercise should be called for from the child before it is taught to write. Drawing is natural, writing is horribly artificial. The child should be taught to dance before it is taught to walk. The natural things should be developed first, the artificial afterwards. It does not make any difference at first whether good pictures are made or not. Let them be repeated and faults pointed out. No instrument need be used: What I recommend is, that, say, an actual sheep's brain should be put into the hands of the child. If the child has seen upon its parents' table some preparation of a calf's brain, it will perhaps be prepared to admit that the sheep's brain is not a very dreadful object after all. The impression that natural-history specimens are disagreeable is an altogether secondary one with most children. The natural instinct of curiosity in a child prompts it to reach out for specimens, and to examine them.

After the child has observed, and the teacher can find nothing upon the surface which the child has not already observed, and shown by his drawings, the teacher should put into the hands of the child a knife, and under the teacher's supervision there should be made a cross section of the frontal region of the brain, another section further back, and a third section that shall pass through the insignificant region, which is identical with the sheep's brain. These sections will show in the first place that the brain is not a solid mass. They will expose cavities; and the child's interest will be aroused as much almost as if it saw a tunnel and a pair of caves into which it might creep bodily. The child will desire to know if those cavities have any connection with one another, and the teacher has simply to suggest that the child put the specimen under water and with a little tube blow into the single hole behind, when the child will see that bubbles will come out from the two cavities in front, and it will then infer that the cavities are continuous. These sections will also expose the fact that the brain is homogeneous in the matter of color, and that the colors are to be recognized, and their distribution indicated,

by drawings. In connection with this there should be pictures of the corresponding sections of the human brain, so that they can be readily compared.

We come now to stage B, of the grammar school. Here comes the second stage, that of not merely observation, but comparison; and into the hands of the pupil should be put the entire brain of the sheep as before, likewise the brain of a cat or dog, and he should be required to draw and draw again the brains of all these from corresponding positions. Certain parts of the brain of the cat will require the use of a lens. The child will find certain fibrous cords on the face of the brain; and a picture should be provided to enable him to recognize that those cords are nervous cords, and that some of them connect with the eye, and that other nerves go to various parts. All these things should be compared, with the sheep as basis and the cat or dog as the second term of comparison. Finally, on the brain, especially of the cat, there may be recognized the peculiar arrangement of the fissures. These are so complex in the human brain that they are very hard to study, and so hard in the sheep that it is idle to try to study them. In the cat's brain there is a feature which has never been explained. There is a certain fissure which is nearly a straight line, there is another in front, and a third behind. Now, in the brains of all the wild dog kind there is an arch over that straight line. In a cat, the two pillars of the arch never meet. In my laboratory, thousands of cats' brains have been examined, and every one of them has been scrutinized with this point in view, and never once has there been seen a meeting of those two lines to form a complete arch. The child who happens to discover that those two fissures do meet in the cat which he has under his observation, may at least lay claim to a distinction which has not been attained before. The relations between the various regions of the cerebrum and certain functions of the body should also be pointed out, especially the region which, in man as well as in the cat, seems to be connected with the power of moving the tongue.

Stage C, in the high school. Here for the first time it seems worth while to introduce ideas, generalizations, comparisons, of such a character as to compel the pupil to think. For this purpose I would advise that, while retaining the brain of the sheep, the cat, and the dog, comparison should be made

with the brain of the turtle, that is, the great sea-turtle which is used for soup. Its brain is commonly thrown away. The close resemblance between the structure of the brain of the turtle and the human brain will impress the pupil. After noting that certain portions of the brain are gray and certain portions white, he should examine these under the microscope.

In stage D, which may represent the condition of the pupil in a college or university or medical school, the comparison which has already been made between pictures of the human brain and the actual brain of the sheep, etc., should be extended to other animals. In that way the universality of the idea of similarity of structure will be demonstrated to his mind. Then the human brain itself, that precious material, may be put in his hands. In the high school there should be at least a well preserved human brain, which may be seen or held in the hands, but it would not be practical to provide such to be dissected. But in the college it should be dissected and pored over. Even after the many years during which I have been studying the brain, I may say I never make a cut in the human brain that I do not see something new, or at least get some new views. Finally, in the latter part of a university course or a medical course, the student may be intrusted to pursue original research.

Let us without prejudice contemplate the objections to the proposed course of study.

First, may be the aversion of the pupil. I have already said, however, that this aversion is originally something that is inculcated, and that a child is, as a rule, rather too eager than too averse from handling anatomical specimens. At Cornell last fall, the class in Physiology numbered one hundred and eighty, of whom at least one-fourth were women; and only two of the whole number had to be excused from the class. One was apparently a genuine case of hysteria, and on the application of the young woman's parents and physician she was excused. The other was a young lady from Boston who had conscientious scruples. I promptly gave her something to do from books, and I did not worry her or allow her to worry me. Practically, there is not the least difficulty due to the aversion of the pupil for the objects presented.

Secondly, so far as the brain is concerned, there is an ob-

stacle which is altogether imaginary. People say, if the human brain,—and practically the same is the case with the brain of a cat or a dog,—if the human brain contains five hundred different parts, what an enormously complicated task it must be to study it. Let not this, however, paralyze us at the outset, nor let it induce us to regard the pupil as likely to be paralyzed. As a matter of fact, the brain, although the most complicated, the most difficult, of the viscera, is at the outset at once the most acceptable and the easiest to deal with. The heart not only lies on one side, but it is twisted in all sorts of ways. The liver and other organs are unsymmetrical. The child seeks for something that corresponds with his own eyes and his own body. The brain is less disagreeable than any other organ; and a fresh brain, with its lovely pure white and its delicate pinkish gray, lying upon the top of the skull, is vastly prettier than an oyster on the half-shell, which most children learn to look upon without repugnance. I insist upon it that we have here an altogether imaginary objection.

Thirdly, it must be admitted that many teachers have not had sufficient training to enable them to follow these directions. In that case, however, they need only do the prescribed things for themselves, and so keep ahead of their pupils. The teacher need practically to keep only one grade in advance of his pupils.

Fourth, the large number of technical terms involved in describing the structure of the brain constitutes a certain barrier to its study. Efforts are being made, however, to simplify this nomenclature.

I come now to a point which I doubt not has oppressed some of my readers. Something has to be killed in order that its brain may be studied. The proposal here made is that the study of the brain should begin with the brain of a sheep; and civilized man has not come yet to the point where he allows sheep to die a natural death. Their heads may be had for five cents. Cats and dogs must be killed. They are not in the market. Let us face the issue. No one is fonder of cats than I am; and yet in a single class of mine about two hundred are dissected each year, and I am responsible for the death of between four and five hundred cats every year of my life. I do not know whether I may look forward to encountering those cats in after life; but I would much

rather encounter them than some people I have known; for I should expect that these animals would utter a prolonged hymn of praise to me for having put them out of their misery. They were cats of the kind which are a disgrace to every city and town in the United States except New York, which has a special provision for gathering them in and killing them, and Ithaca, where we use a great many every year for dissecting purposes. I carry in my pocket a little bottle of chloroform, and no wretched, miserable, starving cat escapes me. Our cats are brought in from the neighborhood, and if people miss their pets they are allowed to come into the university and look through the grating and to pick out any cat there, if they will only guarantee to take care of it.

As to obtaining human material, the case is more or less complex. The brains of criminals of various types can be obtained without much trouble. But there has been too much study of the brains of criminals. It is well that the brains available for examinations in the higher schools, etc., should not be the abnormal brains of criminals, lunatics, or paupers. On the contrary, we should endeavor to obtain the brains of people of respectability, good birth, and education. At present I have in my collection the brains of eight more or less well-known, distinguished, moral, and educated persons, and these have been photographed and otherwise utilized with the utmost care and circumspection.

The plan outlined here is, I believe, sound in its conception and practical in its carrying out. If it be put into operation, then I venture to prophecy that, of the hundred pupils who may first learn about the brain by means of that graded system of education, *all* will thereby be made better citizens and better parents; *twenty* will become better teachers, more successful practitioners of the law or medicine, or more potent ministers of the gospel; and *one* at least will become an investigator and discoverer, increasing knowledge for the glory of his country and the enlightenment of the world.

AGNODICE.¹

BY SELINA SEIXAS SOLOMONS.

LONG ages since, when plunged in thickest night
 Of ignorance and error lay the world,
 Save where, in one small spot called Greece, there
 blazed

The noonday sun of learning and of art
 Destined to shed its beams unto all time,
 In the Athenian tribunal hall,
 Summoned for judgment, stood Agnodice.

A form of noble majesty and strength,
 Such as the genius of that ancient clime
 Has left in priceless legacy of stone,
 Outrivaling in stately, calm repose
 The sculptured column at whose side it stood;
 Serene those features, cast in mould superb,
 Yet fine-cut as a carven cameo.
 A mouth whose generous curves bespoke a soul
 Large, brave, yet tender; prone to sympathy.
 Eyes like a crystal pool, yet in their depths
 Lurked, baffling idle gaze, dark mysteries,
 All fathomless as is the deep green sea.

Then spake the Justice: "You are summoned here,
 A charge most grave to meet; for it is claimed

¹ AGNODICE.—The name of the earliest midwife mentioned among the Greeks. She was a native of Athens, where it was forbidden by law for a woman or a slave to study medicine. According to Hyginus, however, it would appear that Agnodice disguised herself in men's clothes, and so contrived to attend the lectures of Hierophilus, devoting herself chiefly to the study of midwifery and the diseases of women. Afterwards, when she began practice, being very successful in these branches of the profession, she excited the jealousy of several of the other practitioners, by whom she was summoned before the Areopagus and accused of corrupting the morals of her patients. Upon her refuting the charge by making known her sex, she was immediately accused of having violated the existing law, which second danger she escaped through the intervention of the wives of the chief persons of Athens, whom she had attended, who came forward in her behalf and succeeded at last in getting the obnoxious law abolished.—Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology."

The noble art of medicine you 've used
To cover other base, designing arts
Against the peace of the domestic hearth,
Corrupting Athens' maids and matrons pure;
That, feigning ailments of the flesh to heal,
That which tenfold more precious is, the health
Of the immortal soul, you undermined.
Here in the court do your accusers stand,
Athenian citizens of high repute,
Prepared to prove conclusively their charge.
A stranger, Athens gave you learning, fame.
How ill do you requite her if this crime
Be fastened on you, which by Grecian law
Must be atoned by death! Now, prisoner,
The Court of Athens will permit your plea."

The form beside the column raised its head,
Down-bent the while the Judge's speech was made,
And in a voice whose full, rich, swelling tones
Were like unto an organ's, came these words:

"O righteous judge, and all assembled court,
I face you with the truth upon my lips.
As to the grievous crime upon me charged
A strange dilemma I'm compelled to meet.
I do avow the practice of deceit
O my Athenian fellow-citizens.
But that I have seduced their wives and maids
Is foully false, a piece of calumny
Which in three simple words I can refute;
Yet these of fell import, for Athens counts
As infamy th' offence I thus avow,
No less than that wherewith I am wrongly charged:
In either case my life the forfeit pays.
Should I keep silence I might win release,
For of my guilt there can be brought no proof;
Yet foul, unmerited dishonor's stain
On Athens' blameless matrons there would rest.
I cannot purchase life at such a price.
Know then, O citizens, that I who stand
Before you, charged with this vile crime, am but
A woman, and my name Agnodice."

Throughout the court, at this confession strange,
Arose a tumult that not soon was quelled,
While motionless and calm its object stood,
As though the matter nothing her concerned.

"I marvel not that ye should stand amazed
To hear the revelation of my sex.
Well have I kept my secret, since not one
Of the wise men of Athens did suspect
That underneath the learned doctor's garb
There beat a mere weak, craven woman's heart.
And now that I am doomed I pray the Court
For leniency, while I do relate
The story of my life, to warn rash youth
Of Athens, lest they follow in my course."

Consent was granted, and Agnodice
Continued her recital: "As a child
I saw my brothers at their games and books,
Wherein they told me I could have no part,
Because, forsooth, I was a woman-child!
That to my sex forever was denied
The boon of knowledge, for the gods ordained
That woman by her nature was but fit
For household tasks and bearing of the young.
I answered naught, but in my heart was born
Faint stirrings of rebellion 'gainst my fate.
I mused — 'How strange that these same mighty gods
Have placed such aspirations in my breast
That do of right belong to men alone!'
And so apace this knowledge-hunger grew
Until it gnawed into my very soul.
And when at length I could no longer brook
The torment, did I make a rash resolve
To brave the wrath alike of gods and men,
Attain the wisdom I so coveted
At any cost. I left my native heath,
And, well disguised in masculine array,
Journeyed to Athens, where I boldly knocked
Upon her doors of learning; the result
You know full well. For I bore off the palm
From all my masculine competitors,

Although I was a woman. Strange, indeed,
If woman's brain is by the gods decreed
Of poorer quality than is your own,
That I should outstrip all the noble youth
Of Athens! Mark you then, if this my act
Had been displeasing to th' eternal gods,
As in the eyes of men, would they have shown
Such favor to the maid, Agnodice?
Would they have placed these laurels on my brow?

"Such wrong the mighty gods could never do —
Endow a woman with the attributes
That to the sex superior belong,
And then deny her opportunity
To exercise these faculties divine.
And so I reasoned, 't was a blunder made,
For which the gods were not responsible.
Dame Nature 't was who in erratic mood
Had linked a man's mind to a woman's form.
And none suspected, none in all these years,
The secret of my sex. Oh, strange indeed,
The ways of gods are — not like those of men —
That by mere change of garb a woman is
Transformed into the semblance of a man,
And that great inner difference concealed!

"The gods were good; they granted me success.
My fame spread far and wide, and from all parts
Came the afflicted, seeking for relief.
But of all patients did my heart the most
Incline unto my suffering womenkind.
For I too was a woman, and my heart
Went out to these, my sisters, in their woe.
For they have trials that ye reckon not of,
O men of Athens, following the path
Of glory, wealth, and honor in the world,
Unmindful of the dull and thankless lot
That falls to them, your mothers and your wives,
Makers and moulders of the race, that bear
The burdens of yourselves and of your sins
Before birth, and until your dying hour.

"So to the mothers and the wives of Athens
I gave my services and sympathy.
I sorrowed in their sorrow, and rejoiced
When they were glad. In pity for their pain
I wrought appliances for their relief;
Devices crude which science may some day
Perfect, forgetting that the hand and brain
That first did fashion them were those but of
A simple woman, called Agnodice.

"Yea, I confess I loved them, and from them
Won love and gratitude. And such as these
Are the base arts ye charge that I have used,
O men of Athens, whom your vices make
Prone to suspicion, these the dealings foul
That I have had with your chaste wives and maids.
Such are the soundless depths of infamy
To which have sunk these slandered Grecian dames.

"Ah, now, accusers, does the flush of shame
Not tinge your brows to hear the simple truth ?

"O men of Athens, if ye could but know
What finer forces dwell within the frames
Of your submissive, gentle womenkind !
These are your warriors, doing battle brave
With armed hosts of sin and suffering !
With smiles that hide the heartbreak giving up
The sons they 've borne to fight their country's foes.
Mightier than battles fought in blood to win
A kingdom, and more glorious victories
These conflicts of the soul from which there come
Patience, obedience, and self-sacrifice !
These are your statesmen, teaching to your sons —
The little lads that cluster round their knees —
The love of Greece and reverence for her law ;
These are your sages, who in silence learn
Lessons of wisdom taught not in your schools —
A truer wisdom of the heart and soul,
The flower of their life's experience !

"What do ye with them? Shut them up to spin?

"O men of Athens, hearken to my plea!
Do as you will with me, but give to them
A larger freedom, standing at your side,
As equals, and no longer slaves and toys!
Give all their faculties development;
No longer bind their souls in iron bands
Of custom, forged from superstition's flame.
Then from a fairer Greece shall spring a race
Greater and nobler than ye yet have seen.

"I would not be so impious to say
The gods have erred. Ye have not read aright,
O men of Greece, their mystical decrees.
Lo! here I make to you a prophecy:
If in your blindness ye shall still ignore,
And your descendants, this mysterious force,
This potent agency — the feminine —
In the affairs of life, 't will not be lost.
Naught in the universe is ever lost!
But, beaten back upon itself, pent-up,
Mute, motionless, and stifled in the breasts
Of womankind, a hundred thousand fold
'T will multiply until, long ages hence,
Bursting asunder its fast prison bars,
In one tremendous, irresistible
Outflow of power, 't will o'erwhelm the world,
Triumphs achieve that man has never dreamed!

"Thus then will the eternal righteous law
Be vindicated; so the mighty gods
Avenge the fatal ignorance of man!

"My tale is done. Do with me as ye will!"

She ceased, and silence for an instant fell
Upon the multitude. Then through the court
Was heard a murmurous undertone that swelled
In volume, rising ever like the tide,
Until a very ocean it became
Of sound tempestuous, upon whose wave,
Above the mighty roar, these words came borne:

"Well hath she done and spoken. Set her free!
Let all revere the brave Agnodice!"

THE UNKNOWN: PREVISION OF THE FUTURE.¹

BY CAMILLE FLAMMARION.

THIRTY-ONE years ago, in 1865, I published a small brochure which every one has forgotten, and which, indeed, is now unobtainable, entitled, "The Unknown Forces of Nature." It dealt with the subject of the psychic forces, which, since then, have begun to make their way in the world. From that epoch, already distant, these questions have continued to occupy my thoughts at the rare intervals of leisure which serious and entrancing astronomical researches have permitted me. This subject, so complex, of the psychic forces, is truly one of the most interesting and important in the world, for it touches us all very nearly. Then, again, the unknown, the mysterious — does it not excite the interest of all inquiring minds? Where is the human being who has not inherited from our charming mother Eve something of the venial sin of primitive curiosity, to which, moreover, humanity owes all its progress?

It is, then, an excursion into the domain of the unknown, especially into the subject of the prevision of the future, that I propose to make, along with those among my readers who believe, as I do, that "we do not know everything."

At one time I had for a friend an estimable savant, remarkably strong in mathematics, who was director of the Paris observatory from 1869 to 1872 — Charles Delaunay. It had been foretold to him that he would perish by drowning, a fate which had overtaken his father; and not only would he never undertake a sea voyage, but he even avoided the most harmless boating parties. On a beautiful day in August, 1872, however, his father-in-law, M. Millaud, postmaster-general, carried him off to Cherbourg, and with a couple of sailors they went off to visit the breakwater. On returning from their excursion, which had passed off very pleasantly, the wind rose and began to blow with the greatest violence, and

¹ Written for THE ARENA; and translated from the French by Frederick T. Jones.

the pinnacle capsized with its four passengers, not one of whom was saved.

In such an occurrence some persons may see a mere coincidence. From the standpoint of the question of the prevision of the future, a solitary fact of this kind is not, by itself, of much weight. A man is afraid of the water; he is drowned. Another dreads hydrophobia; he is bitten: another has a presentiment against journeys; he is the victim of a railway accident. Such coincidences attract notice, but they prove nothing.

This, indeed, ought to be our mode of reasoning, if examples of that kind were isolated. But they are not. They are more numerous, and the circumstances are more precise, than will accord with the doctrine of probabilities. Here is another fact, related by Madame Leconte de Lisle, sister-in-law of the poet:

One M. X. [I am not partial to anonymous examples, but I take the story as it is reported] consulted a card-reader, who predicted that he would die from the sting of a serpent.

This M. X., who was a government employé, always declined a position in Martinique, on account of the venomous serpents there. M. B., minister of the interior at Guadeloupe, induced him to accept a good position under him in that colony, which is free from serpents.

Having completed his term at Guadeloupe, M. X. set out for France. As usual, the vessel put in at Martinique, where he was careful not to disembark. Some negresses came on board to sell fruit. Being thirsty, the voyager took hold of an orange in a basket, but immediately uttered a cry. He had been stung by a serpent hidden under the leaves. In a few hours he was dead.

This story was published quite recently in the *Annales des Sciences Psychiques*. Here is another case, not less strange, of clairvoyance of the future.

One day in October, 1883, Lady A——, living in rue du Bel-Respiro, Paris, found that she had been robbed of a sum of 3,500 francs. She notified the commissary of police on rue Berryer, who instituted a search and questioned the servants, but discovered nothing. Lady A——, when enumerating her servants, begged the commissary to exclude from his suspicions her second *valet de chambre*, a youth of nineteen, very good-looking, very respectful, and very well qualified for his duties, who had been nicknamed "*le Petit*," not

on account of his stature, for he was rather tall, but from a feeling of delicate, protecting familiarity which his good qualities had won for him.

Meanwhile, among the friends of Lady A—— there had been a good deal of talk about a certain Demoiselle E——, who, they said, could see the most surprising things in a bowl of coffee grounds. M. L. d'Ervioux had the curiosity to accompany his governess to the house of this person, and was quite surprised to hear her describe exactly each piece of furniture in Lady A——'s apartment, pass in review her seven servants, and say that, though she could not name the thief, he would be guillotined within two years.

Some weeks later "*le Petit*" left the service of his mistress without giving any reason, and two years later he mounted the scaffold. This servant, so highly esteemed, was none other than Marchandon, the assassin.

Listen to one more story.

M. T. Thoulet, professor in the faculty of science at Nancy, was, in his youth, at Piedmont, as the assistant and friend of M. F——, an old naval officer, who was engaged in the work of reopening an ancient sulphur mine. They slept in adjoining rooms, separated by an open door. Madame F——, who was living in Toulon, was nearly at the end of that condition which is called "interesting," and M. F—— had spoken of the matter to his young friend, though without insistence or uneasiness. It was a second child, and everything was progressing most favorably.

One beautiful night, however, towards morning, M. Thoulet sprang out of his bed, ran to that of his neighbor, woke him, and read to him a despatch announcing the birth of a little daughter. He had read but three lines of it, out of six, when the despatch seemed to leave his hand, as though some one were taking it away, all wide open as it was. M. F—— got up, dragged his friend into the dining-room, and made him write down what he had just read; then, looking at their by no means correct costumes, they suddenly burst out laughing, and went back to bed.

Ten days later the despatch arrived, composed similarly of six lines, whereof the first three were precisely those which M. Thoulet had seen in his hallucination.

How can one see in advance something which does not as yet exist? "That is the question."

Goethe, in his "Memoirs," tells of a strange vision which terrified him as he was leaving a village where he had taken farewell of Frederick:

I saw, not with my bodily eyes, but with those of the spirit, a horseman who was journeying toward Sesenheim along the same path. The horseman was myself; I was dressed in a gray coat, edged with gold lace, such as I had never worn. I roused myself in order to drive away the hallucination, and I saw nothing more. Eight years later I found myself on the same road, revisiting Frederick, and clothed in that identical dress. I must add that it was not by any intention of my own, but solely by chance, that I had donned the costume.

Let us again ask the same question: Can one, then, see in advance something which does not as yet exist? The idea has been suggested that at times, in a fugitive moment, we appear to be sensible that we have already, at some previous epoch, found ourselves in circumstances identical in all respects with those in which we actually find ourselves. This is a species of momentary hallucination. But this explanation is a mere hypothesis, and one, moreover, which is inapplicable to the facts already cited.

In studying this question, the important thing, above all others, is to collect precise and well authenticated facts. A single fact, well observed, is worth more than a thousand theories.

Here is yet another, reported by M. Groussard, curé of Sainte Radegonde.

While at Niort, boarding, being then nineteen, he dreamed that he was at Saint-Maixent, a city of which he knew only the name, along with the keeper of his pension, in a square in front of a pharmacy, with a well at the side, and that a lady, whom he recognized as having seen once, came toward the keeper of the pension and talked with him about an affair of some importance. Some days later the keeper of the pension, to whom he had told his dream, having to go to Saint-Maixent, took him along. What was his astonishment to again find the square, the pharmacy, and the well, and in due course to witness the arrival of the lady in question, whose conversation was precisely that which he had already heard in his dream!

I have at hand a great number of similar experiences, with

which, however, I will not weary the attention of the reader, but the interest of which seems to me remarkable from the point of view of the question under discussion. I will cite just one more, the hero of which I am very well acquainted with. It concerns itself with one of my confrères and friends at my entrance into journalism, Émile de la Bédallière, editor of the *Siècle*. The circumstances of his marriage are extremely curious. A lovely young girl, living at La Charité on the Loire, was sought in marriage by three aspirants, and her parents desired to ascertain what her own feelings were on the subject. She had a dream about marriage, and there passed before her eyes a young man in a travelling suit, his head covered with a large straw hat, and wearing spectacles. An inward voice told her that this would be her husband. The next day she assured her parents that she would not marry any one of the three claimants.

In the following August, young Émile de la Bédallière accompanied on a vacation one of his friends, who went to La Charité, stayed with him in that city, and accompanied him to a subscription ball. He wore his travelling costume, a manila straw hat, and spectacles. It was the first time he had visited that district. The young girl recognized the fiancé of her dream, and a few months later the wedding took place.

As I write these lines, a friend comes in who, in his turn, relates to me the following occurrence: This friend, M. Jules Flandrin, formerly lived in Marseilles. It was in March, 1869, and work was being done on the construction of a bridge across a street. One night Madame Flandrin awoke, completely terrified by a dream. She had seen the bridge fall in, and she recounted the details of the accident. They then went to sleep again. "At seven o'clock in the morning, when we were getting up," said the narrator to me, "we learned with stupefaction that the bridge had fallen in at six o'clock."

It would be easy to multiply such illustrations, which do not date from yesterday, seeing that the wife of Julius Cæsar begged him not to go to the senate on the day on which he was assassinated by Brutus, but that he laughed at her dream.

The fatalistic Arabian maxim says: "It was written." The Book of Destiny is at the basis of all ancient beliefs. The scientific and rational observation of certain psychic phenomena leads to the same doctrine.

But, then, if the future *is*, if it cannot but be what it will be, what becomes of our consciousness of free will and responsibility? It may be replied that the human will is a real cause, which operates in the making of the future. Doubtless: but in coming to our determinations, do we not decide in favor of the preponderant motive?

Here is yet another mystery.

DESPAIR.¹

BY ELEANOR FORD.

NOT rest eterne: unending growth!
Thus teach the prophets of to-day.
To labor on my soul is loath;
Give me Nirvana, God, I pray.

The days are over-filled with woe,
The nights, black milestones on my way.
Oh! when this soul to Thee must go,
Grant it Nirvana, God, I pray.

In weal, I loved this life of mine:
Its future, whether grave or gay,
I never thought thus to resign:
Now for Nirvana, God, I pray.

I ask not this sad self to keep
In conscious life in that Great Day:
Engulf it in the essence deep
Of sweet Nirvana, God, I pray.

¹ The object of the writer of these few stanzas is to suggest the natural effect of engrafting the Oriental faith on Western thought and experience.

CONCERNING A NATIONAL UNIVERSITY.

BY EX-GOV. JOHN W. HOYT, LL.D.,

Chairman of National University Committees.

THE proposition that a great nation like ours should have at least one university will certainly pass unchallenged. Even in countries half enlightened there is a vague appreciation of the value of learning, and some readiness to make sacrifices to secure its benefits to their people; while in some of those more advanced in civilization there have been heroic and protracted struggles for those higher institutions which are everywhere recognized as essential means of providing for the culture of such as look to service in the higher fields of activity, — institutions which early came to be known by the high title of university, and which have so multiplied, especially in the United States, that to the uninformed there appears no present need of another, of whatever rank.

But there are universities and universities. For this present purpose this term is used in its highest sense only, that of a true university, — what Dr. B. A. Gould understood to be “the *universitas litterarum*, the Πανεπιστήμιον, an institution where all the sciences in the complete and rounded extent of their complex whole are cultivated and taught, where every specialty may find its votaries, and may offer all the facilities required by its neophytes,” whose “aim is not so much to make scholars, as to develop scholarship, not so much to teach the passive learner, as to educate investigators, and not merely to educate, but to spur on.”

It is perhaps needless to say that the nearest approaches to this ideal are to be found at Berlin, Paris, and Vienna; at all of which great centres there has been such concentration of means and forces during recent years as finds no precedent. Millions upon millions are being there invested right along in the construction of needed buildings, in the equipment of libraries, museums, and laboratories, and in the employment of the foremost of specialists in every department of science and learning. Somehow the wisest of their men have found their way into the national legislatures, and the enthusiasm of the highest has come to pervade even the

lowest ranks of the people. All these institutions have long rested upon the colleges and gymnasia, and are now in each case so correlated with the public schools of every grade as with them to form a national system. They are already a mighty inspiring and uplifting influence, educational, social, industrial, and political. Thousands of their own graduates throng their halls and laboratories, and thousands more of ambitious young men from other lands are annually availing themselves of such facilities there furnished as they do not find at home.

And what of the United States? is the inquiry made by ambitious and discomfited Americans. Is it implied that with Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Princeton, and those great new institutions, State and independent, of which we hear so much on every hand,—that with all these, some of them endowed with many millions, we have no university in this country? To this we answer, It is not implied merely, but plainly asserted, that as yet there is not one true university in America. There are colleges with university titles in great and steadily increasing number, some of them doing a noble collegiate work and some measure of university work; but names are of themselves nothing. They are often, as in this connection, misleading and even preventive of the highest good.

There is nothing like starting right in the inauguration of great enterprises. They who long for the coming of a true university, and who have determined to work for it until its realization, have in view no fragmentary, mixed, or competitive institution, of which there are so many, but rather a university in the highest sense,—an institution greater and more complete than even the foremost of Europe; so that, instead of annually sending three thousand college graduates to them for the completion of their education, five thousand of their graduates shall come to the University of the United States.

President David Starr Jordan has concisely said, "A university consists of investigators teaching. . . . It should be the place for the training of investigators." And again:

Its function lies not in the conduct of examinations or the granting of academic degrees. . . . It should have the same relation to Harvard and Columbia and Johns Hopkins that Berlin University

now holds. It should fill with noble adequacy the place which the graduate departments of our universities but partially occupy, because their teachers have carried on original work, if at all, in hours stolen from their daily tasks of plodding and prodding. In doing so it would furnish a stimulus that would strengthen all like work throughout the land.

Pointing out the characteristics of a university more fully, when this great, central, supplementary institution comes, it will be above and beyond all that we now have; supplying what they cannot furnish, and bringing the schools, colleges, and so-called universities into harmonious relations with one another, with an incalculable saving of means and forces everywhere. As elsewhere said, it will be an institution

Where the love of all knowledge, and of knowledge as knowledge, shall be fostered and developed; where all departments of learning shall be equally honored, and the relations of each to every other shall be understood and taught; where the students devoted to each and all branches of learning, whether science, language, literature, or philosophy, or to any combinations of these constituting the numerous professional courses of instruction, shall intermingle and enjoy friendly intercourse as peers of the same realm; where the professors, chosen, as in France and Germany, after trial, from among the ablest and best scholars of the world, possessed of absolute freedom of conscience and of speech, and honored and rewarded more nearly in proportion to merit, shall be, not teachers of the known merely, but also earnest searchers after the unknown, and capable, by their genius, enthusiasm, and moral power, of infusing their own lofty ambition into the minds of all who may wait upon their instruction; a university not barely complying with the demands of the age, but one that shall create, develop, and satisfy new and unheard-of demands and aspirations; that shall have power to fashion and mould the age unto its own grander ideal; and which, through every change and every real advance of the world, shall still be at the front, driving back from their fastnesses the powers of darkness, opening up new continents of truth to the grand army of progress, and so leading the nation forward, and helping to elevate the whole human race. Such an institution would be to the world its first realization of the true idea of a university.¹

¹ Report on Education (in connection with the Paris Universal Exposition of 1867), by John W. Hoyt, United States Commissioner, p. 393.

Such a university of the United States, planted at the national capital, in view of the means and forces already there, and of the priceless benefits it would in many ways confer upon the Government itself, and upon the whole people, is strongly demanded. The security of our free institutions demands it. The proper development of our resources, material and intellectual, demands it. The honor of the American name and of all Anglo-Saxondom demands it. Our solemn duty to the future of the human race demands it.

Then why is not such a university a living fact to-day? Surely this great nation, rich in material resources, rapidly growing in accumulated wealth, and richer still in the intellectual resources of a gifted people, is strong enough to build it. Indeed, we have almost a university at Washington already. Behold the great array of departments, bureaus, and other organized agencies doing already in part the work the university would do, were they duly correlated and wisely directed :

In the Treasury Department of the United States :

The Office of the Coast and Geodetic Survey,
The Office of the Life-Saving Service,
The Marine Hospital Service,
The Bureau of Statistics,
The Bureau of Engraving and Printing.

In the War Department :

The several military bureaus.

In the Navy Department :

The Naval Observatory,
The Office of the Nautical Almanac,
The Hydrographic Office,
The Bureau of Navigation,
The Bureau of Yards and Docks,
The Bureau of Ordnance,
The Bureau of Construction and Repair,
The Bureau of Steam Engineering,
The Museum of Hygiene,
The Bureau of Medicine and Surgery,
The Dispensary.

In the Department of the Interior :

The Patent Office,
The Bureau of Education,

The Office of the Geological Survey,
The Census Office.

In the Department of Agriculture :

The Botanical Division, with the gardens and grounds,
The Division of Vegetable Pathology,
The Pomological Division,
The Microscopical Division,
The Chemical Division,
The Ornithological Division,
The Forestry Division,
The Entomological Division,
The Silk Section,
The Experimental Stations,
The Office of Statistics,
The Bureau of Animal Industry,
The Weather Bureau,
The Agricultural Museum.

Of establishments not under Departmental control :

The Bureau of American Republics,
The Smithsonian Institution,
The National Museum, with its twenty-two departments,
The Medical Museum,
The Medical Library,
The Bureau of Ethnology,
The Light-House Board,
The Commission of Fish and Fisheries,
The Arsenal,
The Congressional Library,
The United States Botanic Garden,
The Zoölogical Garden (in preparation),
The Government Printing Office,
The Soldiers' Home,
Office of the National Board of Health,
Government Hospital for the Insane,
The National Deaf-Mute College,
Courts, District, Circuit, and Supreme.

Of local institutions and establishments :

The Columbian University, with its professional department of
law and department of medicine,
The Howard University, with its like departments,
The Georgetown University, with its departments,
The " National University " law school and school of medicine,
The Corcoran Art Gallery,

The Columbia Institution for the Deaf and Dumb,
The Columbia Hospital for Women,
The Children's Hospital,
The Providence Hospital.

Of learned associations of men :

The Philosophical Society of Washington,
The Anthropological Society,
The Biological Society,
The Chemical Society,
The Botanical Society,
The National Geographical Society,

To all of which might be added, since their annual meetings are held at Washington, the National Academy of Sciences, and the American Historical Society.

In view of all the considerations involved, and of this virtual beginning in the way of material foundation, it is incomprehensible that the Congress of the United States, supposed to represent the wisdom of the nation, should not have been moved to establish the National University long ago.

From year to year Americans celebrate the matchless virtues and achievements of him who was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen," while yet they fail utterly to do anything toward the realization of that for which he labored, and prayed, and sacrificed as for nothing else save the freedom of the Colonies and the founding of the Republic.

Great, indeed, were the wisdom, patriotism, generalship, and statesmanship of the immortal Washington. Hardly less remarkable, in view of the conditions of his life, were his estimates of the priceless value of learning as a means of promoting the security and general welfare of the new American republic; the profound interest he manifested in adequate provision for the intellectual culture of the whole people; the prescience with which he anticipated the demand for a crowning central institution to be established and fostered by the Federal Government; the deep solicitude and self-sacrificing devotion with which, even from the midst of the Revolutionary War to the end of life, he persisted in efforts for a national university.

Surprising, also, is the fact, so full of reproach for succeeding generations, that this great idea of Washington, so steadily

fostered for a quarter of a century, has not even yet been realized. Is it not fitting, then, that on the day set apart as sacred to his memory, we revive the recollection of —

His many efforts even before the actual founding of the Government.

His inaugural address, January 8, 1790.

His letter of November 27, 1794, to John Adams, Vice-President.

His letter of December 15, 1794, to Mr. Randolph, Secretary of State.

His letter to the Commissioners of the District of Columbia.

His letter to Thomas Jefferson, March 15, 1795.

His letter to Governor Brooke, of Virginia, March 16, 1795.

His two letters to Alexander Hamilton, September 1 and September 6, 1796.

His letter to the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, designating a site.

His last message to Congress.

His dying bequest, leaving as a beginning of a pecuniary foundation a sum which, had it been cared for by the Government, in accordance with the stipulations of his last will and testament, would by this time have amounted to nearly five millions of dollars.

No wonder that one hears on all sides the questions, "Why this great neglect?" "Have there been no other champions of a cause so important, and now become sacred?"

Aye, champions indeed! Illustrious champions, and in great numbers, as you shall see.

Deeply sharing Washington's patriotic aspirations, James Madison, Charles C. Pickering, Benjamin Franklin, William Samuel Johnson, and other distinguished members of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 sought to incorporate a provision for the proposed National University in the Constitution itself, and only yielded to the general judgment that the exclusive authority of Congress over the District of Columbia, already provided for, obviated the necessity for any specific provision, and to the desire of all that nothing superfluous should have place in that great instrument.

There, too, was Dr. Benjamin Rush, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and leading scientist of his time, who in the very year of the Convention made eloquent pleas such as this :

Your Government cannot be executed ; it is too expensive for a republic ; it is contrary to the habits of the people, say the enemies

of the Constitution of the United States. However opposite to the opinions and wishes of a majority of the citizens of the United States these declarations and predictions may be, they will certainly come to pass, unless the people are prepared for our new form of government by an education adapted to the new and peculiar situation of our country. To effect this great and necessary work let one of the first acts of the new Congress be to establish within the district to be allotted for them, a Federal university, into which the youth of the United States shall be received *after they have finished their studies and taken degrees in the colleges of their respective States.*

There, also, in the same year was the distinguished Samuel Blodget, author of the first American work on economic science, who, at the very beginning of a lifelong support of the proposition, briefly said :

If a Federal university should be established . . . it must be simple, complete, and grand. . . . It must also be central, and under the patronage of the Federal power.

After these there followed a long line of advocates, beginning with the commissioners appointed under the "Act to establish the temporary and permanent seat of the Government of the United States," whose memorial to Congress on December 12, 1796, is especially worthy of attention, since, after referring to the setting apart of lands for a university site by Washington, and his having actually paid five thousand pounds sterling as a contribution toward the pecuniary foundation, the commissioners add the following :

They do not think it necessary to dilate on a subject in respect to which there seems to be but one voice. . . . We flatter ourselves it is only necessary to bring it within the view of the Federal legislature. We think you will eagerly seize the occasion to extend to it your patronage, to give birth to an institution which may perpetuate and endear your names to the latest posterity.

Then followed, in succeeding years : The friendly words of President John Adams in his inaugural address of March 4, 1797. The memorials of the resolute Samuel Blodget, especially the one of 1805, according to the Annals of Congress "representing that subscriptions toward a university at Washington have already been made to the number of eighteen thousand, and a sum received amounting to \$30,000."

The efforts of Thomas Jefferson on many occasions, especially in his sixth annual message of December 2, 1806, in which, after offering abundant reasons in support of Washington's views, he added :

The present consideration of a national establishment for education, particularly, is rendered proper by this circumstance also, that if Congress, approving the proposition, shall yet think it more eligible to found it on a donation of lands, they have it now in their power to endow it with those which will be among the earliest to produce the necessary income. This foundation would have the advantage of being independent in war, which may suspend other improvements by requiring for its own purposes the resources destined for them.

The like earnest support of President James Madison in —

(1) His second message, of December 5, 1810, showing that "such an institution . . . would be universal in its beneficial effects ;"

(2) His seventh annual message, of December 15, 1815, in which he said : "Such an institution deserves the patronage of Congress as a memorial of that solicitude for the advancement of knowledge without which the blessings of liberty cannot be fully enjoyed or long preserved ;"

(3) His last annual message, of December 3, 1816, wherein again he forcibly urged "the establishment of a national university within the District on a scale and for objects worthy of the American nation."

The efforts of President James Monroe, in coöperation with others, for the development of the Columbian Institute, in the hope of its becoming eventually the desired national university.

The eloquent appeals in this behalf by President John Quincy Adams in both messages and speeches, especially in his first message (1825), so sound in its reasoning, so pathetic in its allusions to Washington, and so full of deserved reproach for his fellow-countrymen :

So convinced of this [the need of a national university] was the first of my predecessors in this office, now first in the memory, as he was first in the hearts of his countrymen, that once and again, in his addresses to the Congresses with whom he coöperated in the public service, he earnestly recommended the establishment of seminaries of learning, to prepare for all the emergencies of peace and war, a

national university, and a military academy. With respect to the latter, had he lived to the present day, in turning his eyes to the institution at West Point he would have enjoyed the gratification of his most earnest wishes. But in surveying the city which has been honored with his name he would have seen the spot of earth which he had destined and bequeathed to the use and benefit of his country as the site for a university still bare and barren.

The subsequent efforts of earnest men both in and out of Congress, among them such men as the eloquent President Holley, of Kentucky, and the learned Judge William Cranch, until the coming of Andrew Jackson, who so gladly approved of further Congressional aid in the form of \$25,000 cash to Columbian College, in 1832, on account of the acknowledged "utility of a central literary establishment," and of the failure thus far to make any more direct recognition of the repeated recommendations of his predecessors.

Thenceforward for a period of forty years there was silence on the part of the presidents and of Congress. The several executives had become disheartened by the inability of the national legislature to rise to a comprehension of the needs of American education. Not so its friends among the people, for these four decades of comparative darkness were studded with starry names, like those of —

President Thomas Hill, of Harvard,
Professor Benjamin Peirce, of Cambridge,
Professor Louis Agassiz, of Cambridge,
Dr. James Apthorp Gould, astronomer,
Professor John F. Norton, of Yale,
Professor James Hall, geologist, of New York,
Professor Amos Dean, of Albany,
Bishop Alonzo Potter, of New York,
President James McCosh, of Princeton,
Professor Arnold Guyot, of Princeton,
Professor Joseph Henry, of the Smithsonian Institution,
Professor O. M. Mitchell, Director of the Cincinnati Observatory,
Dr. Alexander Dallas Bache, Superintendent of the Coast Survey,
and so on.

But all these were the individual appeals of illustrious men. There was need of organization. And so in 1869, on motion of Dr. John W. Hoyt, of Wisconsin, the National Educational Association espoused the cause and formed a

great committee for its furtherance. Three successive annual reports, in which were set forth the need of a central university of highest rank and the principles which should govern in its organization, were unanimously approved by the Association, and a bill was finally prepared in counsel with Senators Sumner, Patterson, Howe, and others, and introduced in both Houses of Congress, and by the House Committee on Education unanimously reported in 1873.

President Ulysses S. Grant, having meanwhile become deeply interested in the cause, gave it his indorsement in characteristic manner, as follows:

I would suggest to Congress the propriety of promoting the establishment in this District of an institution of learning or university of the highest class, by donation of lands. There is no place better suited for such an institution than the national capital. There is no other place in which every citizen is so directly interested.

Unfortunately, for reasons known to those directly interested, the National Educational Association, having fulfilled the service of reënforcing the old demand, and of indicating the scope and outline of the proposed university, did not systematically persist in its efforts with Congress for a considerable time thereafter.

But the advocacy of the proposition went forward under the individual lead of strong men in all sections of the country — such men as —

Senator Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts,
Senator Timothy O. Howe, of Wisconsin,
Senator J. W. Patterson, of New Hampshire,
Senator Carl Schurz, of Wisconsin and New York,
General John Eaton, National Commissioner of Education,
Dr. William T. Harris, editor *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*
and present National Commissioner of Education,
President Daniel Read, University of Missouri,
President James C. Welling, Columbian University,
Mr. E. L. Godkin, Editor of *The Nation*,
President D. F. Boyd, University of Louisiana,
President Andrew D. White, Cornell University,
President James B. Angell, University of Michigan, and many others.

Meanwhile, came the messages of Rutherford B. Hayes, in 1877 and 1878, arguing the case with a cogency and eloquence unsurpassed, and concluding thus:

The Government cannot now repudiate or reverse its beneficent educational policy. The logic of facts and of reason will not permit it to stop short of the most complete provision for every department of American education. The people are growing in their realization of the necessity there is for insuring the best possible education of the masses. The variety and vastness of the national resources, and the rapid progress of other nations, are making a strong and growing demand upon the industrial arts, which they are powerless to meet without the help of the best technical schools; while the conspicuous place we hold among the great nations of the earth, the nature of our Government, and the genius and aspirations of our people are reasons deep and urgent for a high and thorough culture that must early move the nation to adopt measures that will give to the United States a true university.

Also, in 1885, came the equivalent of a Presidential message in the annual report of Hon. L. Q. C. Lamar, Secretary of the Interior, eloquently insisting that President Jefferson was right when he "told Congress that to complete the circle of democratic policy a national university was a necessity and should at once be created;" that, while "the common-school system . . . constitutes the foundation of our democracy . . . this is not enough to satisfy its instincts;" and that the means of the highest possible culture "will alone realize and express the higher aspirations of American democracy."

Finally, in 1890, there was another beginning of work in Congress by Senator George F. Edmunds's offer of "A Bill to establish the University of the United States," and the creation of a select committee of nine senators to have charge of this interest during that Congress; which committee, having been twice continued, was at length made a standing committee, and has submitted three successive reports, two of them unanimous.

So likewise, in 1891, there was a resumption of organized effort outside of Congress, to-wit:

(1) By action of the Human Freedom League on the occasion of its organization in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, on October 11 of that year, under inspiration of an eloquent paper on "The Nation's Debt of Honor," by Dr. G. Brown Goode, of the Smithsonian Institution.

(2) By the General Committee of Three Hundred of the Pan-Republic Congress, in adopting a set of resolutions offered by John W. Hoyt, on October 13, 1891, and by the

appointment of a committee including one member from each of the States, to promote the enterprise.

(3) By the "Memorial in regard to a National University," by John W. Hoyt, printed in large edition by order of the United States Senate.

(4) By the introduction of National University bills of the aforesaid committee's preparation, in both Houses of Congress, and the securing of reports thereon by the Senate Select Committee.

(5) By the formation, in November, 1895, of a great and independent committee of citizens, to be known as "The National University Committee of One Hundred to promote the establishment of the University of the United States," a committee since grown to be one of over three hundred, including many of our most distinguished scholars, scientists, jurists, and statesmen, the presidents of some one hundred and fifty of our principal universities and colleges, and the State superintendents of public instruction in all the States but one. For greater efficiency, it has an Executive Council composed of the following members:

The Hon. Melville W. Fuller, LL.D., Chief Justice of the United States,

Ex-U. S. Senator George F. Edmunds, LL.D., of Vermont,

Ex-Provost William Pepper, M.D., LL.D., University of Pennsylvania,

Hon. Andrew D. White, LL.D., Ex-President of Cornell University, Ex-U. S. Minister to Russia, etc., New York,

Ex-Governor John Lee Carroll, LL.D., General President Society of Sons of the Revolution, Maryland,

General Horace Porter, LL.D., President-General Society of Sons of the American Revolution, New York,

Ex-U. S. Senator Eppa Hunton, LL.D., Virginia,

Ex-U. S. Senator A. H. Garland, late Attorney-General of the United States, Arkansas,

Ex-U. S. Senator J. B. Henderson, LL.D., Missouri and District of Columbia,

Colonel Wilbur R. Smith, Kentucky University,

General John Eaton, LL.D., Ex-U. S. Commissioner of Education, etc., New Hampshire and the District of Columbia,

Hon. Gardiner G. Hubbard, LL.D., President National Geographic Society, Regent of Smithsonian Institution, etc., District of Columbia,

Dr. Simon Newcomb, LL.D., etc., Director of the Nautical Almanac, District of Columbia,

Hon. John A. Kasson, Ex-U. S. Minister to Austria and Ambassador to Germany, Iowa and the District of Columbia,

Hon. Oscar S. Strauss, ex-U. S. Minister to Turkey, New York,

Ex-Governor John W. Hoyt, M.D., LL.D., Chairman of National University Committees.

(6) By the introduction, in both Houses of Congress, of a new bill prepared by the Executive Council in November, 1895 (all members being present but one).

(7) By the arguments of nearly all members of the Council in support of the bill, before the Senate and House Committees, during the month of January, 1896; which bill has since been favorably reported.

The Senate has not yet taken up and passed any bill, for in each case the reports thereon have been submitted too late to admit of action; but that body has ever shown a friendly and liberal spirit, printing the following documents upon request, some of them in editions of several thousands, copies of which may be obtained on application to John W. Hoyt, Chairman, etc., 4 Iowa Circle, Washington, D. C.

The Bill submitted by Senator Edmunds, in 1890.

The Bill submitted by Senator Proctor, in 1891.

The "Memorial in regard to a National University," by John W. Hoyt, in 1892, containing both a full discussion of the National University proposition, and an exhaustive summary of the notable efforts made in this behalf from before the foundation of the Government.

The Report of the Senate Committee, submitted by Chairman Proctor, in 1893.

The Report of the Senate Committee, submitted by Chairman Hunton, in 1894.

The Speeches in support of the measure, delivered by Senators Hunton of Virginia, Vilas of Wisconsin, and Kyle of South Dakota.

The Bill prepared by the National University Committee of One Hundred.

The Report of the Senate Committee, on the said Bill, submitted by Senator Kyle, in 1896, including the arguments before the Committee by nearly all members of the Executive Council, as well as letters in support of the measure from over three hundred distinguished men in all sections of the country.

"Views of the Minority," submitted by Senator Walthall of Mississippi, in 1896.

"Reply to Views of the Minority," by John W. Hoyt.

The Argument in behalf of the National University proposition, by Professor William H. H. Phillips, of South Dakota, in December, 1896.

The Argument in support of the measure by President David Starr Jordan, of Leland Stanford University, in December, 1896.

The present movement, both in and out of Congress, is based upon the principles laid down and the reasons urged in the reports of the National Educational Association, and in the Senate Memorial of 1892.

In order that the purpose cherished, the principles agreed upon, the considerations which have led to a renewal of effort, and the conditions of success may clearly appear, extracts from an Outline of the Memorial will next be presented.

From the Outline, these passages, to-wit:

- I. A great and true University the leading want of American education.
- II. The offices of a National University are these:
 1. To supplement existing institutions by supplying full courses of post-graduate instruction, and it only, in every department of learning.
 2. By its central faculties and cluster of professional schools of highest grade, to represent at all times the sum of human knowledge.
 3. To lead in the upbuilding of new professions by its applications of science.
 4. To lead the world in the work of research and investigation.
- III. Reasons why the Government should establish such a University:
 1. Neither existing institutions nor the great denominational universities in prospect can meet the demand. The nation only is equal to the founding of such a university as the nation needs.
 2. The Government needs the influence of a National University.
 3. The American system of education can only be made complete by the crowning university it lacks, as a source of coördinating influence, inspiration, and elevating power.
 4. A National University would powerfully strengthen the patriotic sentiment of the country.

5. A National University would more strongly than any other attract men of genius from every quarter of the world to its professorships and fellowships, thus increasing the cultured intellectual forces of both institution and country.
6. A National University would especially attract students of high character from many lands, whose return after years of contact with free institutions would promote the cause of liberal government everywhere.
7. The founding of a National University would be, therefore, a most fitting thing for a great nation ambitious to lead the world in civilization.

IV. Reasons for founding such University at Washington :

1. Washington was designated by the Father of his Country in his bequest of property in aid of its endowment and by his selection of land for a site.
2. Washington is the only sufficient and convenient spot where the Government has both exclusive and perpetual jurisdiction.
3. There are in the Government departments, and connected therewith, vast amounts of material which could be made auxiliary, and which, being now but partially utilized, are in some part a capital of thirty millions of dollars running to waste.
4. There are hundreds of experts in the departments whose services could be more or less utilized with mutual advantage.
5. Such a university in Washington would exert a great influence upon the National Government itself, in every branch and department.

VI. Reasons for a renewal of the effort for a National University at this time :

1. The need not only remains, but increases with the years, as shown by the fact that some three thousand American graduates are now seeking opportunities abroad.
2. Since this need can only be met by the nation, why not *begin now?*
3. No other important educational measure is now likely to interfere.
4. A beginning now on the part of the National Government would be certain to attract large donations from private sources for the endowment of fellowships, professorships, faculties, and departments.

5. The growing power of the United States among the nations suggests the corresponding present need of such forces and influences at the seat of Government as shall be worthy to impress and lead the world.

VII. The proposition of to-day is this :

To urge upon Congress the early establishment of a National University of the highest type, and to be known as the University of the United States,

Whose form of constitution shall secure it against partisan control, a thing not difficult, as shown by the success of leading State universities and of scientific institutions controlled by the General Government.

Whose internal management shall be with its educational members.

Whose conditions of admission shall be character and competency.

Whose applicants for degrees already have the bachelor's degree.

Whose fellowships shall be duly endowed and open to the best qualified.

Whose professoriate shall be so constituted as to secure to it the highest possible character and efficiency.

Whose departments of letters, science, and philosophy shall be centres for the grouping of post-graduate professional schools of every class.

Whose beginnings shall be with such means as befit the great undertaking, and shall encourage liberal endowments from other than governmental sources ; thus early making it the leading university of the world.

As in part said before, the conditions of success in this movement are these :

First, they who are in power must give the matter its full measure of consideration. Absorbed in other matters, pressed by measures of finance, commerce, lands, industrial development, and much else, even the most intelligent and large-minded of men are in danger of overlooking a measure, however important, comprehensive, and far-reaching, that is neither vital to party success nor boldly insists on being heard.

Secondly, while it may be assumed that such of our statesmen as already appreciate the importance of the enterprise, seeing clearly how it would promote the national welfare and advance the cause of learning in the world, are equal to the

responsibility of taking it up, it is but right as well as desirable that they be duly reënforced by the enlightened sentiment of the country. And they certainly will be.

Educators at the head of our schools, academies, colleges, and universities, with the multitude of their friends, none of whom can fail to see the incalculable value of a crowning institution like the one proposed, will in yet greater numbers join hands for its early realization when they discover an earnest purpose in Congress.

The press of the United States, so liberal and ever on the alert for new measures of progress, has already done much, and can safely be counted on to more fully interest the general public in a proposition so often urged by the Father of his Country, so repeatedly indorsed by other statesmen in all periods of the national history, and so clearly a condition of the highest dignity and welfare of the Republic. Aye, patriotic Americans in general must reënforce the great army already enlisted, unfurling banners not to be furled until the victory is fully won.

Objections have been raised by the heads of a half-dozen ambitious institutions, old, new, and on paper; but they have been answered, and need not be again discussed, unless they should reappear. Such opposition as may manifest itself in any form will disappear on a nearer, more scrutinizing, and broader view.

There has not been named in all the past, nor can there be named in any future, one argument against the National University proposition of George Washington that will bear the scrutiny of philosophy or the test of history.

Let the purpose be unalterably fixed that ere the centennial of his last effort and bequest, the ninth day of July, 1899, the Government of the United States shall have taken the long anticipated decisive step in this great behalf. Let the watchword of Americans everywhere be, The crowning university proposed by George Washington, recommended by the most illustrious of his successors, as well as urged by a long line of other distinguished citizens, and still the crying need of American education — the University of the United States — must be established without further delay. Joining with the distinguished and lamented Gould, of Cambridge and Córdoba, astronomer of two hemispheres, let us say, as with one voice: Found the University. It shall be, first of all, for Americans

and the honor of America, but also for the advancement of knowledge and freedom everywhere. "Found it, and throngs of European youth will also crowd its halls, carrying back with them American ideas to ennoble their own lands, bringing hither with them counterpoises of transatlantic thought that shall ennoble ours, and both by their coming and their going cementing the family of nations in bonds of mutual sympathy and attachment. Found it, though it cost the whole revenues of a capital. Let earth, air, and sea bring their tribute; let California and India pour in their gold, and the busy marts of men their gains, till this great work is done. Thus shall we achieve the glory of a nation, the welfare of a continent, the advancement of the race, and crown the clustering hopes of humanity with more than full fruition."

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HON. WILFRID LAURIER,
PREMIER OF CANADA.

WILFRID LAURIER.

A CHARACTER SKETCH.

By J. W. RUSSELL.

TEN months ago, as leader of a numerically small majority in the Dominion House of Commons, Hon. Wilfrid Laurier was the hope of thousands of Canadians who were anxiously awaiting the exit of a moribund régime. To-day, as premier, he has begun an administrative career, during which problems of exceptional stress and urgency are sure to tax his resources as a statesman. He comes upon the scene at a time when Canadian affairs are of larger importance than the merely Canadian outlook would suggest; or, as might be more appropriately stated, when the politics of the Dominion are of unusual concern to the mother country. The tenure of the premiership by a public man of French descent, in a country predominantly English in blood and speech, is a fact of significant interest, and in this instance may almost be termed the solution of a problem. For many years it was necessary to Canadian political harmony that the premiership should be considered a dual office, with its power and responsibility divided between an English and a French representative of the same political party. Even after Confederation the ascendancy of Sir John Macdonald could hardly be separated from the coöperation and personal influence of Sir George E. Cartier, who was looked upon as the head of the French interest. The Province of Quebec has always been able to assert its full measure of influence—often a great deal more—in the government at Ottawa, and the fear of its undue control has always been present to the mind of the English-speaking electorate.

Mr. Laurier has changed all this. He is the first French-Canadian to be acknowledged as the chief of both sections of his party, and English-speaking Liberals are as firm in their allegiance to him as are those of his native Province. This is a remarkable achievement, in view of the fact that strong political leadership in the Dominion demands a capacity for harmonizing the sympathies of those who are racially different,

and who have unhappy memories of their former relationship to retard a mutually amicable approach. The character and political record of the man who has overcome such difficulties are of exceptional interest to Canadians, and may easily challenge a wider interest.

It is owing to the fact that eighteen years of his career were spent in opposition, that Mr. Laurier's name has not been more prominently mentioned until recently. His growth to eminence has been steady and unobtrusive, and his reputation has been won with but little help from the power and prestige of office. He was born in the historic city of Quebec on the 20th November, 1841. After finishing his education at L'Assomption College, he studied law, and he was admitted to the bar in 1865. He seems to have early recognized the necessity of a knowledge of the English language to any Frenchman who aspires to more than provincial preferment in Canadian politics, and he applied himself to its study with an assiduity which has splendidly rewarded him. His entrance upon political life was in 1871, when he was elected to represent the district of Drummond and Arthabaska in the Quebec Legislature. He took a prominent part in the deliberations of the Legislature, but in 1874 was elected to the Dominion Parliament. His first speech marked him as a rising man, and enlarged his reputation from provincial to national. It won the hearty applause of leading men in the House, who were surprised to hear the young member from Quebec discussing important questions with a facile mastery of English which any speaker in Parliament might have envied. In 1877 he was given a cabinet position, as Minister of Inland Revenue, in the Mackenzie administration. His tenure of office was brief, as the Liberal Government was defeated in the following year, and from that time until the 23d of last June Mr. Laurier was in opposition.

Sir John Macdonald's return to power in 1878, backed by a very large majority, inaugurated the protective policy, and the Conservative party became strongly entrenched in office. Thus denied an administrative record, Mr. Laurier nevertheless steadily increased in the respect and admiration of both House and country, and on the resignation of the Liberal leadership by Mr. Blake in 1887, he was chosen to succeed him. His elevation to the position did not result from any of the self-seeking arts of the aspiring politician; but it proved

his possession of certain qualities much needed in the guiding counsels of the Liberal party. It is well known that he was strongly averse to the leadership, and had to be solicited with an urgency and unanimity which amounted to a command. His predecessor was a man of great intellectual force, and, though not very successful from a party point of view, was of a political eminence sufficient to cast a shadow on the candidature of any but a potent successor. It was generally thought that both Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. Blake, however admirable in other respects, had shown themselves somewhat insensitive to the popular appreciation of winning address, and that their reserve and austerity of manner had something to do with the long term of Liberal failure. In the selection of Mr. Laurier his political friends could not fail to note the gifts of the popular orator, enhanced by a personal manner which won all who came under its influence; but, while crediting him with the possession of more solid talents, they were perhaps not quite so sure that he had the strength of will and political adroitness so necessary to restore the fortunes of his party. He had not been tried in many difficult situations, and the leadership intrusted to him could not be wholly disengaged from the risks of an experiment. The result has proved the wisdom of their choice. Mr. Laurier has shown a capacity for meeting new and unforeseen emergencies; his political ability has expanded with the additional tests imposed upon it.

The recent campaign is a comprehensive illustration of these assertions. The position of the Liberals called for a leader who combined tact and decision, and who could gain the support of Quebec. The Catholic vote in that Province had for many years been pledged to the support of Sir John Macdonald and the Conservative party, and it was deemed almost impossible to win a Liberal majority there. Sir John's influence was paramount, and his administration seemed like a constitutional fixture. During a speech at a banquet given him shortly after his return to power in 1878, he made the laconic boast: "The Grits will never get in power in my time;" and he made good his word to the day of his death. But shortly after 1887 the Liberals discovered that their new leader could hope to rival Sir John himself in many of the influences which win and keep the support, and even the affectionate loyalty, of political followers. Not only so, but he won the good opinion and good will of many Conservatives

who had nothing but cold respect to soften their antagonism to preceding Liberal leaders. Soon the trial of his strength was made under most difficult conditions. He had to marshal the Liberal forces against the protective system, on the one hand, and — seemingly impossible task for one who is himself a spiritual subject of the Pope — against the Roman Catholic hierarchy, on the other. The Manitoba school question, with whose salient points the reading public of the United States are already familiar, arose by reason of the Manitoba Government's refusal to restore the system of Roman Catholic separate schools which had been abolished by that Province in 1890. The question had become one of great importance and perplexity, less by reason of the immediate interests involved than the racial and religious prejudices aroused. Both the main issues, the tariff and the school question, were complicated with others which increased the difficulties to be overcome.

Mr. Laurier's attitude on both questions has made him the undisputed master of the Canadian situation. With regard to the tariff, the platform of the Liberal party between 1887 and 1891 differed from that adopted after the latter date. The Liberals had always opposed protection, but their advocacy of freer trade varied as to the scope and application of that principle. It is generally believed that Mr. Laurier's influence was not predominant in the change which committed his party to the policy of commercial union with the United States. However that may be, the policy was not successful, because it seemed to many to involve the political as well as the commercial autonomy of the Dominion. It gave a rare chance to the Conservatives to ring the changes upon the sentiment of loyalty, and ring them they did with decisive effect. No word or act could be imputed to Mr. Laurier in derogation of his loyalty to Great Britain; but, whether justly or unjustly, his party suffered from the precipitate condemnation of sentiment, and the general election of 1891 went against it. Since then the Liberals have returned to their former policy of a revenue tariff, and the people of Canada have emphatically indorsed it.

Consummate generalship was needed to meet the Manitoba difficulty. The clerical party in that Province, backed by the bishops and priests of Quebec, had set their hearts upon restoring separate schools, and the Conservative leader, Sir Charles

Tupper, is believed to have promised them the political aid of his party in return for their support. It is well known how thoroughgoing that support became. The bishops' mandate was read twice in the Catholic churches of the Province of Quebec, and the faithful were plainly told to vote against the Liberal leader, who was denounced as a recreant son of the Church. How was Mr. Laurier to appeal to his co-religionists in furtherance of a policy which bishop and priest had denounced with the penalties of mortal sin? It was thought at first that he could not withstand the torrent of spiritual wrath which threatened his position. Clearly the crisis demanded the firmest resolution, and he did not hesitate to take it. He ignored the commands of the hierarchy, and defended the intellectual freedom of the Catholic voter in matters beyond the spiritual domain. The result was one of the most significant events recorded in Canadian politics. The Canadian electors, and especially those in Quebec, declared overwhelmingly in his favor. Clerical intolerance was rebuked with a force which may be said to have eliminated it as a disturbing factor in Canadian affairs, and to have emphasized — if it has not rather created — the practical distinction between the Catholic as parishioner and the Catholic as citizen. Quebec will no longer be reproached with political backwardness. It has proved responsive to the promptings of religious toleration. And there is hardly a competent observer in the Dominion who does not admit that Mr. Laurier is the only man under whose leadership this result could have been achieved. None but he could have so revealed to his co-religionists both the duty and the competence of their aroused intelligence. His personal triumph is accentuated by the new hope and wider outlook which accompany it.

He could hardly have inspired his fellow-citizens of Quebec with a spirit of independence if his own views had not been formed in a school of politics which repudiates the all-sufficiency of tradition. He is, in fact, an ardent believer in the doctrines of British Liberalism. The writings and speeches of Burke, Fox, Bright, and Gladstone may be said to represent the trend of his political belief and aspiration. His knowledge of English constitutional precedent is of course qualified by the Canadian conditions of its application; and, although loyal to the mother country, it is the intelligent loyalty of principle which does not forget the differences of

social structure so impossible of reproduction in the democracy of the New World. For the great Republic he has an admiration which doubtless finds its source partly in the fact that the constitution of his own country profited by the American Federal example. In opposition, as well as during his premiership thus far, he has given proof of cordiality of political feeling towards the United States; and he has recently expressed a desire to settle by friendly coöperation several important questions which have caused much irritation between the two countries. Closer trade relations, fisheries, the alien labor law, international deep waterways, — all these matters should, in his own words, "be taken up together and dealt with in a broad, serious, and comprehensive spirit, on one anvil." In harmony with what has been said, it would of course be unwarrantable to impute to him any sympathy with schemes looking to the severance of British connection. Some journals in the United States — one notably — have been persuaded that he covertly holds annexationist views; others, that he hopes yet to see a French-Canadian republic on the banks of the St. Lawrence. His own friends and followers have not been able to discover any evidence of such views or of such a hope.

As a parliamentarian, he has a high degree of tactical skill, amply evidenced by the management of his party in the House of Commons. It may be more correct to say that he wins the devotion of his political supporters, rather than commands their obedience; but, if so, his power of command is not disparaged because veiled by a manner which invites to reason and conciliation. Above all, his party have full confidence in his honesty of purpose, and in his evident desire to unite all classes of the Dominion into a patriotic nationality. This note of patriotism is never absent from his speeches; and, although proud of his French origin, and sensitive to the claims of French achievement and tradition, he always subordinates them to the higher claims of his country. In debate he has shown a strength of argument and a resource in reply fully convincing to those who were accustomed to regard him as an orator of the feelings rather than the reason. There is an attractiveness about his public speaking which is partly owing to the circumstances under which he acquired proficiency, and is enhanced by a fine presence and grace of action.

He has won his laurels in a foreign tongue, and it may be doubted whether any Frenchman, in Canada or beyond it, ever gained such a mastery of English. Two or three of his speeches rank among the best ever heard in the Dominion Parliament. At a mass meeting in Toronto addressed by him during the "Equal Rights" agitation, and when public indignation in regard to the Jesuits' Estates bill was at its height, he won admiration by the skill with which he parried hostile interruptions, and by his candid statement of a very difficult situation; the large audience was deeply moved when, at the close of a powerful appeal for mutual forbearance, he said, in a manner and tone which lent unusual effect to his words: "Let us remember that, though we kneel at different altars, we both worship the same God." An empty truism, some would say; but those who heard it were lifted above contention into a region of charity and peace. His enunciation of English is marked by a slight French accent which has more of charm than fault to those who hear him, reminding one in this respect of Wendell Phillips's saying about O'Connell: "His tones had just enough of the brogue to sweeten them." The death of Sir John Macdonald called forth many eloquent tributes in the House of Commons; but none of them was comparable to that spoken by Mr. Laurier, whose words fittingly voiced the pathos and solemnity of a memorable occasion.

No Canadian leader before him could speak to English and French audiences with equal ease, nor could any of them know, as he does, the sympathies and antipathies which such audiences severally hold. He understands the racial temper and attitude which are so easily opposed, and he has conscientiously tried to reconcile them. Hence the trust of the people in him; hence, the loyalty and coöperation of his colleagues from Ontario and the Maritime Provinces. Sir Oliver Mowat, after a twenty-two years' term as premier of Ontario, — a term which might have been indefinitely prolonged, — left the provincial for the federal arena to serve under him as Minister of Justice; the premiers of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick likewise resigned their positions, and were glad to enter his cabinet. It is felt that his record harmonizes with his professions. There have been scandals and corruption in Canadian politics, but no taint of suspicion ever attached to Mr. Laurier. His character as a man can well

support the reputation of the orator and the statesman. His countrymen are convinced that the field of opportunity so rapidly broadening before him will be filled with the deeds which spring from honorable and patriotic intentions.

If it were asked what predominant quality has given Mr. Laurier his leadership, it would be difficult to name it. Those who know him best speak of the symmetry and balance of his powers. A party leader over such diverse elements must hold his judgment well in equipoise; too many points of exceptional strength and contrast would betray some related weaknesses. It is quite probable that at first the evenness of his intellectual manifestation led some to doubt his strength, because the qualities they were looking for were held in abeyance. Some who conversed with him came away delighted with his urbanity and frank unreserve, but thought he lacked the force to pull the Liberal party out of the slough of despond. To-day the same men are praising his resolute will and quick decision. All are agreed that he bore himself with admirable steadiness during a most exciting campaign; the calm counsel, the eloquent appeal, the ringing protest, were given as they were needed, without a trace of personal animosity, and with a judgment vindicated by the result. It is fortunate for his party that he brings to its direction a capacity tried and proved during the long period of Liberal reverse; there are few political mistakes during the past twenty years of Canadian politics whose lessons have been unlearned by him. Thus far his tactics of leadership have been almost perfect, and if they are equalled by his success as an administrator, time alone is necessary to give him an unsurpassed position among his countrymen.

NEW EXPERIMENTS IN SHEATHING THE HULLS OF SHIPS.

BY GEORGE ETHELBERT WALSH.

SOME notable experiments recently made in this country and Europe have brought the problem of protecting iron and steel hulls from becoming foul and corroded nearer to a satisfactory solution than ever before in the history of shipbuilding. Away back in the seventeenth century it was considered necessary to sheathe the bottoms of vessels with some anti-fouling material, and we have early records of various attempts to protect ships from the barnacles and marine growths that would attach themselves to the bottoms of every craft that sailed the blue sea. In an old Japanese newspaper a curious account is given of an experiment in sheathing the bottom of an old junk of 800 tons burden with iron, in 1613, and if we are to believe this report the credit must be given to the Japanese for first applying iron plates in shipbuilding. Copper was not applied to the sheathing of vessels until 1761.

The old wooden vessels had two great enemies in the ocean to contend with, and to circumvent them the early shipbuilders of every civilized country invented peculiar compounds and sheathing materials. The barnacles attached themselves to the bottoms of the wooden vessels in such numbers that their speed was materially reduced, and the *Teredo navalis*, or shipworm, performed such ravages in the stout timbers that the life of a vessel in the tropic seas was made comparatively short. From time immemorial, these two marine growths have puzzled the brains of scientists and shipbuilders, and they are to-day the most costly enemies that governments and private shipowners have to fight. With the advent of iron and steel ships, the *Teredo navalis* was rendered ineffective in its operations, but a new enemy was introduced in shipping circles that more than made up for the advantage gained.

Corrosion of iron and steel bottoms is a subject that concerns the naval authorities of every nation and the operators

of every great steamship line. This subtle but all-powerful enemy is lying in wait to attack every vessel that is launched; and it has cost the world millions of dollars up to the present time. When steel plates were substituted for iron, it was hoped that corrosion would be partially controlled, but every time a modern steamer or war-vessel, plated with steel, comes into contact with any submerged copper, galvanic action begins, and corrosion rapidly follows. If an unsheathed steamer is anchored alongside of a copper-sheathed vessel, the work of corrosion soon injures the bottom of the former to such an extent that docking and repairing are absolutely necessary. Naval authorities recognize this, and strict orders obtain in the Navy, forbidding an unsheathed cruiser to anchor alongside of a sheathed vessel or to moorings used for a copper-sheathed steamer. A few years ago the practice vessel "Bancroft" and the cruiser "Cincinnati" had their bottoms seriously injured through a mistake in not observing this order.

The question of protecting the bottoms of ships is thus fraught with more difficulties than the average observer imagines. The wooden vessels demand a sheathing that will destroy the barnacles that tend to accumulate upon it, and one that is impenetrable to the *Teredo navalis*, or shipworm. The iron and steel ships require protection to the submerged parts of the hulls from the barnacles and corrosion that daily threaten their speed and usefulness.

A recent report that a paint had been invented by a workman in the Pensacola Navy Yard, which, after a severe test by a commission, had been found to be perfectly proof against the teredo, makes a few words about the shipworm interesting. It is not likely that this enemy will prove inimical to the life of our larger vessels much longer, for a perfect sheathing that will protect the bottoms from the barnacles and corrosion will also be proof against the action of the worm. But a teredo-proof paint will be of inestimable value to the owners of small ships, and to the cities owning dock property in warm waters. On the Pacific coast wharves are frequently ruined by the teredo in a year or two after construction. At San Francisco, New Orleans, and other ports of the Gulf coast, docks have been completely undermined and rendered unsafe for heavy burdens shortly after the piles were first driven into the mud, notwithstanding that they had been coated with tar and other preparations. Wooden vessels in these waters soon succumb

to the attacks of the shipworm, and property is destroyed to such an extent that some teredo-proof paint is imperatively demanded. So far a copper sheathing only has been found to answer the purpose; but as it is not always possible to sheathe the piles of docks with copper, it may be surmised that a paint such as the naval commission is reported to have tested successfully will be a godsend.

Copper sheathing of the bottoms of vessels is an expensive matter, and small craft of less than a hundred tons burden will hardly repay the outlay required. The ease with which they can be docked, and their bottoms scraped of all barnacles, renders it unnecessary to go to the expense of copper-sheathing simply for protection from the barnacles. But at present nearly all wooden ships sailing in tropical seas must have copper-sheathed bottoms in order to save their timbers from being honeycombed by the teredo. Corrosive sublimate has been found the most effective poison to the teredo, and scores of paints and preparations have been made, with mercurial salts as their chief foundation, to protect wooden bottoms from the shipworm. But as all these paints soon lose their effectiveness, it is just about as easy and much cheaper to run the ships into fresh water every few months. This method has been found just as efficacious as floating them in basins into which large quantities of corrosive sublimate have been poured.

The barnacles yield to the same kind of poisons as the *Teredo navalis*, and copper and copper solutions, mercury, zinc, and arsenic have been combined into a hundred different kinds of paints to protect the hulls of ships from these marine growths. A fortune is awaiting the man who can invent a preparation that will effectually destroy both barnacles and teredo. There are preservatives used to-day that prove effective for a short time, but they are far from answering the purposes required of them. The barnacles attack alike wooden and steel ships, rendering docking and scraping necessary at short intervals. The patent compositions have helped wonderfully to extend the time during which the vessels can sail in tropical seas without becoming so fouled by marine growths that their speed is reduced one-half.

In the search for a perfect hull-protector, the European navies have experimented with nearly all the preservatives put on the market; but copper sheathing has not yet been

excelled either as an anti-fouler or anti-corrosive material. From 1620 to 1770 the English and Colonial shipbuilders used lead as a sheathing material, and this was put on with great copper nails. The colonists also used a mixture of tar, pitch, and brimstone. But after half a century's trial both of these sheathing materials were found to be inadequate, and copper was employed. The sheathing was done in a crude way, but on the old wooden ships it answered the purpose very well. It protected the bottoms from both the teredo and the barnacles. But when iron and steel hulls were first sheathed with copper considerable trouble followed. A slight break or opening in the plates would permit the salt water to enter, and corrosion would progress so rapidly that frequent examinations were necessary. The British navy made the first successful experiments in copper-sheathing their iron cruisers intended for service in warm seas, beginning in 1868 with the "Inconstant." Between that period and 1889 thirty-two vessels of the English navy were copper-sheathed.

In spite of all precautions, however, leaks in the copper-sheathing would occur, and after a vessel had been launched a year or two "pitting" would begin at various places. These "pittings" were the beginnings of corrosion, and they had to be repaired, or in a year or two great damage would be done to the hulls. In copper-sheathing the "Inconstant" the British Admiralty had the vessel flush-plated, with heavy seam straps on the outside. The after-process is thus described by Chief Constructor Hichborn:

Into these seam straps were tapped the fastenings for teak frames, which were worked on the skin plating. A course of plank was worked on the outside of these teak frames, fastened thereto by lag screws, all fastenings having the heads sunk and covered by insulating material, and the whole covered by copper sheathing. . . . In 1889 a new departure was taken. It was considered desirable to dispense with the lag screws, as the probable source of most of the leakage, it being found practically impossible to so fit the thousands of chest bolts required as to be sure that none of them, or the holes to receive them, should penetrate the skin, giving access to the water. To do this the outer course of sheathing was dispensed with, the change involving also a large item of economy. . . . According to the latest practice the plank is preferably of teak, worked in twelve-inch strakes sufficiently thick to give a good calking seam, or

from three-and-one-half to four inches finished. The bolts are of naval brass, three-quarters of an inch in the shank, reduced to eleven-sixteenths over the thread, the heads being one-and-one-half inches in diameter, and sunk a sufficient depth to be from five-eighths to three-fourths of an inch below the surface when finished, and being well set up so as to compress the wood under the heads one-eighth of an inch. A nut is fitted on the point bearing on a thin iron washer, and after being finally hove up, the thread is centre-punched to check it. Hempen grommets, saturated in a mixture of red and white lead, are carefully fitted both under the washer and head of bolt, and the recess over the head is filled with Portland cement. The bolts are staggered with about fifteen inches pitch, except at the butts, each butt having four bolts. After the fastening is completed, in order to fill up as far as possible all spaces that may exist between the plank and the skin, holes are bored in the centre of each strake of plank, about six feet apart, and a composition of red and white lead is pumped in under pressure until it comes out at the adjoining holes, care being taken to limit the pressure, that it will not injuriously strain the fastening, after which the holes are carefully plugged.

During the past five or six years over thirty English war-vessels have been copper-sheathed in this way, and the English Admiralty makes it a practice to have every one sheathed that is built for service in foreign waters where docking facilities are poor. None of our war-ships have been copper-sheathed. When the cruisers "Chicago," "Boston," "Atlanta," and the "Dolphin" were built, the question of sheathing them came up before the Naval Advisory Board, and it was decided not to add the extra expense to them. The reasons for this conclusion were threefold. One was of expense, it being estimated that it would cost \$75,000 to copper-sheathe the "Chicago," and a little less for the other cruisers. Another important objection was that it would add so greatly to the weight of the ships that speed would be sacrificed to it. The increase to the weight of the "Chicago" would be about 255 tons, to the "Boston" and "Atlanta" 160 tons, and to the "Dolphin" 117 tons. A third reason for the adverse report of the Board to copper-sheathing was that even the improved methods of to-day did not fully meet all requirements. A slight derangement of the plates of copper, or a scratch, might expose the steel hull, so that galvanic action would instantly begin. Besides, copper is not a perfect anti-fouler, and ships sheathed

with this metal have to be docked and scraped at certain intervals. A war-ship doing service in foreign waters may go a year or two without being docked if the bottom is properly sheathed with copper, but at the end of that period scraping is useful if not imperative. Unless the copper-sheathing is done with the utmost care, and under the most approved methods, it does not serve the purpose much better than the patent anti-fouling paints now used in our navy.

The reasons for this are plain. All the anti-fouling compositions imitate as nearly as possible the action of copper, and they are made up of copper, mercury, zinc, or arsenic. They cover every part of the ship with a smooth, plain surface that offers no resistance to the water, and protects the iron from rust. The barnacles are killed by the poisons from the anti-fouling paints, or by the copper sheathing when they attach themselves to the bottom of the vessels. The small marine animals absorb the poison from the copper, and drop off in the water dead. The poison can be produced only by the gradual dissolution of the copper paint or the copper sheathing, and unless they do dissolve rapidly enough to poison the animals they would be useless. It takes longer for the copper sheathing to dissolve than for the poisonous paints, but in other respects it is not much superior to the patent compounds now in use.

The latest experiments in protecting the hulls of ships from barnacles and corrosion, and incidentally wooden ships from the teredo, have been along the line of electroplating with copper. The consensus of opinion of all scientists seems to be that copper is the best material for sheathing the hulls, and if this could be put on at less expense, and in such a way that it would add only a trifle more to the weight of the craft, and more thoroughly protect the steel hulls from corrosion, the question would be finally solved. By electroplating with copper the sides and bottoms of ships, all the difficulties that have heretofore puzzled shipbuilders seem to be overcome. The trial of electroplating the hull of a sea-going craft was made over a year ago, and the results appear to be highly satisfactory. This method is very simple—in fact, just as easy as plating any small article. After the ship is docked and the bottom and sides are thoroughly scraped and cleaned, she is practically placed in a bath of copper sulphate into which is passed an electric current.

In order to accomplish this work successfully on a large scale liquid-tight boxes are fitted to conform to the hull of the ship, and when these are filled with a solution of copper, they are screwed up so snugly to the bottom that no air or liquid can escape from below. The top of the boxes is left open in order to admit the current. The iron hull of the ship acts as the negative pole, and when the circuit is formed a deposit of copper is gradually formed outside of the hull of the steamer. This film of copper is absolutely air-tight and perfect in formation, fitting so tightly to the iron hull that it can be removed only with the greatest difficulty. In forty-eight hours it is one-sixteenth of an inch thick, and weighs 2.85 pounds to the square foot. When the whole surface of the bottom has been electroplated with copper in this way, the skin makes a surface so smooth and unbroken that no weak spots can possibly be found. "Pitting" is out of the question, for no nails are used in the whole operation. The copper does not break easily, as it fits so closely to the iron plates that it is necessary sometimes to chip off the iron to separate the two. The copper skin makes a perfect watertight protection to the ship, and in an instance where the steel backing or plates should crack, it would add greatly to the safety of the ship. The electroplating method, thus briefly described, seems like a long stride toward the complete solution of the old problem of protecting the hulls of wooden and iron ships.

But while all difficulties for complete protection of the bottoms seem to be removed by this new process of copper-sheathing, another method should be mentioned, not because it will yield any valuable points to shipbuilders, but on account of its originality and peculiarity. The Japanese, with true Oriental foresight, have developed a method of sheathing vessels that for a time attracted the attention of every navy in the world, and more than one European war-vessel has her bottom protected in this way. Japanese lacquer possesses many fine qualities that have made a world-wide reputation for the articles covered with it, but very few know that it has been utilized in covering the hulls of steamers. When Japan began to buy war-vessels for her new navy, she encountered the same difficulties in preserving their hulls as the European nations. A lacquer manufacturer of Tokio, a Mr. Hotta, made an experiment in covering several plates of

iron with prepared lacquer, and after they had been recovered from the sea several months later they were found to be unattacked by barnacles, teredos, or corrosion.

The results of this first experiment naturally led to more extensive tests at the Yokosuka dockyard. The composition of the lacquer was slightly changed, chemicals being added to make it more effective. After several abortive attempts to make a useful lacquer for covering iron and steel plates, success was attained, and the steamer "Fuso-kan" was docked, and 1,200 feet of her bottom was covered. In 1886 she was launched, and in the following year she was docked again to examine her bottom. The condition of the lacquered portion of the ship was so satisfactory that the Admiralty thought they had accidentally solved the question that had agitated European navies for centuries, and every part of the ship's bottom was lacquered by the new process to demonstrate thoroughly the value of the discovery. After the lacquer was put on, an anti-fouling paint was applied over it. For two successive years the "Fuso-kan" was docked, and after an examination her bottom was found so perfect that she was launched again without repairs.

The firm of Hotta & Company, as the original discoverers of the new process of sheathing, was given the contract to lacquer other vessels of the Japanese navy. Up to date they have lacquered six of the first-class cruisers and battleships, and five torpedo boats. They next advertised for the patronage of other nations, and they succeeded in obtaining commissions from the Russian Government to lacquer the warships "Dmitri Donskoi" and "Admiral Nachimoff." They made a bid for the work of lacquering the new cruisers of the United States Navy, and in 1890 they sent over several lacquered plates to the United States Naval authorities to have them tested. These steel plates were submerged at the Norfolk Navy Yard in 1891, and they were taken up three months later. In some places the lacquer had peeled off, and barnacles and corrosion had performed their work at such spots; but where the lacquer coating was intact, the surface was as smooth and free from all defects as the day the plates were submerged. Another consignment of lacquered plates was sent over and tested; but they did not prove perfect, although it was thought at the time that the trouble was due to the imperfection of the lacquer. In the report to the Navy

Department concerning the tests, these words were added to sum up the results:

The lacquer appears to be an admirable anti-corrosive and anti-fouler, excepting as regards its tendency to blister. These blisters differ from the usual paint blisters, as the elasticity and tenacity of the lacquer cause it to be loosened over a greater area.

The lacquer coating certainly has many qualifications to recommend it as a coating for ships' bottoms, but no expert is yet prepared to say that it will ever displace copper sheathing, or that it will in the general run give as good results. Of two other plates submerged at the New York Navy Yard it was found that the first taken up was in just as good condition as the day it was put under the water, but the other had the lacquer raised and cracked in places so that rust could begin its work. Anti-fouling and anti-corrosive paints are either mixed with the lacquer, or applied to the bottom of the ship afterward. The method of lacquering the vessel is simple, but the whole expense of the operation is high, amounting to about thirteen cents a square foot. This is one of the serious drawbacks to its general adoption.

When the ship is docked for lacquering, all the old paint and rust are carefully scraped off until the surface is smooth and free from all obstacles. Screens are raised around the sides of the ship to facilitate the drying of the lacquer, and in cold weather stoves are kept burning inside of the screens. The direct rays of the sun falling upon the lacquer tend to blister it, and consequently the screens are necessary to protect the film until it has partly dried. The first coat of lacquer is applied with wooden spatulas, and then worked down to a thin uniform coat with brushes. The coat has to be very thin, and yet so uniform that no part of the surface is neglected. Only skilled workmen are employed; and one man can cover about 500 square feet in a day of eight hours. The second coat is applied when the first is thoroughly dry, and mica or kaolin is mixed with the lacquer.

Four or five protective coats are applied after this, followed by an anti-fouling coat of some prepared composition. Sometimes three anti-fouling coats are put on before a good job is finished. In each succeeding coat the quantity of mercurial salts is increased. The lacquer and the protective and anti-fouling materials all dry rapidly, and the ship is generally

ready for launching within ten days after she is first taken out of the water.

Zinc has been used to some extent by the European navies for sheathing their war-vessels; but this does not act as well in salt water as copper, and it is merely a matter of time before it will be entirely abandoned.

From these tests and experiments it seems safe to conclude that the consensus of opinion is in favor of copper for sheathing vessels to protect them from salt water and marine growths, and that by the new process of electroplating a long step in advance has been made. Lacquer is next in importance and value to copper, but because of its uncertainty and tendency to crack and blister it will never become a successful agent. It may in time become valuable for certain kinds of work, such as covering the skin of small vessels, and for protecting docks and buoys from the corroding effects of salt water; but it will hardly excel copper in any other field of shipbuilding.

FALLING PRICES.

By DEAN GORDON.

WE have heard much lately of falling prices and their alleged baneful influence upon business progress, prosperity, and wealth, and but little in defence of the beneficent tendency of general falling prices towards a higher, grander, greater, and happier civilization.

General prices are the thermometer of social progress. They fall as we progress in ingenuity and civilization, and rise as we retrograde. This holds true, however, only during such a period of time as when the money standard in which prices are estimated remains fixed and unchanged, and has not itself substantially fluctuated in value, and only when applied to the general average of prices. During a period of the general rise or decline of prices, particular commodities may go up or down, at variance with the general tendency of prices, on account of peculiar conditions applicable to them, which have no application to other commodities.

A decline or rise in the value of the metal composing the standard money unit would cause an apparent contrary rise or decline in all prices of other commodities in the exact reverse proportion to such decline or rise in the money metal value; but such change in prices, due to the change in money value, would not vary the exchange value or power of commodities in the slightest degree. A load of hay sold at \$5, and the \$5 expended for a coat, is an exchange of so much hay for a coat. If the metal in the money should fall in value one-half, the same hay would sell for \$10, and the same coat would cost \$10. The hay and the coat would still be exchange equals. The reverse would follow if the money metal should double in value. In that case the hay would sell for \$2.50, and the coat for \$2.50. The power of these two commodities to exchange for each other would remain the same, no matter in what price they were estimated. Prices, therefore, which rise or fall because of a fall or rise in money, must be discounted or added to in the ratio of the fall or rise of the money in order to compare accurately the exchange value or power of commodities at one period of time with

any other period of time. But, as stated, when there is no fluctuation in the value of the money standard, the rise or fall in general prices is an unfailing rule by which may be determined the fall or rise in social economy and progress.

Prices are simply the expression of the ratio at which things exchange for other things as compared with a third thing called money. Things exchange for other things in the ratio of the cost of production of each. One thing is equivalent in exchange value to another thing when they are both produced at the same cost of labor and capital. A bicycle, the cost of which is \$100, is the exchange equal of a buggy, the cost of which is \$100. One will buy, or exchange for, the other, if not directly, then indirectly, by commuting one into money, and with the money buying the other. Four suits of clothes, costing to produce \$25 each, would be the exchange equal of either the buggy or the bicycle, and eight such suits would exchange for both.

Higher prices for all things, when expressed in a fixed and unchanged currency, do not indicate prosperity, but indicate that a less number or quantity of things exchange for a correspondingly less number or quantity of other things. As prices rise fewer bicycles, as expressed in money, will exchange for a like less number of buggies. If prices doubled, \$1,000 would bring about the exchange of but five bicycles and five buggies, where it effected the exchange of ten of each before.

General falling prices mean that a correspondingly increased number or quantity of things will exchange for a like increase in number or quantity of other things. It means that while John Smith is, by experience, invention, increased skill, and ingenuity, increasing his ability to make more and better bicycles with a given amount of labor and capital. Sam Jones is doing likewise, in the manufacture of buggies. When bicycles fall in price from \$100 to \$50, and buggies from \$100 to \$50, it simply means that John Smith can create twice as many bicycles now, with the same labor and capital, that he formerly could, or at one-half the cost, or at the exertion and use of one-half the labor and capital; and that while Smith does this with bicycles, Jones does the same thing with buggies. Smith and Jones can now exchange two bicycles for two buggies at the same cost to each that one bicycle and buggy cost each before.

When bicycles and buggies cost \$100 each to produce them, the exchange of one for the other amounted to the exchange of a given amount of labor and earning capacity of capital, expended on bicycles, for a like amount of labor and capital's earning capacity, expended on buggies. When both fall in price to \$50, it is because the same amount of labor and capital yields to the manufacturer of each twice what it did before in quantity of bicycles and buggies. Each is benefited 100 per cent by the 100 per cent increase in the creative capacity of the other. While the bicycles and buggies have fallen one-half in price, they have at the same time doubled in exchange on purchasing power. It is this fact that shows the progress indicated by falling prices.

What applies to bicycles and buggies applies equally to all other commodities. All people are alike benefited by the increased power of the commodities they produce to purchase other commodities which they need. When, under normal conditions, general prices are falling, the power of commodities and labor to exchange for a larger amount, and better quality, of other commodities and labor, increases in an exactly equivalent ratio.

Higher prices would follow if man should go backward in his ability to create the useful things of life. As he made less in quantity, and made them poorer in quality, with a given amount of labor and capital, this retrograding tendency being at work in the skill of all labor and the production of all commodities alike, the resultant rising prices would mean, the lessening in a corresponding ratio of the power of labor and commodities to exchange for or purchase other commodities.

Falling of prices is the result of the increasing and rising power of labor to create with the same labor better, and more of, the useful things of life, or the same amount of such things with correspondingly less labor. As we all exchange the fruits of our toil for the fruits of the toil of others, we all share in the blessings of this increasing creative and earning power of labor alike. It means that it takes less and less labor to provide ourselves with the necessities and luxuries of life, and becomes easier and easier to live and accumulate capital every day that we go forward in the direction of lower prices. When the mercury of prices is falling, the scale of civilization is rising. The luxuries of the few of yesterday have become the common heritage and necessities

of the many to-day. The poor of to-day will become the well-to-do and the rich of to-morrow. The laborer to-day becomes the employer of a few years hence.

The farmer who hauls his wheat to market and gets less in price for it now, as expressed in dollars, than he formerly did, gets correspondingly more of and better other things, for the purpose of getting which he sells his wheat, than he formerly did. He does not sell his wheat because he wants money. With it he cannot satisfy his hunger, shelter himself, clothe himself, fence his farm, or produce heat in his fireplace; but he can, and does, with its ready power of conversion into groceries, shingles, clothes, wire, and coal, accomplish all of these things. When he sells his wheat for money, he merely exchanges his wheat for other commodities which he needs; and the owners of such other commodities exchange them for his wheat, which they need. The owners of the commodities which the farmer needs, when prices have fallen, get more wheat for them than formerly; and the farmer, on the other hand, gets more of the commodities he needs for his wheat than he formerly did. The advantage to each is mutual. It takes less labor to produce the same wheat, or more wheat is produced with the same labor; and so, also, with other commodities which the wheat purchases. The farmer who labors to produce wheat, since he exchanges that wheat for other things which he uses and consumes, really labors to produce those things which he ultimately uses and consumes; and if he gets more of such things now than formerly, his labor is better rewarded than formerly, no matter in what prices, figures, or numbers, his wheat crop is estimated.

If now ten bushels of wheat, at fifty cents a bushel, will buy, or exchange for, one ton of coal at \$5 a ton, and in future years wheat should fall in price to five cents a bushel, and coal to fifty cents a ton, the ten bushels of wheat and the ton of coal would each be as valuable as before, because they would still be exchange equivalents and would buy each other. Such fall in price of each would show that the same labor on the farm that now produces ten bushels of wheat would then produce one hundred bushels, and that the same labor at the mine that now produces one ton of coal would then produce ten tons. The farmer would get the benefit of the increased power of labor to produce coal, and the miner would be correspondingly benefited by the

increased power of labor to produce wheat. As the laborer produces and creates, by exchange, that which he ultimately uses and consumes, the farmer would then get ten tons of coal for the same labor that he formerly exerted to get one, and the miner would get one hundred bushels of wheat for the same labor he formerly expended to get ten bushels.

A general rise in prices represents a general loss in the creative energy of labor and capital, and a general decline in prices represents a general gain in the creative energy of labor and capital.

The disposition of men is to want higher prices for what they have to sell, and lower prices for what they are compelled to buy. They vainly seek to obtain all kinds of legislation that will produce this result. The farmer opposes option-dealing in wheat, because he thinks that the sale of wheat which does not exist, has the same effect on the market as though it did exist, and tends to increase the supply, and thus lower the price. He forgets that there are far more people interested in a lower cost for this kind of food than there are people who have it for sale and want the price higher. The poor of the larger cities oppose option-dealing in wheat because, as it appears to them, the purchase, for future delivery, of wheat which does not exist, creates the same demand for wheat as if it did exist, and consequently raises the price to them of the food they must buy. Selling wheat short, however, does not have the slightest possible tendency to lower the price of wheat, except, upon certain contingencies, temporarily. Where a million bushels are sold for future delivery, there must be a buyer for the same million bushels. The transaction is as much a purchase as a sale. It is no more one than the other. The sale of the million bushels which do not exist, increases the supply by just so much as the purchase of the same million bushels increases the demand, and one exactly offsets the other. The sale does not tend to lower the wheat price any more than the purchase does to raise it. But the reasons for the opposition to option-dealing by these two classes of people illustrate the desire for higher prices by the seller and for lower prices for the buyer.

The most recent illustration of this popular demand for legislation proposing to make higher prices for the seller and lower prices for the buyer was seen in the late campaign by the great clamor for a cheaper money standard, a

cheaper dollar; a dollar that should have but one-half the purchasing power of the present dollar; a dollar that should represent in value the decline of average commodities since 1873; a dollar that would take less of commodities to get, and would raise prices. Such a change in the money standard would result ultimately in the raising of all prices of land, labor, and commodities, by just so much as the value of the dollar was reduced; if one hundred per cent, then prices would double. But this would neither help nor injure anyone, when things once became adjusted to the new standard, so far as new transactions were concerned. Commodities and labor would still exchange for the same amount of other labor and commodities as before. The change that would raise the price of wheat or other things you had to sell, would to the same extent raise the price of those things you had to buy with the money received for what you sold. Men buy money not to keep, but to sell again. Higher prices for goods would mean lower prices, or less goods, for money sold.

If Congress should enact that copper cents should be dollars and legal tender for all debts, and a load of hay before the act took effect was worth \$5, and a coat worth \$5, the hay and the coat would still be equal in exchange power; one would exchange for the other, or sell for the money that would get the other, which is the same thing. The new act would raise the price of the hay to 500 (cent) dollars, and the same law would make the coat worth 500 (cent) dollars. They would exchange for each other just as before. Some think that this process, in some inconceivable manner, would raise the price of all things for the seller, and lower the price of all things for the buyer, and thus enrich every one at no one's expense. But if the price of a suit of clothes is raised for the seller, it cannot at the same time be lowered for the buyer. This can no more happen than one hundred men can each outrun all the others, or than each picket of a fence can be higher than all the others. Every sale is a purchase, and every purchase is a sale. For some reason we have come to look upon the man who gives money for goods as the buyer, and the man who gives goods for money as a seller. But each party to the transaction is both buyer and seller. One sells money for goods, and buys goods with money; the other sells goods for money, and buys money with goods.

The law that will increase the number of dollars that the

farmer gets for his wheat, will also increase in exactly the same ratio the number of dollars that the merchant must have for the goods the farmer will get by the sale of his wheat.

It has been claimed that, the value of the dollar remaining fixed and stationary for a number of years, and all other commodities as measured by it having declined 100 per cent, the dollar has become a 200-cent dollar, or, in other words, that it requires twice the commodities to buy the dollar that it formerly did, and that this fact makes the fixed dollar a hardship to the debtor, who has to pay his debt with twice the commodities that the debt represented when contracted. With a dollar of stationary value and declining commodities, it is true, it takes more and more commodities to get the dollar as the commodities decline ; but it is not true that this is unjust to the debtor. Under such conditions to permit the debtor to pay with the same quantity of commodities as the debt stood for when contracted would be most unjust to the creditor.

For illustration, suppose, ten years ago Jones, who had no money or property, wanted to go into the bicycle business in a small way. He borrowed of Smith \$1,000, payable in ten years, and with it bought ten bicycles, and commenced the sale of wheels. The bicycles cost \$100 apiece. It took the labor of two men one year to create ten of them. Jones, when he borrowed \$1,000, borrowed really what he exchanged the money for, the ten bicycles, and when he borrowed the ten bicycles, he borrowed that which produced them, the labor of two men for one year. Ten years expire, and pay day comes. Bicycles have declined in price or value to \$50 apiece. Jones now has to sell twenty bicycles to get the \$1,000 to pay Smith, or twice the number of bicycles that he got with the \$1,000 when he borrowed it. But bicycles now are worth only \$50, because by inventions, improvements in machinery for their manufacture, and the increase in expertness of the labor employed in the manufacture of them, one man can do what ten years ago it required two to do. Two men can now make twenty bicycles instead of ten, in one year. Jones borrowed ten bicycles, the product of the labor of two men one year, and he now pays the loan with twenty bicycles, but which are the product only of the labor of two men for one year. It was two men's labor for a year that he borrowed ; it is that which he returns, no more or less. If Smith had

not made the loan, but kept the money till now, he could have bought the twenty bicycles with it himself. To permit Jones to pay Smith with the same number of bicycles that he borrowed would be to permit him to give back the labor of *one* man for one year, whereas he borrowed the labor of *two* men for one year. He would thus cheat the creditor out of one-half of his just dues.

Those who deplore falling prices, also witness with resentment the advent of the electric motor, because it displaces the use of the horse and lowers his value; and the marvellous increase in labor-saving machinery, because, for the time being, it lessens the number of laborers needed. To be consistent, they should also resist the tendency to a decrease in train wrecks and bridge disasters, as it lessens the number of laborers needed in wrecking crews, and in crutch and coffin factories. They should oppose the construction of fire-proof buildings and modern fire-department appliances for the extinguishment of flames, because they decrease the number of fires, and this in turn decreases the number of carpenters, bricklayers, plasterers, ironworkers, and other artisans needed in reconstruction, as well as decreases insurance rates and the army of insurance agents. They should resist the decrease in crime and litigation, because this means less work for sheriffs, bailiffs, court clerks, jurors, and lawyers. And they should with equal vehemence denounce the growing knowledge of the people with reference to health, sanitary laws, physical ailments and their prevention, because it tends to throw out of employment physicians, pill-makers, hearse-builders, and gravediggers.

Inventions, when they come into use suddenly, seem to work a hardship where they throw men out of employment and decrease prices, but this loss to those directly affected is more than compensated for by inventions at work in other lines, which lessen the cost to them of things they have to buy.

Every useful invention, every labor-saving machine, every day of human experience, is reflected in falling prices; and falling prices mean that human ingenuity, skill, and learning are extracting more and more good, with less and less labor, from the magnanimous resources of nature, and that life each day becomes easier to live and more worth living.

WICHITA, KANSAS.

MACEO'S DEATH.

By A. E. BALL.

THE noblest hero of them all,
The last one of thy kin to fall,
'Tis sad to sing thy requiem !
The mingled bloods of black and white,
Flowed from thy veins in Freedom's fight,
And nobly hast thou honored them.

And thou wast Cuba's ideal man,
Who fought her battles in the van,
Chief patriot of thy native land.
Of manhood, too, she finds in thee
Her highest type, her liberty,
A martyr worshipfully grand.

The victim of a wily foe,
Where duty called, there wouldst thou go,
Nor heeded what in store had Fate.
For thou to stop the flow of blood,
Which deluged Cuba with its flood,
Hast lost thy life, as good as great.

Let Cuba's daughters weep for thee ;
More loved than pearls such tears will be,
More precious far than richest spoil.
Thy ashes, too, though hid from sight,
As Moses' were on Pisgah's height,
Will hallow ever Cuban soil.

Sown dragon's teeth turn armed men,
So Maceo's spirit lives again,
And cries for vengeance in his name.
A thousand hands each grasp a brand,
To strike for Freedom and the land
He loved, and strive to share his fame.

For ages will Maceo's name
Be potent as a tongue of flame
To set the patriot soul on fire.
And while the world goes round and round,
If foes to Freedom shall be found,
The son will learn it from his sire.

THE FOUNDATION OF A COLONY OF SELF-SUPPORTING ARTISTS.

APPEAL.

MEN AND WOMEN ARTISTS:

THE time has come when we poets, painters, sculptors, and musicians must unite to free ourselves and Art from the overwhelming spirit of the age, — Commercialism and Sensuality.

The strong undercurrent of idealism impels us to become the prophets whose mission it is to herald the dawn of a new age of Heroism and Poetry which shall triumph over and check the further reign of a barbarous civilization.

We have suffered long enough in humility; we have begged our bread too often of editors, critics, and connoisseurs — Art speculators, who are the greatest hinderers of idealism, and have nothing to do with Art but to debase it; we will no longer sell our birthright. Those among us who have no means of sustenance need no longer be cut off from answering the voice of their soul. We must come together, as the strongest men and women of other nations when oppressed have done before, becoming intellectual pioneers of a new state.

To realize fully the hour, compare the spirit of Art, politics, and enlightenment of to-day with that of any other age. If we are artists we must despise our cities, our false civilization, and our cold, spiritless religions.

Let us, artists of all nations, withdraw ourselves from their midst, unmindful of our nationality and our present customs, in which we can have but little pride, estranged as we are from our own kind. As artists, we are brothers, and the difference in nationality cannot separate us. We will leave exhibitions, salons, and theatres (markets made for speculations) to journeymen and hirelings who are willing to pamper the vulgar tastes of the bourgeoisie. Art is ignored in this age, so uninitiated in divine things; and, being ahead of the age, we cannot look to it for support. To wait for destiny to help us is perhaps never to realize our hopes. There are those

who have said they will *die* for Art; but we will *live* for it. Separated, we can do nothing against the reign of ignorance; scattered, our works will be destroyed, with the places unworthy of them, by the wars and revolutions which are already at hand.

Let us unite and return to the natural life of primitive men of the soil, which latter, as artists, we love; giving part of our lives (for Art's sake) to raising our own sheep and cows, catching our own fish, and planting our own corn, even in a wilderness of modern civilization; so keeping our intellects sacred to our Art and to the higher plane, and, like other laborers, dedicating our hands to the raising of our own food, that our bodies may become the stronger and more beautiful vehicles for our souls.

We are without experience, but we are intelligent women and men, not easily daunted, and are ready to study the most advanced methods and experiments, being prepared for failures at the first. If we are artists, we can dare. We will make our lives works of Art; like Hercules, we are ready to perform the labors of life. Though homeless, though countryless, though moneyless, though men naked cast on the earth, we are artists.

We will offer ourselves to the people whose country we shall inhabit, and will be ruled by their laws in force for aliens, living peacefully among them and speaking their language among ourselves. So may we make for ourselves an ark for Art; and when the great nations shall have dashed themselves to pieces on the rocks they have formed around them, we will announce the new age of Spirituality and the Regeneration of the World.

Practical. — As artists, to realize our ideals we must be practical women and men, and a natural mode of life is our first step.

Before the foundation of a colony which is to be the expression of Art and Ideal Life can be laid, a triple union must be established:

I. A union among young idealists, sympathetic by nature, having studied the Art of older nations and having tried to create works as high in inspiration and as perfect in execution and external beauty, though new in poetic form, who know that the power to realize this is a gift from their own Divine

source, whose expression, Art, should be as freely re-given to the world, and not sold any more than Love and Grace can be; those, namely, who are willing to live to execute an Art for Art's sake alone, knowing that Art can never be the product of one man; renouncing egoism, expecting no other reward than the joy of realizing the highest aspiration of their soul, and to this end giving up part of their hours to labor in the fields for their food, which labor has no corruption for the spirit.

II. A union with a mild but energetic climate, having a balance of sunshine, wind, and rain.¹

III. A union by fraternal sympathy with the people of a country already settled, having an Art future, where the soil shall favor the easy raising of food; with landscape varied by hills, plateaus, woods, and watercourses; not too far inland.²

A complete natural and universal scheme by which a man can live for his ideals, free from the struggle against hunger and want, must be a reflection of the idea intended by the Eternal Mind. Such a plan assumes that he shall have enough land at his disposal to meet his simple, natural requirements, as primitive man receives it, together with the sun and the rain, from Nature, — free. To obtain such land in a country having a near Art future, that is, where there is already some enlightenment, necessitates the finding of some one sympathetic to Art, who will provide land ready and cleared for cultivation, and small, simple dwellings, consisting of a room for sleeping, a room for eating, and a studio or study; also a few sheep, cows, and horses, and some farming implements, — enough to start with.

In return for his faith and sympathy, poets, writers, and musicians will dedicate their poems and compositions, and sculptors and painters give their works in trust to him, to be placed in a temple on his land, made for them, to be open at times to his countrymen. Neither he nor his heirs — against whom he should secure us regarding the land — should have any power in our government, nor right to dispose of or

¹ A study of those countries which have produced an Eternal Art, such as Egypt, India, Greece, and Italy, will show that their climates were all the same, — that is, warm but energy-giving.

² As Art has rarely ever flourished in two countries in the same era, it is as if we must unite ourselves to the destiny of the place most worthy and favorable to Art.

remove the works we commit to his charge. We and our children shall have no claim on the land or other property; we shall both be bound by the sacred bonds of Art and honor.

Coöperative System.— For every colonist to have as much time daily as possible for the work of his soul, it is imperative to coöperate to produce food with the least labor possible, the labor being divided as equally through the four seasons as may be, the various kinds of work being distributed according to physique, natural preference, experience, and capability. All idea of producing that which can be obtained cheaper outside, or requiring the learning of a trade or the use of expensive machinery, should naturally be abandoned. Our crops and supplies should be limited to our exact needs to live frugally but well. A poet, concentrated on his work for four or five hours, may find more relaxation in the heavy labor of the fields, while a sculptor would perhaps be best suited to lighter work; both would do quickest and easiest that which is most opposite to their higher work.

There are days when the healthy brain-worker, incapacitated for work, could do the labor for another who was profiting by an hour of inspiration, or while his own crops were ripening.

As one man's abstention from his higher work is worth another's, *time* shall become the tender for the colony. Our disdain for money will be sufficient to exclude it from circulation among us. The value of any product shall be reckoned by counting the time spent in its production, and a book shall be kept in which shall be recorded in a peculiar fashion the exact time spent each day over such product, and under each head the date of commencing. A yellow circle (○), symbolizing a day's cycle, from sunrise to sunrise, might represent twenty-four hours; an arc (∧) one hour, and a point (.) five minutes. Thus, the colonist producing flour shall plant a field of wheat sufficient for one season and sowing for the next, recording the actual time spent each day on the grain, from the time of breaking the soil to the grinding and putting into sacks. The total hours, divided by the amount of flour, will give the value of flour in hours for that season.

A second book might be used to record hours of provision given and received: thus, for three hours of corn, the

colonist shall receive the same number of hours of another commodity, in this way carrying on a system of exchange and cancellation. Also, when one colonist assists another, his hours shall be credited to him.

Meat, Fowls, Milk, Butter, and Eggs. — Pasturing a small flock of sheep and keeping of pigs (which may be butchered outside by a butcher for a small share in the meat), raising of fowls and eggs, care of two cows, their milking and making of butter, would give employment to one or more families.

The Raising of Vegetables, Fruit, and Grain would give employment to a second colonist. The last-named could be ground by a small wind- or water-mill.

Fishing, the Making of Wine, Cider, or Beer, and Washing (by the aid of a small machine) to another; *Cooking, Baking of Bread, Preserving of Fruits, Preparing of Wood for Fuel*, to another; *Printing of Manuscripts, Making of Colors, Repairing of Tools, Carpentering*, etc., to another.

In order to avoid the repetition of cooking and dish-washing in each household, these may be done in a special place built for the purpose, with large oven, etc., situated within easy reach of every family. A large quantity and variety of vegetables, or other simple dishes, may be prepared there, and each colonist can send in his own meat when he requires it, the person in charge attending to the cooking. Dishes may be collected and washed all together by a quick process, and be returned to their owners in a small hand-wagon.¹

Clothes. — A simple, natural, practical, and ornamental dress can be adopted by the colony; practical as to washing and durability. The cutting and sewing by machines of such costumes, as well as repairing, may be undertaken by one or more colonists, who would prefer such work to outdoor labor.

We shall be within easy communication with a doctor in case of need. With the simple, ready medicines and the experience of those among us, we shall be able to provide for any accident or emergency.

Résumé. — By returning to a simple, natural life; by wisely-disposed labor, equally distributed throughout the seasons, we can easily earn our simple, natural bread. Such

¹ Such ideas will be, of course, open to discussion and experiment.

sustained muscular activity as is necessary for the continued equilibrium of a great ideal worker to produce works of power and intellectual brawn (which is now the common need) will be enough to earn for him this bread and his liberty. Like the birds, not laying up food in barns, he would be free to follow the flights of his soul. The man and woman who go out to the fields, after hours of concentrated brain work, will be refreshed by the change of work, rather than fatigued. Such a régime means untiring activity, and Art.

Even those whom fortune has placed beyond the necessity of earning their bread, will know a nobler manhood for so doing, and will lessen the difficulties of the others by increasing the number of workers. Everyone who makes his own life a heroism strengthens his Art. Only a vigorous life and body can know and create a vigorous, lasting Art.

Our fields will be adjoining, our houses set within them; we shall have no walls nor streets, no barriers of civilization between us. Our gatherings will be on the sward in the shade of circling trees, to sing our poems and our praise. Here we shall recount the labors of the day; we shall become as the heroes of our works.

The painter and the sculptor will have a habitation for their works in a temple of their own conception; the musician and the poet will there give their own compositions and dramas. The poet will have his works translated and printed for his brothers and for the country of his adoption. The earth will be to us a more harmonious creating-place, where we may unite in one voice of praise to the Supreme Creator who has chosen us as his imitators.

Abiding by the laws of the country and governed among ourselves by Art, Fraternity, and Forbearance, ever crushing down selfhood within us, we should ride over many of the complications of life and bring nearer the realization of our ideals.

As the rays of the seven colors unite and form white, so, by the exchange of ideas and an amalgamation of the fittest of passing nations, we shall bring back an Art of eternal ideas born of Divine Inspiration and clothed in forms of pure intellectual beauty and of translucent imagination.

Subject to the laws of evolution bringing the downfall of commerce, the people of our adopted country will be raised to a union with Art, thus laying the foundation of a new faith

and civilization, where wisdom reigns and erects monuments of beauty, and where the artist is priest.

"If I be lifted up I will draw all men unto me."

Government. — Every artist shall have perfect liberty for his own ideas of Art, his religious belief or opinions, and in his domestic life. But as a colonist he shall be governed by *Three Primordial Ideas*, by the recognition of which any artist can claim the right to *apply* for admission to the colony. These shall be the *unchanging* rulers of the colony, *without which it does not exist*.

I. To unite to create, individually and jointly, an Art for Art's sake, which is to express the highest aspiration of his soul, renouncing all egoism and distinction.

II. To devote part of the day to manual labor, so as to become self-supporting.

III. To crush down all selfishness, jealousy, envy, malice, and discord, and to live as far as possible the noble life of an artist.

Every artist should uphold the colony flag symbolic of these three ideas, which is to plant the symbol of Art in the land. A border of appropriate design and color, or an emblem, may be worn as a decoration on some part of the dress adopted by him.

All questions and controversies shall be considered as belonging to one of two planes, to be decided accordingly. The first shall be the highest plane and of the soul. Matters of Art, Sentiment, Charity, Support of the Sick and Infirm, Education of Children, etc., shall be settled in this plane without debate, the colonist writing his pure and unselfish opinion, free from malice, and unsigned, as an address to the *highest and most sacred idea* he knows, depositing it to be read by the others and settled by silent vote. The Three Ideas shall rule this plane. All matters concerning manual labor, economy, exchange, etc., shall be settled by discussion and vote. The First Plane shall have the rule over this.

The musician, painter, poet, or sculptor, although free to carry out his own ideals of Art, has no right to give out any work or monument outside of his own house, that is, on colony commons, without the consent of the entire colony, the refusal of one person sufficing as a veto. That which is once given for the colony cannot be removed by him, neither

can it be removed against his will, unless by the desire of all the rest. All should be united in the choosing of the position occupied by any work, or in the desire for the representation of any musical composition or drama.

The quarrels and disputes of inartistic men do not apply to us. Although, as artists, our differences of opinion may be strong, the purity of our motives and our unselfish love of Art will reconcile them.

Women. — There shall be a perfect equality between women and men, and women shall have a voice in all matters (as souls; the colonists have no sex). A wife shall feel herself an independent self-supporting artist, choosing a manual occupation adapted to her physical strength, not depending on her husband; nor should he impose upon her the never-accounted-for small duties of the household. If she have full care of the children, the support of the entire family would devolve upon the husband.

Children. — Children shall be at the expense and care of their parents until such time as they shall be old enough to be responsible and do real labor for their own food and clothing, and to record hours in so doing. As young children they may go to the fields with their parents, to help them as much as they are capable of, the parents instructing them in practical farming. As soon as they show an inclination to study or follow the calling of any colonist, that colonist shall receive them fraternally at certain times as pupils, and impart to them his knowledge if they prove themselves worthy. And so shall our children help on Art and our labors. Such children, growing up naturally, with the idea of being self-supporting and free to follow their own aspirations, would become strong, simple, Art-loving souls. Every artist knows the mistakes and sufferings of his childhood, when forced to work and learn without an ideal in view, pampered and spoiled by reliance on parents who would make of him a small copy of themselves; raised to prudence and commercial nonentity, at last breaking away to follow the promptings of his own soul, which he wished to do from the first. The first principles of mathematics could be given to the child at the school of the district. The children could, if they chose, study subjects of their own fancy from books at hand, and form their own education by their own efforts and the aid of their masters, being free to go from the colony

and seek other experiences if they choose. If they do not desire to become artists, as mere bread-laborers they shall have no right to occupy colony houses, but shall belong to the household of their parents until they are old enough to go elsewhere. They shall have no claim by right of birth to the house and land occupied by their parents, nor to their works of Art, except what may be their parents' private work, wealth, and possessions, which do not concern the colony in any way.

Servants. — Such colonists as have private means are free to hire servants for their household or to care for their children, but never to supplant them in their work in the fields; and no houses shall be built for such or other outsiders.

Models and workmen for sculptors and painters shall be at the latter's private expense.

Every colonist or family shall have a house alone, if he or they so desire; the Art Befriender would only be expected to supply a simple dwelling. All other accommodation, for servants, etc., as well as their keep, shall be at the private expense of the colonist. The idea is to maintain small farms which shall form altogether one large one, for those who have done with the luxury of civilization.

Fund. — It will perhaps be necessary for each to raise a trifle more than enough for actual consumption, against old age, sickness, losses, charities, repairs, and outside-colony expenses. All such surplus shall be deposited by each colonist; and if it be found that anyone has contributed more than his share it shall be returned to him in hours.

All surplus of perishable produce, such as eggs, vegetables, etc., may be taken to the nearest town and sold at the prevailing prices; and such necessities as oil, sugar, medicines, tea, and coffee can be bought with the money and retailed to the others at cost in hours.

Painters and sculptors requiring material other than that which can be produced in the colony, if they have no private means, will be obliged to raise extra produce to procure the same. An artist shall expect no pecuniary help from the colony in the execution of his works, unless it be the united wish of the colony.

Amendments. — Only a unanimous vote can make amendments to existing laws (excepting the Three Ideas) or make new ones.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR OF THE ARENA.

The foregoing "Appeal" was sent to us from Paris accompanied by a letter, from which the following is an extract :

PARIS, 14 November, 1896.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARENA :

DEAR SIR, — I have the honor to represent a body of artists sending you the manuscript composed by them, which they feel you will be pleased to publish for them in your review, believing the latter to be the most sympathetic to such an ideal movement, and that among your readers in America they will awaken the most interest.

J. M. DURAND.
203 Boulevard Raspail, Paris.

A more recent letter states that the Society is now organized, and that it includes one practical farmer among its members. Any person desiring to receive more particular information of this Artists' Colony, with the idea of coöperating with its members, will be put in communication with them or their correspondent for America on sending his letter to the care of the Editor of THE ARENA. The progress of this remarkable socialistic experiment will doubtless be watched with sympathetic interest by the whole civilized world.

THE ARMENIAN REFUGEES.

BY M. H. GULESIAN.

"Might I choose from the world where my dwelling should be,
I would say, still thy ruins are Eden to me,
My beloved Armenia."

THE Constantinople massacre brought the horrors perpetrated by the Turks upon their defenceless victims nearer home to Europeans and Americans than the number of nearly one hundred thousand innocent people in the interior of Turkey had ever done; for, during this massacre, thousands were able to escape by means of the foreign legations and by the foreign steamers anchored in the harbor. And the sight of these fleeing men, women, and children, at the very point of the Turkish bayonet, has brought a realizing sense of the condition of affairs existing in Turkey, even to the most sceptical. It is estimated that, of those who escaped during this massacre, twelve thousand went to Bulgaria, about one thousand to Alexandria, Egypt, about eight hundred to Greece, a few hundred to Marseilles, France, and various numbers to other countries. The graphic accounts given in the papers of the destitute condition of the poor exiles at Marseilles so stirred the kind hearts of Miss Frances E. Willard and Lady Henry Somerset, those noble women who are always ready to extend a helping hand, that they resolved to go at once to Marseilles to see what personal aid they could render. Miss Willard speaks of the scene which met their eyes as one of unspeakable pathos. She describes the men from all ranks and conditions as being huddled together on bare benches, utterly destitute and forlorn, with bread and water only for food, and a board to sleep on, in the dead and poisonous air of the great barnlike place in which they had found shelter. It will readily be seen that there was plenty of work for these noble women to do, and they performed it almost miraculously. In a short time they had so transformed the place as to make it fairly comfortable, and they then turned their attention to the task of making arrangements by which many of the refugees could be sent to the United States. After some difficulties, arrangements were made, and soon about four hundred were put on board steamers bound for

the United States, with happy hearts that they would now, so soon, reach the long-desired land of freedom. But alas! the bitter disappointment that awaited them here. On arriving at Ellis Island they were detained two weeks, and told that they were to be returned to Turkey. After waiting anxiously for more than two weeks, every day expecting their release, I went to New York to interview the emigration commissioner. I had with me letters guaranteeing positions for about fifty, and these I presented to Dr. Senner, hoping he would be able to release that number at any rate; and although he pointed out most courteously that he could not grant my request, he yet gave me the satisfaction of saying that they should not be returned to Turkey.

After finishing my interview with Dr. Senner, in which I told him that it would be more humane to drown them in New York harbor than to return them to Turkey, I went to the pen where they were detained, and found a most forlorn and abject-looking set, believing that they were to be sent back to Turkey, or finally disposed of in the harbor. After making it known to them that I was one of their countrymen, and had come from Boston to look after them, they crowded up to the iron fence and begged me to do all I could to get them out of that place. They said they had heard talk of sending them back to Turkey, and did not feel sure but that the Turks were compelling the United States to send them back, the thought of which was terrorizing. They spoke in such a discouraged way of the uncertainty of their fate, when they thought they had finally entered a free country, that it could not but touch me to the heart. I talked with them for half an hour, assuring them that they would not be returned to Turkey under any circumstances. One thing that made my blood boil more than anything else during this detention of the refugees was the tyranny exercised by the petty officials, and the abusive language used both to the refugees and to me, in regard to landing the refugees, when it required my strictest attention to understand their broken language, and I could not help wondering how long it was since they themselves had crossed the ocean. In thinking over the whole transaction, I came to the conclusion that the intention of the immigration bureau was to make it as costly as possible, especially to the steamship companies, so as not to make it profitable for them to bring any more refugees over. They did not realize that

these men were not paupers, or immigrants in the usual meaning that word suggests, but that they were refugees, who had fled here because their lives were in jeopardy in their own country. The bond of \$500 each, required by law, was finally reduced to \$100, and by that time a gentleman of New York gave bonds for \$25,000, which procured the release of all. While these men were being thus detained, thousands of the refuse of Europe landed without any trouble.

After their release, the different organizations and individuals that had agreed to be responsible for a certain number took them to the different places prepared for them.

This distribution was effected by the Salvation Army, the Armenian Relief Association, and Dr. Ayvazian of New York. Of those sent to Boston, forty-seven were sent to the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and forty-two to Miss Blackwell, each of whom had agreed to be responsible for a certain number, though not for so large a number as were sent. Others came in small detachments at various times. A temporary shelter was offered in Revere by a gentleman, for the Woman's Christian Temperance Union to use for the accommodation of those in their charge, and I offered to Miss Blackwell the use of one of the floors in my factory. I then made it my chief work to make these poor people as comfortable as I could, and to make the place as homelike as possible during their short stay, while awaiting situations. I divided the room by a large curtain into two divisions, using one part for the sleeping-room, and the other for a living room. By a free use of flags and bunting in the American and Armenian colors, we made the room quite attractive.

Beds and bedding were freely contributed by many kind friends. Then I began my first experience in housekeeping, which I found quite exciting. Finding three rooms near the factory, suitable for kitchen, dining-room, and storeroom, I hired them. I then bought a stove, all necessary kitchen utensils, tables, tableware, chairs, etc. I also succeeded in procuring an Armenian cook, who made good Armenian bread and other native dishes.

On the arrival of each detachment they were met by Mrs. Samuel J. Barrows, Miss Blackwell, and myself. They were then conducted to 16 Waltham Street, where a warm breakfast was served them. We owe a great deal to the above-mentioned ladies, as well as to Mrs. Fessenden and Mrs. Baker of

the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Soon we had an organized systematic way of conducting the place. After a few days' trial, it was found necessary to transfer the men at Revere to Waltham Street, although they still continued under the charge of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Revere being found too distant, and too much time being taken in going back and forth to look after them.

When this transfer was made, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union paid twenty-five cents a day per head for their food. The refugees were mostly men, though some women and children were among them, and they told me that during the two months' journey, they had not had a change of clothing, or any food they could relish.

When their board and lodging had been arranged for, I felt it most important that they should learn as much English as possible while with me, and begin to learn American manners and customs. Several ladies kindly volunteered to come and teach, and four or five classes were taught every morning from 9 to 11.30.

In the evening they attended the evening school near by, and once, sometimes twice, a day, I talked to them on American customs and manners. Within a few weeks they had made great progress. They were all most eager to find some work by which they could support themselves. It has been observed by every visitor to the home that these men were bright, intelligent-looking, and in some instances highly educated, speaking three to six languages. Though these men were born in Asia and brought up under a less than half-civilized government, yet their intelligence and moral character surpasses the average foreigner from Europe who comes to this country. Nothing would have brought them here but to escape the massacre. Many of them had a profitable business and a happy home; and when they tell of these ruined homes, and of the killing and torture of their relatives and friends, it is too pitiable to listen to.

Soon after their arrival I was distributing some of the clothing which had been sent in, and I noticed a number of them with tears rolling down their cheeks. I stopped and inquired what the trouble was, and they told me of the destruction of their property and all their life's earnings, and said that three months ago they had a prosperous business, bright firesides, and happy homes, and now they were accepting clothing

given in charity. The sad faces and tears of these strong men moved my already long pent-up feelings, so that I was unable to go on with the work of distribution.

The stories of nearly all were such as to make one weep as they would speak so sorrowfully and affectionately of a father or mother, wife or children. They did not know where these were, whether among the living or dead, whether captives in Turkish harems or sick and penniless and left to starve. Every day one or another would come to me, begging to know if there was not some way in which they could find out about their dear ones.

One of the saddest sights I ever witnessed was that of one of the refugees, a promising young man of eighteen, for whom work had been obtained in Brighton, but who after two weeks was taken seriously ill, and had to be taken to the City Hospital. When on his deathbed, he expressed a desire to see me, and I immediately went to see what I could do for him. During our conversation I asked him if he could give me any clue to his parents, that I might send them word, and he began to sob, and said: "I cannot tell; they ran one way and I another. I do not know whether they are alive or dead." He had since heard that they were believed to be in Alexandria, Egypt, but the uncertainty of their fate and condition was terrible. He said he could die easier if he were only sure that his mother was safe and unharmed. As I thought this case over, and reflected that this was only one of thousands, the discouraging thought came to me, "Can God be living?"

Another picture that oft rises before me in this dreadful drama that is being enacted is that of the old men, a large number of whom have been exiled — men who had held high and influential positions among their people, who were looked up to with admiration and almost with reverence for their many acts of kindness, charity, and devotion to their people. Nearly all of this class who have not been killed are now exiles, and I have met many of them in this country, friendless, homeless, and penniless. They have already once nobly performed life's mission, and now they are suddenly bereft of everything, with youth, strength, and ambition gone. The picture is too sad to dwell upon.

Alas, ye poor Armenians !
In undeserved distress
Ye wander forth to slavery,
In want and wretchedness.

A myriad woes ye suffered,
Nor left your own dear home ;
But now ye leave your fathers' graves
In distant lands to roam.

These waters sweet, these smiling fields,
Where cities fair are set,
To strangers ye abandon them,
But how can ye forget ?

Nay, while you live, remember ;
Be to your country true ;
Your children and descendants,
Bid them remember too.

The holy name of Ararat
And many a sacred fane,
Till the last judgment wakes the world
Shall in their hearts remain.

Alas for thee, my country !
Alas for thee, for us !
I would that death had sealed mine eyes
Ere I beheld thee thus !¹

Then I think how all these sad scenes, and all the butchery, starvation, and martyrdom of the last three years, all the suffering, — suffering so terrible that even that of the Apostles cannot be compared to it, or even the physical suffering of Christ, — all might have been averted if they would have surrendered their faith. Yet all was endured for the sake of The Christ.

During the stay of the refugees at the temporary home, services were held every Sunday, much to the pleasure of the refugees, who greatly enjoyed them. They were also participated in by many American friends and Armenian residents of Boston. Different ministers were invited to speak to them every Sunday. At the third service, the minister came without his Bible. When he asked me for one, I said I had not provided any, as each minister had brought his own with him. As he seemed at a loss to proceed without one, the thought came to me that there might be one among the boys. So I stepped behind the curtain, where some twenty were assembled, ready for the opening of the service, and asked if any of them had a Bible. Whereupon eighteen out of the twenty

¹ Translation of an Armenian poem.

replied that they had, and started for their scanty little bundles. They had hardly been able to take anything with them, and yet they had not forgotten to take their Bibles. The Rev. Edward Bliss, in his recent book on "Turkey and the Armenian Atrocities," says, in speaking of the Armenians: "They cherish the Bible as the most precious of their possessions, and guard it all the more sacredly when to do so involves the hazard of their lives."

In considering the average refugee, the young and middle-aged, it is wonderful to see how bravely they bear their heavy burdens, and how courageous they are in regard to the future. The following case is an instance: One of the young men whose picture I have in a refugee group, had a fine dry-goods store, and was doing a most prosperous business. When the massacre began, he hurriedly gathered up what cash he could, closed the store, and ran for his life. He intended running to one of the legations, but the Turks were gaining on him so rapidly that he ran into the house of a Greek near by, and was hidden. After hiding for forty-eight hours, and when the massacre had ceased, he went out, disguising himself all he could, to see what had happened to his store. He found the store broken into, and not a thing left. Even the old broom he had used to sweep the floor was gone. He calls himself fortunate, however, as he recalls the terrible fate that befell many of his friends and neighbors, who lost their lives or suffered bodily injury, as well as losing all the property they had. Now, when I go up to the room given up to them, with a letter in my hand, or some one with me, they know that there is a chance for one of them, and they all come to the front eager to go. We have succeeded in getting places for all of them, — 123 *in toto*. Wherever they have had a trade we have endeavored to place them in the same, and have in all cases tried to adapt the men to the work offered, as far as possible. We have sent men as civil engineers, carpenters, masons, cobblers, barbers, blacksmiths, to shoe factories, to cordage factories, to farms, for housework, and other occupations. Two have been placed in schools. We have had many gratifying letters from the people where we have placed them.

The happiest feature of their stay while at Waltham Street was that of the Thanksgiving dinner, when all Armenians were invited to the feast, and 225 availed themselves of the



THANKSGIVING DINNER GIVEN BY MR. M. H. GULESIAN TO ARMENIAN REFUGEES,

At the Temporary Home in Boston, Mass., Nov. 26, 1895.



invitation. Many Armenian ladies and children were among them.

What impressed me strongly, as well as others, was the character and behavior of these 123 men while they were with me. Realizing the restraint under which they had been kept all their lives, especially since the massacre, I made up my mind to give them as much liberty as possible, so that they might know what freedom was like. So I opened wide the door, regardless of religious creeds, and it was left wide open during all their stay for them to go out and in as they pleased. Not once was this kindness taken advantage of, and from the beginning to the end of the sixty-two days, during which they were with me, none of them indulged themselves in intoxicating drinks or in any other improper way, although they had to pass two bar-rooms every time they went out. Many of them even gave up smoking when I told them the disadvantage they would labor under in working for Americans.

In their home life, the Armenians are a most affectionate, home-loving people. Their family relations are held most sacred. When the sons marry, they bring their wives back to the old homestead. Thus, sometimes there are three or four families residing under one roof, yet there is seldom any quarrelling or jealousy. They are naturally a moral people, and divorce is a thing almost unknown. As old as our history is, dating back to Haig the great-great-grandson of Noah, polygamy and slavery are also unknown.

Two questions are continually being asked me: "How do any of the Armenians get out of Turkey?" and "Why don't they all come out?" It must be remembered that most of those who do succeed in getting here are from cities on or near the sea-coast. To get out of the interior is a much more difficult matter.

I will relate one instance which concerns myself personally, and will serve to show why more Armenians do not leave Turkey. The instance is that of my youngest brother, who, by a fortunate circumstance, saved not only his own life, but that of his parents also, in that third and most terrible massacre, which overran Marash. While sitting on the wall enclosing the house, talking with a Turkish boy of his own age, he saw a large band of Turks and soldiers bent on plunder, pillage, and murder, approaching the house. This Turkish boy, out of the friendship he had for my brother,

and at his entreaties, jumped up and ran to them, begging them to go away, and assuring them that a previous party had been there and stripped the house of everything. Although this was not true, it served the desired purpose, and as he was the son of a well-known and influential Turk, they probably believed him, or else did not care to waste time in finding out, as there were plenty of other houses which they could as well plunder, and to which they immediately turned their attention. After this massacre was over, I sent a hundred dollars for this brother to come over here with. Of course, the first thing to do was to get a passport from the Turkish Government, which is a very difficult thing to do, and is only done by bribing the Turkish officials. Thirty dollars of this money had to go to secure his passport. He started on a pack-horse, with a caravan, each man carrying his own food and bedding, as there are no hotels or inns in the interior. He passed safely through the small villages, but when he came to the city of Adana he was arrested at once and put in prison. But by bribing some of the minor officials, and through the influence of some friends he had in the city, he was released, and he took the train from Adana to Mersin, at which place he was to take the steamer. As soon as he got out of the train, however, he was at once recaptured, and after a day's imprisonment at Mersin, he was sent to Tarsus for examination, and from there taken back to Adana, which is the capital of the vilayet. There he was put in prison again, without any trial, in a place not fit for the worst criminals. At the expiration of three weeks, influence of friends and more bribing got him out again, and this time, avoiding the train, he succeeded in getting to Mersin. Here he bought his ticket for Marseilles, and had just money enough left to bribe one more man to row him in his own boat out to the steamer. So he, too, like most of the other refugees, landed at Marseilles penniless and friendless. This is not an extreme case, but represents fairly the difficulties encountered by the average comer.

Some travellers and writers, here and in England, have misrepresented Armenians, not taking into consideration the woful circumstances by which they are surrounded. Some have called them sharpers, others cheats and liars, which I claim is a misrepresentation of the true inner character of the Armenian. I can see how these characteristics have im-

pressed themselves upon travellers, who only see Armenians amid the Eastern customs. For instance, if a storekeeper in the East does not ask for an article three times as much as it is worth, he might just as well give up business, as the buyer never expects to pay more than a third of the price asked. I would like to emphasize particularly that there is no chance while living in Turkey to learn anything different. Having for many centuries been at the mercy of the rapacious Turkish officials, who have had a perfect right to extort all they could from the Armenians, no matter how unjustly, they have had to learn in self-defence to evade and deceive, or they could not have retained for themselves enough to live upon. Nearly every example that is set them by the Turkish officials is one of dishonesty and corruption, so the Armenians have had to meet Turkish rapacity with Armenian cunning. But if these traits have been observed in some cases, I claim that they are not in our blood, but in our bringing up. They have been cultivated for self-protection. Men who write thus blindly forget that there is nothing in Turkey to develop honesty or trust in one another. On the other hand, there is every reason why we should become corrupt and demoralized. From time immemorial it has been the aim of the Turkish Government to set the Christian races one against the other, to break up all union, fellowship, and patriotism; and to that end it has used all its skill. The Turkish Government is so full of bribery and corruption that the whole population has become infected. I venture to say that to-day, if you were to take the children of the wisest and best families of America and England, and put them in the places of the Armenians of Turkey, they will grow up the same. In Armenia the degree of education is most limited; there are no books or magazines, lectures or newspapers. These things which are for the development of mankind are forbidden.

Some people have said that Armenians could never learn to govern themselves, as they would not agree, and could not bear to have one superior to the rest. I am now more than ever convinced that that is a false assertion, and one that can be positively denied. I have pushed certain points to the extreme to test this, by appointing one over the others in various ways, and am absolutely convinced that Armenians can work together as well as any nationality on earth. All they need is to be sure that there is no selfish interest in those

leading them. Naturally, of course, they expect that there is some underlying selfish motive in every measure proposed, as that has been their experience in nine cases out of ten under Turkish rule.

If the chance were given and the yoke of the Turk removed, these writers would find that they were as mistaken as those were who, before the massacre, said that the Armenian Church and religion were more a religion of form and ceremony than anything else, and lacked the essential elements of Christianity. When the test came, they found out that the devotion of Armenians to the Christian religion was unequalled by the people of the Western world at any age. So, with our national affairs, if the chance were offered I am sure there are hundreds if not thousands of Armenians who would be found ready to sacrifice not only self-interest, but even life itself, in order to secure the unity of our people. Where Armenians have been given the chance to learn better things, how quickly they have raised themselves to the standard set them by civilization!

It may be interesting to the public to know what kind of citizens Armenians make in this country. They have proved to be sober, industrious, zealous in helping one another, and faithful. As mechanics they rank as high as those of any nationality; they have good business ability. Two years ago, when I made inquiries, I found there were none confined in the different penal and charitable institutions of this State. Now there are about four thousand Armenians in this State, and according to personal letters which I received this last week from the various wardens and superintendents of these institutions, there were only two confined in them all. At Long Island, where that immense institution is full of paupers, Dr. Cogswell says in his letter that he has never known of any Armenians being under his charge. When it is taken into consideration that these four thousand men in the State of Massachusetts are for the most part here without their wives or any family ties, and that the young men are destitute of any sort of family connections, it will be seen that they are laboring under tremendous disadvantages and hardships which no other nationality has to struggle under. It may be well in closing to refer once more to the Rev. Mr. Bliss, who says, "Those who know the race most widely and most intimately, esteem it the most highly."

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION.

BY PROF. FRANK PARSONS.

STRIKES are a serious injury to the public, cause enormous losses to employers and employees, and often accomplish nothing for the strikers beyond black-listing and the loss of opportunity to earn a living. What is the remedy? / Coöperation will abolish strikes, because employers, as a separate class antagonistic to labor, will disappear, and the workers will become their own employers. But coöperation does not promise any immediate relief; it is growing very slowly, and cannot be relied on as a present solution. Aside from coöperation, the equitable methods of avoiding strikes are two: *voluntary settlement* by conciliation or mediation;¹ and *compulsory settlement* in courts having jurisdiction of industrial questions under statutory regulations of labor and capital, or under the general principles of justice and equity.

Since voluntary methods do not accomplish the work, and there is no immediate prospect of their doing so, it is clear that at present and probably for this generation the question is simply, *strikes* or *labor courts*. Let us examine the leading arguments that may be advanced on each side of the question.

1. Where mediation and conciliation fail, compulsory arbitration is demanded in the interests of *peace*, — industrial, political, and social peace. Violence and destruction are frequent accompaniments of strikes. Here are a few of the facts:²

Massachusetts railroad strike, 1834; riots, militia called out to suppress the disturbance.

Philadelphia weavers, 1842; very disorderly.

¹ For an account of conciliation and voluntary arbitration see Price on "Industrial Peace," Macmillan, 1887; Jeans on "Conciliation and Arbitration," London, 1894; Lowell on "Industrial Arbitration and Conciliation," Putnam's Sons, 1893; and the writings of North and Carroll D. Wright. For certain industries in certain localities voluntary methods have been made to do good work, but, as the record of strikes only too clearly shows, there is a large field in which such methods do not yet suffice.

² See Reports of U. S. Commissioner of Labor, 1887 and 1894; House Report 4174, 49th Congress, 2d session.

Philadelphia brickmakers, 1843 ; much rioting and destruction of property.

Great railroad strike, 1877 ; rioting and burning, troops overpowered by mobs, twelve men killed at Baltimore and many more at Pittsburg, millions of property destroyed.

Could railroad strike, 1886 ; violence and destruction.

New York street-car strike, 1889 ; riotous conduct, one striker shot.

Buffalo strike, 1892 ; riots, troops, bloodshed, entire State militia called out.

Homestead strike, 1892 ; riots, Pinkerton's battle, many lives lost, much property destroyed, forty non-union men poisoned at their meals.

Coal Creek Valley miners' strike, Tennessee, 1892 ; fighting and burning, State troops called out.

Silk workers' strike, Paterson, N. J., 1894 ; rioting and mob violence.

Great coal miners' strike in eleven States and one Territory, 1894 ; whole counties terrorized, strikers intrenched in open insurrection, much property destroyed, troops powerless to preserve order, shooting, eviction, dynamite assassination, kidnapping, torture, pitched battles, many lives lost.

Chicago strike, 1894 ; mobs, riots, troops, loss of life and property.

Brooklyn street-car strike, 1895 ; rioting and destruction.

Philadelphia street-car strike, 1895 ; some disturbance and destruction.

One of the objects of the Federal Constitution is to "insure domestic tranquillity." Surely that object cannot be considered accomplished until law is substituted for force in the settlement of labor troubles. Even where rioting does not occur, the danger of violence that is incident to every great industrial dispute is in itself a mighty influence for evil. If the parties will not voluntarily adopt a method of settlement that does not threaten the public peace, they must be compelled to adopt it. The public good is the supreme law.

2. *Justice* demands that law be substituted for force as a means of deciding labor troubles, not merely for the sake of peace and safety, protection of life and property, and securing the business of the community from interruption or hindrance, but also for the sake of fairer and more reasonable settlements between the parties, and the infusion of equity into all the relations of labor and capital.

Very often the claims of workmen who strike are wholly

just, and few cases can be found in which their claims were not just in part at the least. Almost always there is a real grievance that ought to be redressed, yet in the majority of cases the strikers are defeated, and fail to obtain relief; not uncommonly indeed they are severely punished for venturing to ask for justice, all who were known to have been active in the strike being discharged and blacklisted, and the rest being less favorably treated than before the strike, to teach them to be quiet in future, and very likely discharged on the slightest pretext and replaced by non-union men.

The Pullman affair is a good illustration of the failure of strikes to secure justice for the workers. The demands of the men were for the most part fair and reasonable; public sympathy was with them; their cause was backed by a tremendous sympathetic strike on the railways; yet the struggle brought them no redress, nothing but loss.

At the time of the Philadelphia street-car strike in 1895, the men were working twelve to fourteen hours a day for \$2, were unprotected from the weather, and were refused recognition as an organization. They struck for a ten-hour day, vestibules, and recognition. Public sympathy was all on their side. Every paper in the city espoused their cause, except one, which was controlled by Traction interests. Immense meetings of citizens were held, and committees of prominent men were appointed to intercede with the companies. Yet the strike entirely failed to secure the workers anything but loss, discharge, and blacklisting.

The recent strike of conductors and motormen in Boston is another illustration of the ineffectiveness of strikes. The men were being worked over ten hours a day in violation of law, they were subject to arbitrary discharge at the whim of any petty boss, and in case of accident were laid off one, two, three, sometimes seven or eight days during the investigation of the matter, and were obliged to lose this time whether they proved faultless in respect to the accident or not. The demand of the men for better treatment in these respects was eminently just, and the public approved their cause, but they failed to obtain relief. The strike was not well managed, but, judging by experience in Philadelphia and other cities, it is very improbable that the men would have secured their rights even if they had conducted the battle with all possible skill.

The terrible Coal Creek Valley strike was a revolt against

the employment of convict labor in the mines. The strikers were conquered by the troops and gained no recognition of the very just demand that the practice of farming out prisoners to corporations should cease. The strike did something however toward bringing the Tennessee system into disrepute.

One of the demands of the telegraphers' strike of 1883 was that women should receive the same pay as men for the same work. Another was for the abolition of Sunday work without extra pay; and another for an eight-hour day. The strike failed, and these just demands were not complied with.

The record of strikes by no means covers the field of injustice to labor; in innumerable cases the workers suffer in silence, knowing the costliness and futility of strikes. In many of these cases redress might very likely be obtained if a peaceful appeal to a court of justice were permitted.

Let sixty per cent of the workers affected by any grievance have the right to bring the matter into court on showing that reasonable effort in the direction of conciliation and voluntary arbitration has been made and has failed to afford redress. If either employers or employed do not desire to leave the decision with the court, let the workers choose one arbitrator, the employers another, and these two a third, subject to the approval of the court, (which represents the interests of the community;) let the award of this board of arbitrators stand on the same footing as a judgment of the court and be enforced in the same way. Do this and make strikes unlawful, and you have gone a great way toward substituting reason for might in deciding the rights of labor and capital.

Not only the workers and the general public would be benefited, but there would be a corresponding gain to capital, which is also a heavy loser by strikes, and does at times submit to imposition and grant unjust demands rather than risk the consequences of a rupture. This is especially apt to be so where employees take advantage of the fact that their employers are under contract with third persons to perform a given service in a specified time.

In whatever way it is regarded, judgment by court is a better means of arriving at justice and equity than judgment by wager of battle. In respect to justice the decision of an impartial tribunal will have the same superiority over private settlement by conflict in the case of disputes between corporations and their employees as in case of disputes between

man and man, or State and State. Heat and passion, greed and strength, are not the champions of equity. The prize ring does not concern itself with right. The battlefield is not the place to look for justice.

The Federal Constitution reflects the thought and experience of the civilized world in the statement that the first object of government is "to establish justice." Surely governments instituted to establish justice should endeavor to prevent the continuance of anything so inimical to justice as the strike. And if society takes from labor what is often to-day its sole defence against capitalistic aggression,—if society forbids the strike, as indeed it does already through the injunctions of its Federal courts whenever the combat threatens to hinder the mails or interfere with interstate commerce,—then it is surely the duty of society to give to labor another means of defence as good or better than the one that is taken away; and the only method of doing this at the present stage of social development is to establish industrial arbitration, with the power of the law behind it to enforce whatever decisions may be rendered.

3. *Economy* demands the arbitrament of law in place of the arbitrament of conflict. In the railway strike of 1877 the loss to property and business inflicted by the mob at Pittsburg alone is estimated at \$5,000,000, and the county of Allegheny was compelled to pay \$2,787,000 of the loss sustained during the Pittsburg riots. The Chicago strike cost the railways \$5,358,000, and the employees \$1,700,000, a total of \$7,058,000, not including the loss to the Pullman Company. The National Commission says that "beyond these amounts very great losses, widely distributed, were incidentally suffered throughout the country." The California fruit-growers, for example, lost \$50,000 a day. The total loss which resulted from that one strike, in all probability exceeded \$10,000,000. The telegraph strike of 1883 cost the companies \$909,000, and the men \$250,000. The railway strike on the "Gould system" in 1886 cost the strikers \$900,000, those thrown out of employment by their action, \$500,000, and the railroads, \$3,180,000.

For the strikes that occurred from 1881 to 1886, inclusive, the wage loss by employees is estimated by the United States Commissioner of Labor at \$51,814,000, and the employers' losses are estimated by the same authority at

\$30,701,000.¹ And the trouble is not growing less as the years go by. From 1741 to 1880, inclusive, there were 1,491 strikes and lockouts, while for the six years ending December 31, 1886, the number of strikes alone was 3,902, — forty a year for the first period, and over six hundred and fifty a year for the second. Making all due allowance for fuller reporting of strikes in the later period, the contrast is still a startling one.

Surely it is cheaper as well as more just to settle by court than by strike. At present we pay for the strike first; then we pay for a commission to examine into its causes and results; let us have the inquiry first, and save the expense of the strike.

4. *Manhood* also demands arbitration instead of war. Conflict debases both the victor and the victim. Every time deliberation is substituted for passion and force, a gain for character-development is made.

5. It will modify and limit the despotic power of unscrupulous corporations, and so tend to prevent oppression, ameliorate the condition of labor, and secure a better diffusion of wealth.

6. It will tend to secure the stability of our republic and the perpetuity of free institutions, by effecting greater harmony in the relations of employers and employed, and eliminating some of the injustices, antagonisms, and conflicts that cause the development of dangerous animosities between labor and capital, and feed the growth of anarchy.

7. *The argument from history and the trend of civilization.* The tendency of advancing civilization is all in the direction of substituting the compulsion of courts of justice for the private compulsion of individuals or groups of individuals. In primitive times the settlement of disputes of every sort was a private matter. If one man wronged another, or a disagreement arose as to rights, the parties fought out the difficulty alone, or with such help as their friends might grant. Men early found that this method did not insure justice and was inimical to the public peace, so they established courts of justice, with power to compel the arbitration of disputes, in order that their decisions might be by cool, impartial intelligence, instead of by heat and passion, strength and cunning.

¹ Report of U. S. Commissioner of Labor, 1887, p. 28.

We compel the arbitration of disputes between man and man, between State and State, between individuals and States, and we are about to establish a court of arbitration for the settlement of disputes between nation and nation, but disputes between a corporation and its employees are left to the primitive method of barbaric conflict.

Under the treaty between the United States and Great Britain, we are trying to do away with war between nation and nation by creating an International Court of Arbitration. When the chief nations of the world come into the movement, send their representatives, and stand behind its decrees, we shall have compulsory arbitration of national difficulties by means of judicial decision in a court of recognized authority, instead of compulsory arbitration by war. That is an object worthy the earnest efforts of the highest statesmanship; but is it not equally incumbent upon our statesmen to make an effort to abolish civil war between great corporations and their employees by establishing courts to arbitrate their differences?

Common sense demands the application to industrial disputes of the same principles that are applied to other disputes. If A and B get to fighting in the street they are brought before a court of justice and informed that they have subjected themselves to the penalties of the law; that as long as they remain in civilized society they will not be allowed to settle their difficulties by battle; that courts are established on purpose to do justice between them; ~~and that~~ if they cannot agree they may appeal to the courts, but must not resort to combat. Why should a corporation and its employees be permitted to fight out their quarrels in the streets to the disturbance of the peace, the interference with business, the destruction of life and property, and the annihilation of justice? Every reason that applies in the former case for putting decision by court in the place of decision by force, applies in the latter with redoubled force.

cut it out

If A and B cannot be left to fight out their quarrels, nor Massachusetts and Rhode Island, Pennsylvania and New York, Turkey and Armenia, Great Britain and the United States,—if individuals and States and nations must submit to compulsory arbitration for the sake of peace and justice and liberty, why should a corporation and its employees be permitted to settle their quarrels by war in the heart of a giant city?

The substitution of peaceful, impartial, and intelligent justice for the turmoil, injustice, and destructiveness of private conflict is one of the distinguishing marks of a high civilization. It is time we extended the idea of the impartial administration of justice to the sphere of industrial difficulties. Compulsory arbitration of labor disputes means simply the extension of the control of law and order over a field which, up to the present time, has been left to chaos.

8. *Experience* in France, Belgium, and New Zealand shows that compulsory arbitration of labor difficulties is a marked success in practice, a success that need not be afraid of comparison with the results of administering justice by tribunal in other relations of life usually subjected to judicial regulation in civilized communities.

In France and Belgium compulsory arbitration has been for years an assured and successful fact; and in 1894 a strong compulsory arbitration law was adopted in New Zealand, the most progressive, in many respects, of all the British colonies.¹ In England the laws of 1824 and 1837 provided for compulsory arbitration in certain cases, but the laws were not comprehensive enough to be really useful.²

The most famous examples of tribunals established by law for the compulsory arbitration of labor troubles are the French "*Conseils des Prud'hommes*." The parties may submit their differences to arbitration voluntarily. If they do not, then, after an attempt to reach an agreement has failed, the tribunal compels arbitration, and the award is enforced the same as the judgment of any other court of law.

Each council consist of eight members or more, elected for three years — half elected by the workmen in its jurisdiction, and half by the employers. Every question is within the compulsory jurisdiction except future rates of wages, which are only within the voluntary jurisdiction. As we shall see later, there is no valid reason why the compulsory jurisdiction may not be extended to the wage-rate; but even without it, there is a vast work left for compulsory arbitration to do. In France 88 per cent of the cases failing of conciliation are

¹ See "Labor Differences and their Settlement," by J. D. Weeks, p. 46 *et seq.*; Reports of French Bureau of Labor; New Zealand Year Books; North, p. 22.

² See Proceedings of the Congress on Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration, Civic Federation, Chicago, Nov. 13 and 14, 1894.

dealt with on the compulsory side of the court.¹ In this country more than 57 per cent of the strikes involve questions that would be subject to the compulsory jurisdiction of a court like the French council, that is, 57 per cent of our strikes involve other questions than the wage-rate.²

The French Labor Report for 1893 says that the "conseils" have an average of 41,000 cases a year. In 1893, 8,982 cases were settled and withdrawn before decision; 16,231 were conciliated; and 11,948 were dealt with under the compulsory jurisdiction. The report also says that these courts are characterized by speedy adjudication and a very inexpensive procedure. The total cost, even in extreme cases, where distraining is necessary, cannot exceed \$8.72. The following extract from the French report just mentioned is specially worthy of note:

The people are certainly right in attributing to the councils of experts the relative tranquillity which industry in France has enjoyed in the present century. They have prevented many strikes by assuring to workpeople a competent adjudication, speedy and inexpensive.

9. *Authority* of the highest character favors compulsory arbitration. For example, Charles Francis Adams strongly favors the measure. General Francis A. Walker speaks of strikes as "the insurrections of labor," and in his "Political Economy" says: "It is a shame for us as a people that we have not yet made for ourselves a better way out of industrial disputes." The National Farmers' Congress and the New York Society for Political Education favor the movement, and labor organizations as a rule heartily indorse it. The London Chamber of Arbitration, a board of mediation, has recently recommended, as the result of its study and experience, that a compulsory jurisdiction be added to the conciliatory jurisdiction.

A number of objections more or less serious may be raised against compulsory arbitration.

1. In the first place, it may be urged that it is an infringement of liberty.

This, of course, is not conclusive, for every law on the statute book is an infringement of somebody's liberty. Compulsory education is an infringement of liberty. Legislative acts

¹ Report of French Bureau of Labor, 1893.

² Report of U. S. Commissioner of Labor, 1887.

fixing rates to be charged by railways, grain elevators, water companies, telephone companies, etc., constitute infringements of liberty, yet all these things are justified by reason and experience.¹ The same statement is true of laws prescribing the height and the materials of buildings, laws against carrying arms, prohibiting nuisances, all sorts of regulations to secure the public health and safety. The question is not whether a measure is an infringement of liberty, but whether it is a *justifiable* infringement. The liberty of the individual must yield to the public good; liberty to do wrong must be curtailed in order that there may be more liberty to do right.

Liberty to buy labor in competitive market, at a price and on conditions that would not be accepted but for the duress of necessity, is a liberty to buy manhood as a commodity, and is a liberty to which no one in America has a right since the proclamation of emancipation. Such a liberty is inimical to the elevation of labor and the best development of our citizenship; it is a liberty to buy slaves by the day under compulsion of their necessities, which is near akin to the liberty to buy slaves for life under compulsion of other external circumstances, a liberty that was shot to death in the great war.

The liberty of the employer to oppress the employee must be diminished in order that the liberty of the employee to secure justice and work under fair conditions may be increased. The latter liberty cannot be increased without diminishing the former liberty, and the latter liberty is the more worthy. It is a question of the *diffusion* of liberty. Shall the employer have more than his share, all that his power and advantage can secure? That is a principle which would justify murder and arson, and the abolition of all laws against crime or tortious conduct. Or shall the liberties of the case be equitably distributed, and subject to judicial determination, so that each party may have his fair share, and no more? That is the principle on which is based the law and equity of the civilized world, and it is a principle that justifies the compulsory arbitration of labor disputes.

¹ See the Budd case, 143 U. S. 517, sustaining a law fixing the maximum charge to be made by a grain elevator at five-eighths of a cent a bushel; Spring Valley Water Works v. Schattler, 110 U. S. 347, same as to law fixing price to be charged for water by a private water company; 118 U. S. 557; 125 U. S. 680. Governments can fix railway charges; 111 N. Y. 132, sustaining a law reducing fares on a street railway; 105 Ind. 250; 160 Ind. 1, legislature has a right to fix rates to be charged by telephone and telegraph companies, etc.

Strikes involve a far greater interference with freedom than the proposed substitute. Strikes infringe the liberties of employers, employees, and the public; and the infringement is guided by force and passion instead of reason, wherefore it is much more apt to be an unjust infringement than compulsory arbitration is likely to be. The infringement of liberty by compulsory arbitration is less in quantity than in the case of strikes, and infinitely superior in quality, being a curtailment merely of freedom which is bad, and to which no one has a right, — freedom to be unjust, freedom to conquer a weak adversary, freedom to endanger the public peace and safety.

The objection to compulsory arbitration on the ground that it infringes liberty is largely due to the *name*. If we called the ordinary administration of justice, "compulsory arbitration of contracts, damages, and obligations in general," it would sound just as antagonistic to liberty. If we belonged to a colony about to establish courts of justice in place of the private settlement of disputes between man and man, we should be met by the same objection, that it would curtail our liberty, — the liberty of the strong to oppress the weak. If we call this measure for the compulsory arbitration of labor difficulties by its true name, — the administration of justice in labor disputes, — we remove at once the chief foundation of this objection.

How completely the objections to compulsory arbitration arise from an indiscriminate dislike of any new measure, that bears its compelling character in its title, may be seen in the fact that no one questions the advantages of *arbitration*; it is only about *compulsion* that we differ. If the parties to a dispute will voluntarily submit their difference to arbitration, and live up to the award, everyone agrees that this is the best possible method of dealing with the difficulty. But when the parties refuse to do this, as is usually the case, and insist on settling their disagreements by means of strikes, boycotts, and other sorts of industrial combat, which frequently involve enormous cost, obstruction of business, suspension of industry, disturbance of the peace, destruction of life and property, serious injustice to workingmen, widespread discontent, (sullen return to labor under conditions and contracts forced upon them by want,) and the antagonisms and debasements of character that come from conflict, — then the question arises whether it is not best to *require* the parties to submit their

differences to an impartial tribunal, instead of fighting them out on the street; whether, when conciliation fails, it is not better that the difficulty should be settled according to principles of equity, by compulsion acting through a court of justice upon both parties equally, rather than according to principles of greed and passion, and by compulsion of one party by the other. Where conciliation fails, compulsion of one kind or the other must decide the contest. We have to choose between compulsion of the weaker party by the stronger, and a compulsion of the party found to be in the wrong, after a careful hearing and impartial deliberation by a disinterested tribunal. We believe the latter best, for reasons already given.

2. But we are told that it is *impracticable* to fix wages for the future, and that it would be *unjust*, because the award can be enforced only against the employer; the employees may leave if the wages do not suit them.

Well, even if we leave the wage-rate out of court, there is still a great deal for compulsory arbitration to do, as we have already seen. But in truth there is no need to leave it out. So far is it from impracticable, that the fact is, wages are continually fixed for the future. The bulk of our business is based on such settlements. If a sliding scale is adopted, wages may safely be fixed for considerable periods in advance, and are so fixed to-day. The only question is, whether this shall be done by force or by the judgment of a court. Which is the more likely to err? Which is the more likely to be lived up to? The employees are not bound to continue at the wages fixed by a strike or by voluntary arbitration. In practice, it will probably be found that they will be satisfied with the wage-rate fixed by the court of arbitration. It may not be all they asked for, but it will in most cases be likely to be an improvement on what they could get without arbitration, or, problematically, by a disastrous strike.

The possible want of mutuality is not a serious matter. There is certainly no more lack of it than in the case of fixing hours or charges. The question is at best theoretic rather than practical. There is no difficulty in getting men at the wages offered by the companies, and there will not be any difficulty in getting them at the wages fixed by a court or commission, so that the lack of power to compel men to work at the wages fixed does not practically detract from the

reciprocal character of the award, to say nothing of other considerations. Even were the reciprocal element entirely lacking, it would not exclude the measure. This element *is* lacking in many contracts sustained by the law, those, namely, which constitute a title of contract law called "unilateral contracts."

In any case, if they do not stay, it is clear the wages are too low, and the employer must raise them if he wishes to keep his men. The court merely fixes the limit below which the employer must not go. He may pay more, must pay more if his workmen find they can do better elsewhere. There is no substantial lack of mutuality. The employer is not compelled to continue doing business, and the employee is not compelled to continue working.

If the employer cannot make the business pay at the wages demanded, because of low wages in his business elsewhere, or for other cause beyond his control, he should bring his books and his evidence into court and prove the fact, and the court will be careful not to put the wage-rate where it would destroy the employer's business, recommending, if need be, such general legislation as would affect the whole trade and lift wages to a proper level without injustice to individual employers.

In dealing with monopolies, such as gas and electric plants, street railways, and other quasi-public industries, this difficulty will not in most cases be apt to arise. The adjustment of wages would not be complicated by questions of competition.

No method short of coöperation can deal with the wage question in a fully satisfactory manner. Compulsory arbitration is simply the best method attainable until coöperation comes.

3. It is said that governmental fixing of rates and wages amounts to *confiscation*; that conciliation and mediation are better than compulsory arbitration; that a court or commission can be empowered to examine the cause and justice of each industrial dispute at its inception, fix the responsibility, and leave public opinion to compel redress; that, whatever may be thought of the general philosophy of individual liberty, and its limitation by law, the right of free contract is a settled principle in our jurisprudence, and an employer has a right to fix the terms on which he will employ labor, without

dictation from anyone; that compulsory arbitration will entail recognition of tradesunions and the right to continued employment; and that it will delay more vital reforms by alleviating to some extent the discontent of labor. To these and other objections the curious may find an answer in the *American Fabian* for March, 1897.

On the whole, it appears to the writer that a strong industrial jurisdiction will be of great advantage in preventing strikes and, in many cases, lockouts also, in bringing employers and employed together in mutual conference and equality instead of in the relation of servitude, in promoting mutual confidence and respect, and in preparing the way for a nobler industrial system than any the world has yet seen.

DEMOCRACY — ITS ORIGINS AND PROSPECTS.

By JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL.D.

THE Good Sans-culotte of Nazareth was a democrat. He did not belong to a democratic party, but to the Democracy of Man. He taught the equality of all men, the inequality and subjection of none. His principles were accordant with the great fact of human brotherhood. He was always with the people and for them. His favor was for the common lot; his disfavor was for the oligarchy and the temple. His life, in so far as we are able to trace its outlines in the existing fragments, was a part of his teaching. It was devoted in the first place to the poor folk of Judæa, and in its ultimate destiny to the humble democracy of the Gentile races.

We do not here enlarge upon the doctrines and influence of the Good Sans-culotte. We simply emphasize the essential principle of his teaching and example. That essential principle was *the notion of human fraternity*. The merit of his work lay almost wholly in this direction. Whence he derived the doctrine, we are not curious to inquire. Certainly among the followers of Guatama, in the far valley of the Indus, such notion had long before prevailed. Perhaps the young man of Galilee had travelled thither between his twelfth and thirtieth years, and had sojourned, as tradition has it, in the monasteries of Buddha. Perhaps, on the other hand, the doctrine of equality is higher than any priesthood, whether Aryan or Semitic; higher than merely human hopes; higher than the earth-born dreams of men.

In any event the founder of the new faith, on his reappearance in Palestine, brought the doctrine of equality with him — brought it (it matters not) either from the East or out of his own soul. And in disseminating this doctrine he became an insurgent, a revolutionist, an iconoclast. The hand of the Galilean was lifted high against the religious institutions of his own race and epoch, and by implication it was lifted high against all like institutions in the world. True, he tolerated the political order established by Rome in his native country,

but he passed it by as something in which he found no interest or delight. He told his hearers to pay their taxes and say nothing. As to secular government and its methods, he said neither yea or nay. The institutions of society he virtually ignored. The keynote of all that he said and taught in his random ministry was the brotherhood and equality of men.

This doctrine the Teacher taught in many places. He sowed the seeds of equality in the principal cities of Judæa; afterwards the germs were scattered along the highways of Asia Minor and Europe. This idea of a democracy of man was borne far in course of time, and became seminal, with varying vicissitudes of growth, among all the peoples west of the Dardanelles and north of the Mediterranean.

The Great Greek of ancient Hellas was also a democrat. He antedated by several centuries the Asian reformer out of Palestine. The sons of Hellen, as we first discover them in the Ægean Islands and on the coast of Ionia, were equalizers and levellers; they levelled upward. It is difficult to know to what extent their Aryan progenitors were like them in this respect. Whether the emigrant Hellenes *found* equality on their arrival in Thrace and the Cyclades and on the shores of Southeastern Europe is matter of conjecture; but they at least *possessed* democracy and developed it to a higher degree than has ever been done by any other civilized race of men.

We shall not here consider how much of the democracy of the Greeks was due to their environment, how much to ethnic descent, and how much to the peculiar evolution which came with their removal and settlement in the new Europe of antiquity. We observe, however, that the narrow limits of the Attic peninsula and the broken and picturesque character of the country could hardly account for the total differentiation of a people out of the slavish Asiatic condition into a state of individual freedom and equality; for the physical conditions prevalent in Attica existed also in Lacedæmonia, where the Spartan aristocracy rose and flourished, and where the principles of true Grecian equality were never recognized, or only recognized to be condemned and hated. The Dorians were the supreme oligarchs of antiquity.

Doubtless there was something inherent in the Ionian and Attic Greeks that led them on to democratic opinions and to the creation of those popular institutions for which their small but glorious states have been immemorially famous. Under

these free institutions, the Greek democracy flourished. Here rose and reigned the most intellectual race of men that ever inhabited the world, the most artistic and literary race that has appeared in the tides of time. Here came the men of genius. Here sprang and flourished, as if in immortal youth and vigor, a people whose language and arts and learning, under Macedonian banners, were destined to be borne north, south, east, and west, touching, we might say, all the existing institutions of mankind, and touching nothing which they did not enliven and glorify. The Greek ascendancy appeared for several centuries to be the dawn of the Age of Gold.

The Teutonic barbarian of northern Europe was the third great democrat of the ancient world, the third progenitor of the notion of equality among the modern peoples. He was divided from the Asian democrat of Nazareth by race, by time, by seas, by continents of space. He was divided from the Great Greek by mountains and forests, and by the deep gorges of race divergence and development. But like the other two, he was a missionary of equality—a rude and barbaric scatterer of the seeds of brotherhood in the most forbidding places of the world.

Long before the epoch when the Roman race first touched the Germanic nations beyond the Rhine, the latter had produced in the solitudes of their forests another Democracy of Man, as true in its kind as the democracy of the great Greeks or as that of the first Christians at Jerusalem and Antioch. There was something in the Teutonic race, even from the far prehistoric days when that race debouched into Europe, that tended ever and irresistibly to the equality and brotherhood of mankind.

This indeed was a rough and turbulent democracy. It was a democracy of rational barbarism, of cruel humanity, of untutored wisdom, of savage progress. Turning the pages of Tacitus and other writers contemporary with the ancient Germans, we must be surprised to note the unexpected fact among them of the equality of man with man. The principle was deep-rooted and universal. It was a democracy as tender as life and as harsh as death.

The theory of tribal organization among the Old Germans was democratic in the extreme; and the practice was like it. The German chieftain was never more than a leader of

equals; the German king was never more than an equal of his chieftains; the German warriors were never more than equals of the German women. Look at the fragments of art that have transmitted the social condition of these races. See De Neuville's great picture of the German women in battle. There in the midst of the terrible mêlée, equal in carnage and heroism to the battles of Homer, the rude wagons of the nation are parked, and in them stand the Junos of the northern woods, with eyes aflame and streaming yellow hair, and battle-axe and spear uplifted to smite with death-blows the puny men of the South. Such was the sublime brotherhood among the powerful barbarians of the Germanic race that one in the retrospect might well sigh for the reappearance of such a people on the notched and half-defended horizons of modern civilization. And, to anticipate a possible sequel, they will be there — *when the United States shall become a Roman Empire.*

These three sources of human equality — Syrian, Hellenic, Teutonic — sent forth the primary streams of democracy among the nations of the ancient world. The Asian source was mostly *religious* in character; the Hellenic fountain was *political*, and the Teutonic spring was *social*. In course of time and in the vicissitudes of races and nations, the three sources flowed into the same receptacle, to be distributed as transmuted forms of force by the agency of a single stupendous power to the peoples of after times.

The equality taught and practised by the Good Sans-culotte was, as we have intimated, in its final analysis, ethical and religious. It contemplated the moral nature of man, not his organizing propensities. It looked to the diffusion in the human race of certain ideas and principles by which the race should be regenerated in character and purpose. There was to be a new birth in the soul of mankind; and the new life should grow instead of the old, and prevail over it, until the old, at last decrepit and useless, should fall off like a cast garment and be no more. Vain is the attempt, vain has always been the hope, of the religious sophist to discover in the teaching of the Son of Mary a reason and justification for the vast and inane ecclesiastical institutions which dominated the Middle Ages, and which remain as an inheritance to modern times, as if they had been washed hither by the diluvial floods of a prehistoric epoch.

The Great Greek, on the other hand, busied himself with the creation of a political and intellectual democracy. This may be regarded as the primary fact and principle of the Hellenic evolution. At bottom the Greek had little of the religious concept. He had less of the practice of religion. He was as poor in worship as the Galilean was poor in politics. The outward development of the faith of the Greek was spectacular and artistic rather than institutional, and the subjective concept in his worship of the gods related to the advantage which he hoped to get in the bargain with them. He built temples because they were beautiful, and immolated victims because to do so was a tragedy. To the Greek mind the foundation of a religious *ecclesia* would have seemed superfluous and absurd.

The Teutonic principle of equality had respect almost wholly to the social life of the people. The development of the race tended ever to the creation of a social democracy. We may anticipate much by saying that this bottom trait of Teutonism has remained to the present day. Socialism was not so much a portent to Ariovistus and Wittekind as it is to the reigning Kaiser. True, the ancient German had his gods and his altars. He had also to a limited degree his politics and his *res publica*, or public affair. He went so far as to establish tribal institutions and intertribal relations and practices. But the central fact of the great Germanic ascendancy was — as it has ever continued to be — the social life of the race. Social equality may well be said to have been born and first proclaimed along the dark rivers and in the moaning woods of northern Europe.

To trace the course and evolution of modern democracy from its three fountains in Palestine, Hellas, and Germania, or more properly its three fountains in the heart of the Good Sans-culotte, the heart of the Great Greek, and the heart of the Great Teuton, would include the most interesting and important sections of human history. Whoever should understand thus much would possess a knowledge of the substance of what civilization has accomplished in the mediæval and modern world. I believe that the story of democracy in its issuance from its threefold source down to its present aspect and condition among the nations, if truly and pathetically told, would surpass the *Iliad* and all the other epics of race-life and human tragedy. To delineate the historical

destinies and adaptations of democracy is a task beyond the present powers of man — a task to be remanded in the future ages to some tall son of the morning. Only an imperfect outline of so great a theme can here be given.

The doctrine of the Good Sans-culotte, beginning in Judæa, crept like a vine around the shores of the Mediterranean. It found the great central peninsula on the north, and there gained support and propagation by twining itself about the porticos and sending its roots into the imperial hearths of Rome. It was planted on the Capitoline hill and in the Circus Maximus. It spread over the eternal walls, and climbed as high as the cypresses that now wave in the star-light over the rent battlements of the Colosseum.

Christianity in southern Europe was thus merged with the greatest state of antiquity. "Thou hast conquered, O Galilean!" was proclaimed in the city of the Cæsars. The religious fact and the political fact were united henceforth in structural development. The doctrine which at first issued as a moral influence from the eastern shore of the Mediterranean became organic as a part of the Roman Empire. Ever afterwards the religious element was in close affiliation with political power; and the time came when the one was even as the other. The appeal to man was replaced with an appeal to secular compulsion. Simple principles were supplanted by organic contrivances. Authority usurped the place of spiritual force, and glory took the throne. The Imperial *State* already existed, and there soon arose under its ægis an Imperial *Ecclesia*. The wide humanities and tender rebukes of the Man of Galilee and the comparatively simple teachings of his immediate followers were engulfed in the marble heart and austere ceremonies of Rome.

The Roman sway extended from Parthia to Ireland, and from Jutland and the North Sea to the African deserts. The standard of Cæsar and the standard of the Christ went together into all the included regions. The eagle and the cross were set up beyond the pillars of Hercules, on the banks of the Thames, in the lowlands of the Northwest, in the dark woods by the Weser and the Danube, along the coasts of Africa, in Egypt, in Arabia, among the ruins of the cities of Asia Minor, and as far as the waste places of Mesopotamia. The dreaded short sword of Rome and the Bishop's high mitre were seen together in almost every

walled town of Europe, and often together on the field of battle. Organic Christianity was in a word blended with Rome, and henceforth shared the vicissitudes, the triumphs, and the final disruption of that imperial power.

This power was well fitted to propagate itself throughout the civilized world; but it was ill fitted to be the receptacle of moral institutions and religious faith. Least of all was it fitted to be the promoter of human brotherhood. Human brotherhood! What did Rome know of that? Equality of rights was something diametrically opposed to her and all her policies. The democracy of man was unknown to her. Not on *that* foundation was the imperial structure builded. The imperial structure was founded on a basis of human gradations and organic contrivances that had always slavery as their concrete. The massive walls of the Cæsarian Empire were laid with a mortar of human blood and human hopes, mixed and plastered by the remorseless masons with as little compunction as if the ingredients had been lime and sand and water.

Rome was the cruellest and most remorseless power that was ever reared on the shores of earth. It was an oligarchy to begin with. Tarquin was a true type of its first development; Catiline, of its second; and Nero, of its third. War, conquest, subjugation of provinces, and robbery of peoples were the common and necessary processes of the imperial growth. Ambition, greed, arrogance, licentious pride, and brutal gratification were the subjective elements of Roman hauteur and glory. Strange that such a faith as that of the Good Sans-culotte should have entered into union with such a power, only to be lost in the building of a religious structure as bloody and prodigious as its confederate! But such was the decree of history.

It was also decreed that the democracy of the Greek should be merged in Rome. The soul of Socrates was to grovel at the feet of Tiberius. As long as the men of Hellas were able to preserve their democratic institutions, they flourished as no other people have flourished in the world. Their civilization was glorious. There was a period of incomparable renown. Out of that epoch of freedom and fame the better part of the intellectual splendor of the modern world has been derived. The *intellectual* life of the Greeks could not be dissipated even by the annihilation of the race. Only

their *political* life — their organic democracy — was subject to destruction.

The fate of that democracy was in many respects analogous to the fate of primary Christianity; the former as well as the latter became the prey of the spoiler. In the second century before our era, the Roman power, still calling itself a republic, first robbed, then ruined, and finally obliterated the Grecian race. Behold in the Isthmian amphitheatre at Corinth, the Consul Flaminus (the picture is by Vogel) proclaiming the *liberty* of the Greeks under the wing of Rome — such liberty as the sparrow finds under the wing of the eagle. All of the renown and splendor of the Hellenic race that might be seized with the hand was borne away as the booty of the conquerors. It was distributed in the capital, and then in the smaller cities, towns, and villas of Italy.

In so far as the doctrine of equality inhered in the intellectual treasure of the Greek people, that notion was not extinguished by conquest. It could not be; for it was imperishable. There was a sense in which Hellenic democracy could never be wholly quenched. It resided as an inspiring force in the literary treasures and artistic monuments of the race. These were borne away and transmitted by an ignorant and uncreative people to become the inheritance of the modern world. Rome thus took within herself not only the new faith proclaimed by the Galilean, making it useful to her ambitions and a part of her imposing structure; but she also devoured the brilliant and beautiful civilization of the Greeks. Like the monster that she was, she consumed without knowing its value and immortal beauty the choicest and most precious pearl of creation. The elephant of the Tiber, like the beast of Hindu fable, swallowed the morning star, and knew no difference.

The democracy of the Teutonic race also came into contact with Rome, but was *not* consumed. Strange it is to see the three primary streams of democracy tending each towards the common goal, two of them disappearing in the gulf, and the third rushing in as a flood. True, institutional Christianity was not obliterated by its union with the Roman Empire. On the contrary, it became powerful by the union, and was able at length, even on the ruins of the great frame to which it had attached itself, to be propagated into the better part of the known lands and islands of the world. But its essential element, the notion of a compassionate and uni-

versal human brotherhood, was absorbed in the thick and sluggish currents of Roman blood; the cry of humanity was quenched in the shout of triumph. True also, the spirit of Greek democracy survived, while its body perished. But the democracy of the Germanic nations was not so quenched. The iron head of Teutonism, driven by the freedom of the North, was swung against the fortresses of the Rhine, and they were broken. Hermann plucked down the Cæsarian eagles. There was a rush of shouting warriors through the passes of the Alps. The southern peninsulas of Europe were drowned in the deluge. It was a wholesome flood, hiding from the sun the most colossal and injurious despotism that history has ever known.

The German race was thus *laid over* the races of the South and West. Gaul received her Franks, Italy received her Ostrogoths, Spain and Africa their Visigoths, and Britain her Jutes and Saxons. The great Germanic era ensued, extending from the sixth century to the revival of learning. There was a *mélange* of nations and peoples. The Teutonic democrat planted himself amid the ruins of darkened Europe. In this situation he began to lose what Rome had been unable to take from him. He became feudal. He created the feudal institutions. His blood commingled with the blood of Celt and Roman and Iberian. He gave to each a measure of his energy and free spirit; but he received from each a portion of the slavish sentiments and methods which had prevailed in Romanized Europe. From the subjected races he caught the infection of political and military power. He became a leader in the Crusades, and then a petty king, growing into a greater king. By the absorption of the weaker, the feudal estates of the continent were enlarged into monarchies. One had its capital on the Danube; another, on the Seine; another, on the Thames; another, on the Manzanares, until modern Europe emerged, having war for its mood, oppression for its method, and the enslavement of the people for its end and aim.

Thus out of the bankruptcy of the Roman Empire the political and religious estates of modern Europe have been created. And for many centuries it has been a question with the heirs who shall have the greater part of the imperial wealth and power. After the Roman wreck the mediæval monarchies arose, and these became the modern monarchies. They all claimed to be Christian. Some of them taught, but

none of them practised, or could practise, the doctrines of human brotherhood. All were involved in an historical paradox that could be solved only by casuistry and hypocrisy. There came to pass throughout all Europe a fortification, a building of ramparts, around organic power and tyranny. Meanwhile the humble race of men to whom the Good Sansculotte had addressed his teaching relapsed into barbarism, superstition, and slavery.

To this indescribable inheritance our modern age has succeeded. Upon it modern civilization has been planted. Out of this chaotic substratum the recent era has drawn the greater part of its nutriment. All of the baneful saps and foul air of the Middle Ages have been absorbed by the modern powers of society ; and there is no telling to what extent all men between the Bosphorus and the Sacramento, between Iceland and Mecca, have been poisoned and depraved.

The new era in Europe and America professes to be Christian. It professes to be intellectual, refined, artistic, poetic, like the Greeks. It professes to possess and to cherish the freedom and independent spirit of the Teutonic races. It professes to espouse the principles of human equality and to promote the democracy of man. But the modern era knows in its heart that its profession is a delusion and a lie. The modern era knows that it has its face, its affection, and its purpose set with a smile towards imperial splendor, towards the organic powers that are over man, and that only its hinder parts are turned with contempt on the man himself. The man has become an object of indifference or aversion to every state, and in a measure to every ecclesiastical establishment in the world. He who looks abroad among the nations to find an organic structure under which a residue of genuine democracy is cherished — such democracy as would be agreeable to the founder of the Christian religion or to Socrates — will search long or search in vain. He will indeed find a residue of genuine democracy, but will find it on the remote outskirts of society, in far places by woods and streams, on the prairies wide, in the filthy purlieus and cellars of towns, and cities.

Nearly all the enlightened peoples of the world, however, are more or less permeated with democracy. Few there are among the intelligent classes of any nation who are not touched with some sentiment or notion of human brotherhood

and man-rule on the earth. Some are thus affected on the moral or religious side of their natures; with others the notion of democracy is an intellectual and political concept, deduced, as we have said, from the free Greeks of antiquity; and with others still it is a race instinct derived from the Teutonic nations.

Democracy pure and simple, existing among the poor and humble of mankind, is thus reinforced by a limited and widely diffused democratic sentiment among the middle and upper classes of society. Every radical community lies adjacent to some other community less radical; that, to another still more moderate but in some sense democratic; and that, in touch with still another little influenced by the sentiment of human equality or positively devoted to centralization and empire.

This widely diffused principle of democracy among the nations, beginning with a pure form among the humble and ending with a mixed and feeble form among the great, has produced the revolutionary and regenerating movements among the modern nations. Political society in almost every European and American country has sought at times to purify itself by a revolt in the direction of democracy. Every revolution has shown us the conflict of an insurgent democratic party with an imperial and despotic party. This is the final analysis and explanation of all insurrections. Every great upheaval of secular society which the world has witnessed since the revival of learning has been in its ultimate character a battle of Democracy with Empire.

The first conspicuous revolt of this kind was that of the Dutch Netherlands, in the last half of the sixteenth century. The next great insurrection was that of the Puritan democracy of Great Britain, in the Cromwellian era, against the Stuarts and their affiliated powers on the continent. The third and best of all was our American rebellion of 1776, with its attendant battle for freedom and its result of Independence. Hard after this came the most radical and thorough of all the historical insurrections — the Revolution in France. A purer democracy has never appeared than that which confronted Bourbon rule and French aristocracy in the closing decade of the eighteenth century. Since that epoch the democrats of France have passed through successive eras of overthrow and emergence; but the principle of the great revolt has sur-

vived, and the fiery Republic of 1792 has reappeared in the modified Republic of 1870. The Civil War in the United States, though it had its origins mostly in domestic and social conditions, was also a struggle for a truer democracy. Both sides claimed to be for a democratic ascendancy. The solution of the social problem, however, was effected in such manner by sword and legislation as to put American democracy on a worse footing than before.

It is highly instructive to note in the revolutionary movements of the past three hundred years the varying proportions among the elements of the attacking democracy. Thus, for example, the insurrection of the Netherlands was a religio-social movement; that is, it was a Teutonic revolt inspired with moral principles. The Dutch fought for religious emancipation; but they fought in the spirit of the Teutonic race. Their revolution had in it also an intellectual element derived ultimately from Greek democracy. The Dutch leaders were not unfamiliar with those political and intellectual conditions which made the Hellenic ascendancy the most brilliant of antiquity. Egmont and Horn and Orange were well versed in the history and politics of the Greeks. The Cromwellian rebellion was an insurrection of which the elementary forces were Teutonic and religious; but it was lacking in intellectual force and grandeur. There was never, perhaps, another so great work done by men in civilized times with so little of intellect and culture in the movement. Cromwell, a priest in armor, virtually monopolized the brains of the revolution and the commonwealth. After him, around him, there was nothing but a certain moral enthusiasm and the equalizing instincts of a Teutonic people.

Our own rebellion against the Mother Country was greater than either of its predecessors. It was wiser than the revolt of French democracy which came hard after. It were difficult to say whether the intellectual, the moral, or the race element prevailed most powerfully in the work of our fathers of the Revolutionary era. They were an intellectual race of men. They were giants. They had the enthusiasm of the Greeks. They were also strongly imbued with moral instincts. They were deeply affected with the influences of their ethnic descent. They came from an English, that is a Teutonic, ancestry.

For these reasons our revolt against the insane tyranny of

a dullard king was more rational and complete than that of the Netherlands against Spanish cruelties, or that of the English commonwealth against the tyranny of the reigning House. Our Declaration of Independence was the most rational and well-grounded political expression ever produced by the genius and patriotism of mankind. It was the most reasonably democratic. It was the most just and justifiable of all charters of its kind. It was moral; it was an intellectual product. It was pervaded with a deep sense of right and wrong, of a profound morality. It spoke as if appealing to the favor of heaven, and with ideas near akin to those disseminated by the founder of the Christian faith. It was done in the high spirit of the Greeks. It was as truly democratic in principle as anything ever proclaimed from the pnyx or the stoa. It was a declaration from the heart of the Teutonic race. It was a world-wide cry for freedom, for the reinstitution of mankind, for the elevation of the individual, and for the abatement of those malign powers that sat upon his vitals.

Fair was the prospect of American democracy at the Revolutionary era. It is doubtful whether there was ever another epoch in history which contained so much of promise. Much of that promise has been justified in the sequel. It cannot be denied that the American Republic has had a great career. On the other hand, it must be admitted that democracy has suffered in the course of our national history. The sentiments which inspired our fathers, the influences by which they were guided, the principles which they proclaimed and fought for, have been confused and retarded not a little in the evolution of our career; and at no time have the confusion and retardation been more alarming than in the present era. A great part of the patriotic zeal which fired the hearts of our colonial ancestors has been quenched and lost. Another part of that sublime spirit is still preserved in the hearts and purposes of the American people.

On the whole there has been a manifest decline in the force and prevalence of the bold, free democracy of our fathers. They who speak of the current prevalence of Jeffersonian principles speak nothing but ignorance and delusion. Gradually the imperial spirit has entered our national consciousness. Gradually it has supplanted the radical sentiments and principles of the founders of the Republic. Gradually it has transformed, and is still transforming, our institutions. At

no particular date has this transformation been alarming; but the aggregate result has become dangerous in the extreme to the preservation of our old-time liberties and to the further spread of these liberties and the rights of men. It is not too much to say that the Democratic Republic which was instituted by our fathers — by declaration, by battle, by sacrifice and patriotic consecration — is rapidly becoming, or has already become, an Imperial Republic, not without its striking analogy to that Imperial Republic of Rome which preceded the Empire.

In the name of reason and history, why is it that this tremendous miscarriage seems to threaten the American Republic? Why is it that here, as elsewhere in all the civilized countries, the ruin and suppression of democracy seem to impend? Why is it that like melancholy miscarriages have disfigured the history of the past, rendering its final results dubious and sorrowful? In the retrospect of human experience is it possible to find out where and when the teaching of humanity has become the teaching of inhumanity; where and when the principle of human freedom has become the principle of servitude; where and when the common hopes and purposes of men have given place to antagonism and bloody strifes; where and when individuality and man-rule have been obliterated in order that power may grow; where and when the equality of men has become inequality, degenerating ever towards a profound and loathsome slavery?

These tremendous questions may be answered thus: Democracy has in all countries been crippled by *the overorganization of society*. Not by legitimate and rational organization has this great hurt been done to the progress of mankind. It is the abuse of the organizing instinct that has brought about so many fatal lapses among the freedom-seeking peoples of the world.

Human society begins in equality; it is organized into inequality. The particular point at which the dangerous abuse begins is the point at which organization becomes an *end* instead of a *means*. No organization ever created by men has the right of self-existence. Every such contrivance invented by our race has been invented as a means unto an end; and that end rationalized is the elevation and perfection of the individual life. Whenever the organization begins to exist for itself, the individual life begins to languish, human hope begins to

expire, the spirit of man becomes clouded, the genius of the highest is most obscured. And with the appearance of this malady in the inner life of the race all of its outward liberties and rights and prospects of freedom begin to droop and perish.

A great part of human history is involved with this baneful use of organization. Society, we are confident, must organize in order to exist. Society is good, not bad. Political society is subject to the common law. So also is religious society. Organization is not essentially a vice; but it is the common experience of mankind that organization becomes more and more excessive with the progress of a given people until they find themselves overdone and mastered by their own vehicle. At a certain stage a sudden reversal comes to pass. The car of civilization gets before the engine, and the further progress of the given people is turned into retrogression declining into night.

Let us look boldly at these facts and principles. The institutions of society are to be judged thereby. Their usefulness and their right to exist depend upon their conformity to the common law. Races and nations have been organized to death. In such case, the temple, instead of being built for the man, has been built upon him. No poet, no artist, no statesman, no benefactor of his race, no hopeful son of mankind with the light of the dawn in his brain and the twitter of the song-birds in his spirit, can survive under the walls of a temple. No more can he survive under the walls of a palace. No more can he survive under the walls of an arsenal, or the walls of fortresses. The poet, the orator, the master-spirit of the age, require freedom as their condition and liberty as their sphere.

Nations are made for men; men are not made for nations. Governments either exist for the people or do not exist at all, — that is, they do not exist under the ethical and logical conditions of civilization. Every government which becomes an entity, self-existing, self-perpetuating, self-conscious, and self-determinative, is a monstrous abuse, a blot under the sun. Every ecclesiastical organization which is not created and kept in the service of man is an inane and baleful portent that deserves extinction wherever the rivers run and the star-light falls.

Every other institution of society is under the same law of

human service. Every other, as much as the political and ecclesiastical structures, must yield to the service of man or be finally expelled from the earth. Civilization itself, while it is a man-product, is also a servant of the race. Let none think to glorify civilization at the expense of humanity. Let none think that the perpetuity of institutions and the preservation of race-life at its highest estate depend upon building high the physical apparatus and symbols of civilization. These indeed are good; they are good while they *serve*; they are dreadful when they *master*.

The struggle of Democracy with Empire still continues in the world; and we hope that it will continue until the victory is won, as it certainly will be in the final day, by the armies of right and truth. The imperial elements of society in the Old World and the New are seriously alarmed at the growth and persistency of democratic principles among the nations. Let their alarm continue; it is wholesome. It must needs be that the advocates of despotism should suffer fear. Every evil thing in this world is afraid. Every good thing in the world has courage.

In course of time the civilization of mankind will be democratic and not imperial. From the rivers to the seas, democracy — not indeed the democracy of a party, but the democracy of man — is going to prevail. Men are destined to be free. The elements of tyranny and enslavement shall be extinguished. The future shall bring a condition of human society throughout the world in which freedom shall be yoked with order, and the equality of all men be recognized as the fundamental fact in the life of nations.

The doctrines advanced in this article have a special as well as a general significance. The exposition of the subject has been made with some reference to the vehicle by which it is to be carried to the public. It is intended that what is here presented shall signify a part of the purpose of the literary organ by which it is communicated to others. THE ARENA MAGAZINE stands for democracy — for such democracy as was believed in by our fathers and was by them made organic in a free Republic. In this phraseology there is no reference to the democracy of a particular party or division of our American society or any other society of our time.

This magazine is intended to be an agency for the preservation of the pure spirit and essence of our institutions. The equality of men is perhaps the fundamental fact in these institutions; and to be a humble advocate in the defence and maintenance of that equality is not unworthily cherished by this organ of public opinion. It is devoted to the progress and betterment of our people, and is an open court to every capable advocate of truth and righteousness.

AN OLIVE BRANCH OF THE CIVIL WAR.

BY LA SALLE CORBELL PICKETT.¹

WE were all ranged around the fire, comfortably gazing at the little blue tongues of flame that would now and then leap up as if attacking some invisible enemy, and then retire to wait for another foe or lazily die out, when I noticed on Colonel Manning's hand, which was grasping his knee, a gold ring of such enormous size as to excite from me the question as to how in the world he ever came into the possession of such a monster. The ring was square-edged, more than half an inch wide and proportionately thick, and was surmounted by a gold buckle that seemed to magnify it to twice its huge dimensions.

"Well, well," said the old Colonel, turning to me, "it is strange that during the past three years of close friendship you have never noticed that ring before, when I have had to explain to so many strangers what would seem a very petty and vulgar ostentation to one unacquainted with its history and the varying and interesting memories which it recalls. However, it is a long, long story, — too long, perhaps, to tell to-night, so I will postpone its recital to another time."

"Let us hear it, let us hear it," we all cried in unison, and the Colonel, with a soft smile of satisfaction lighting up his face, began in his own interesting way his story, which runs as follows:

During May, 1864, the army of the Potomac, under General Grant, was one of the combatants in that series of engagements known in history as the Battle of the Wilderness. General Meade was in immediate command, while the regiment in which I held a commission as captain, formed a part of General Getty's division of Sedgwick's corps.

The Wilderness was a wild track, covered with dense woods of black-jack trees, and some few large oaks, and stretching along the south bank of the Rapidan river for about ten miles.

It was General Grant's purpose and endeavor to push his

¹ Better known popularly as Mrs. General Pickett, widow of late General Pickett, of Gettysburg fame.

army southward, so as to get between General Lee and Richmond; but that brilliant soldier, having accurate maps of the country, and divining Grant's intention, began, on May 5th, an attack on the Federal flank. The Federal troops then held Brock road, a road which bisected the Wilderness from east to west, and it was by moving up a plank road and the turnpike from Orange Court House (two roads running at right angles to the Federal lines) that the Confederates struck the Union forces.

General Getty, our division commander, had received orders to hold the junction of the plank and Brock roads until he could be reënforced by Hancock, who was then about ten miles away. The fighting was something terrific; the bullets seemed to come in bucketfuls, and to hum and hiss, and sing and thud, as they sped on their missions of death. About the middle of the day we were so hard pressed by the enemy's skirmishers, who swarmed in the woods opposite and were sticking it to us from every tree and bush, that we were compelled to fall back about seventy-five yards from the dirt road. While on this short retreat I received a severe wound that stretched me helpless on the ground. A bullet had struck me near the centre of the chest, passing through one of my lungs, and abrading my spinal column on its way out. There I was at the foot of a large oak, believing myself mortally wounded, bleeding from the mouth, and my arms paralyzed, sadly waiting for death. Around me were the enemy's skirmishers, some of whom had crossed the road; and right above me, behind the very tree at whose foot I lay, was a big six-foot rebel, pegging away for dear life. He seemed very earnest about what he was doing, and as he would lower his gun after firing, I could hear him mutter "By God! I got a major that time," or a colonel or a captain, as the case might be, and then he would raise his gun with the remark, "Now, old gal, see what you can do for 'um."

I almost forgot my wound listening to the conversation he was holding with his gun, and watching his actions. Presently, as he was leaning from the tree preparatory to taking another shot, I heard that peculiar and unmistakable sound which a bullet makes when striking the flesh, and sure enough down he came almost on top of me. He lay perfectly still for about a minute, and then he turned over on his left side, and I heard him speak:

" Say, Yank, are you much hurt? "

" Yes," I answered feebly, " I am awfully wounded ; I know I shall die."

" Oh! " he said, " don't talk that way, Yank ; you 'll get well all right ; cheer up and talk to me."

Then there was a few minutes when neither of us spoke, during which I was thinking of my home, and my wife waiting and hoping for my return, wondering why I was gone so long and if the war would never end. I was sick at heart, and suffering and melancholy, believing that I had but a little while to live. I thought how sad it was to die under any circumstances, but how much sadder away from those I loved, those who would never, perhaps, hear of me again, but who would never grow weary of waiting through the long days and nights praying for my return. Then I remembered my little ones, saw them clinging to their mother, leaning their young heads against her, and asking when Papa would be back. What would she say to all these questions when weeks and months and years had passed away, and still no word of Papa coming home? The picture was too much for me, my whole body shook, and great scalding tears flowed down my face — the saddest in all my life. Remembering too that my wife's picture, with a bundle of her sweet letters to me, was in my breast-pocket, I addressed the Confederate soldier lying by me.

" Johnnie," I called (for I knew not his name), and my voice was weak and plaintive, — " Johnnie, can you reach me and take from my breast-pocket a bundle of letters and a picture? "

" Certingly I will, Yank," he answered ; and he did what I had asked.

" Now, Johnnie, will you put that picture to my lips and then let me look at it, for I shall soon be gone."

He did again as I requested, and when he saw the tears streaming from my eyes, he began with visible emotion to console me :

" Come, come, Yank ! don't cry ; you 'll get well in a little while : you make a fellow feel bad when you talk that-a-way. Try and stand it. God knows I'm sorry for you, Yank. Try and not think of sich things."

The poor big-hearted fellow was almost crying himself, but, after all, I insisted on his keeping the letters.

"Keep them," I said, "and when this war is over, for it can't last much longer, send them to my wife and tell her how I died. Tell her that my last thoughts were of her, that with my last words I begged God's blessing on her and our little babies. Oh, Johnnie, do not fail to do what a dying man begs of you."

"Well, Yank," he replied, in a voice that seemed more resigned, "if you must die, don't you think you ought to pray?"

I said I had repeated my prayers to myself many times.

"But, Yank," he continued to advise, "you had better hand in a few more; it can't do any harm, and it might do a damn sight of good."

In spite of my condition I was almost amused at his rude philosophy, but he spoke in sober earnestness, and ended his advice by saying that he used to know prayers once himself, but he had clean forgot them all. As he talked on I saw a great deal of native goodness and manhood in his character, and began to like him, and I listened to his talk till I almost forgot my situation.

We lay there at the roots of that tree what seemed a very long time, when the firing began to get heavier, and our soldiers got to coming up closer, and I knew the reinforcements must have arrived.

The fighting was to the right of us and nearer the road, so I judged from the position of our troops that the Confederates were falling back. Toward the evening the ambulances came along and took me up, but I begged so hard for Bill Anderson, the wounded rebel, that they took him up too, and carried us both to a hospital in Fredericksburg. We were in different parts of the building, but I asked next morning that Bill be given a cot next to mine, and soon I was listening to him again. He was always original, and he never tired me.

One day I asked him why he was in the Confederate army, and he answered, half facetiously: "I belong to a place in South Carolina called Edgefield deestrick; they are a mighty pesky set of folks living around there, and I've come out here in this war to keep from gettin' shot." He was always saying something like this, and I would always laugh at the way he said it. I thought the war was a queer place to come to when one didn't care to get shot, but I remembered that

there were some pretty dangerous citizens in South Carolina, and did n't question him on this point.

Although we were very intimate he still continued to call me "Yank," and never addressed me in any other way.

Well, to go along with my story, Bill Anderson, my friend and companion, attended to his wound himself, and having a strong constitution (much stronger than mine) and a light heart (much lighter than mine), he got well rapidly, and was soon skirmishing around the hospital doing odd jobs, but always returning at night to his cot beside me. Dear Bill, how I would long to see him when evening came, and how interested I would be at his humorous recital of the little events of the day, which he always magnified by some inventions of his own. And later, when the shadows of approaching darkness had begun to fall about the room, and night was creeping on, Bill would take off his boots and coat and retire to his cot. Then in a little while, when all was silent as the tomb, and the breathing of the many sufferers could be heard, Bill would begin his sonorous snore. Dear Bill, original as thou wast in all things, thou wast doubly original in this! I would listen to him through the silent watches of the long night, when the very walls would shake and echo back his snore. But even this sound was company as I would lie awake and think of what might be going on in the great world outside.

As for myself, I was the greatest of sufferers. I was getting better, if at all, very slowly, and always thought I was growing worse. I had at times been out of my head, and then, so Bill told me, I would talk of home, and cry and go on till it made him feel bad himself. He was always attentive to my wants and inquiring after my comfort, and would get up often every night to turn me over or hold a glass of water to my thirsty lips. Sometimes at a late hour I would feel hungry, and out from under Bill's pillow would come a roast potato or a couple of biscuits that he had stolen from the table for my enjoyment. But with all Bill's attention it seemed as though I was never to get well. Every day I seemed growing weaker, and certainly more despondent, and I was wasting away to a mere shadow of my former self. I felt that I should die if I stayed where I was, and at times, in my melancholy and suffering, I envied the deep repose of the dead. I wanted to be at home, where I could

have the tender care bestowed by my wife, and hear her voice encouraging me to a speedy recovery. My little boys, too, would come about the bed to ask how Papa was, and to bring light and joy where all was anguish now.

One day I was telling Bill how unhappy I was, and that I should be sure to die if I stayed in the hospital any longer, when he asked me earnestly where I wanted to go, saying that he would get me away if he got killed for doing it. I told him that my home was just outside of Philadelphia, and that if I could get to that city, I would write to my wife, and she would come and take me, and then I would soon recover and go back to my regiment.

"All right, Yank," he said; "if you are willin', I'll have you down to that Philadelphia train at twelve o'clock to-morrow night."

I asked him how he would manage to do it, and he said:

"I have a friend who is a perfect gentleman. He is a butcher, and furnishes meat to this hospital. I will borrow his cart, fill it full of straw, and when everybody is asleep, I will lift you up in my arms and carry you downstairs to the yard, where the cart will be waiting. I will unlock all the doors beforehand, and everything will be all hookey."

I slept no more that night, and all next day I was cheerful and anxiously awaiting the hour when I should say good-bye forever to that gloomy old building. Evening came at last, and with it came Bill to cheer me once more for the last time. He told me very quietly that when he had put me on the train and returned the cart to his friend, he intended to make tracks for South Carolina if the whole war went to h—l. He said he did n't want to stay there any longer, since I was going, and that, anyhow, they would never get done with him when they learned of his stealing me away.

Toward the appointed hour Bill got noiselessly from his cot, and having on already everything but his boots, he lifted me, bedclothes and all, up in his arms, and carried me softly down the steps. We reached the cart without interruption, when Bill went back to bring my clothes and boots, which latter he said he would have to take as his were about worn out. I gave them to him gladly, dear fellow, and he pulled them on, got on the cart, and we were on our way to where the cars would soon stop. Bill was well known about the depot as an attendant at the hospital, so when we arrived

there a few minutes before the train, and Bill bought my ticket to Philadelphia with money I had in my clothes, it excited no suspicion. The few persons around supposed that Bill had orders to see me safe on the train, and they scarcely noticed our arrival, though my appearance, wrapped up as I was, would ordinarily have provoked comment.

While I lay there musing and waiting, I asked Bill what he thought would be the outcome of the war; whether in his opinion the Union or Confederate army would be victorious. He answered in his original way, and with a sort of pious patriotism:

"If the Lord is for General Lee, General Lee will win; but if the Lord is agin General Lee, then it's going to be a mighty hard tussle."

Bill evidently had a great deal of faith in General Lee, but so did even his enemies.

The train was on time, and Bill was soon helping me in and arranging me comfortably for my long journey. When the moment came to say good-bye, Bill for the first time broke down completely, and as he wept like a child I threw my arms around his neck, and drawing his head up to mine hugged him affectionately and wept too. The train had started when he said good-bye the last time, and as it sped on through the night I thought of Bill and blubbered as though my heart would break. Dear, noble fellow, how I loved him! Dearer even than a brother, I can see him now, the same frank, generous soul, willing to do all in all for me, and bearing me always in his heart of hearts. Dear Bill, you can never be forgotten, and as long as my heart shall beat in memory of anyone, it shall beat in memory of you. You stood by me, a loving friend, when I was sick, heartbroken, and lonely; when I could offer you nothing to reward your tender ministrations of affection; when the whole earth seemed black with shadows, clouds, and darkness. You were an unselfish man at all hours and all times, and though I have lived many years, I have seen none that resembles you.

The old gentleman's memory seemed so completely absorbed in the recollections of the past, that he appeared to forget his little audience as he delivered this rhapsody on his friend of bygone years.

We were all silent, and after a moment he bowed his head and resumed the story.

Well, I reached Philadelphia without accident or interruption, where I was kindly cared for until I could send a message to my wife, who came quickly, and soon had me at home once again. I recovered rapidly under her attentions, and at the beginning of winter I was back with my company, strong and healthy.

Through the remainder of the war I served without injury, though in some pretty hot skirmishes, and at its close I was mustered in my present regiment.

Years went by, many years of uneventful army life, and in the winter of 1882 my command was stationed at Fort A——, Montana, right among the Black Hills, and in the most out-of-the-way section of the country. During the many years that had elapsed since the events I have been relating, I had often thought tenderly of my loved friend Bill Anderson, and had often told the story that I have been telling you, to my friends and brother officers.

The friendship that had so romantically sprung up between this brave Confederate soldier and me—sprung up in the very furrows of war—had softened my heart toward the South and blotted out forever all the harsh feelings that had ever entered my breast. I began to see things as I should see them, and to entertain a growing respect for the loyal men of that section who had been willing to die for an opinion, simply because they believed it to be right, and ready to endure the hardships of war, the pain, disaster, and mental suffering which it entails, with no prospect of earthly reward to lighten the tomb. When a man is willing to die for an opinion, however illogical that opinion may be, he can always command my respect. The Confederate soldier who marched out for the cause he would uphold; who went away from all the joy and sweetness and hope of life, to do, to suffer, to bleed, and to die for the flag of his allegiance and the country of his love, need fear no word of reproach from the lips of honorable men. However, I am wandering from my story.

I was saying that I often thought of my old friend Bill Anderson. Yes, I thought of him many a time, dear fellow, and wondered too if he ever thought of me. I had for many years been making inquiries of people from South Carolina whom I chanced to meet, but no one seemed to know this

particular Bill Anderson. I had even written to the postmaster at the town near which he lived, but only to be disappointed at the information that no such person lived in that vicinity. Poor Bill! I at last began to think he must be dead, and that probably he never reached his home after bidding me good-bye on the train. It was a long way to walk from northern Virginia to South Carolina, and in times so stormy as 1864, extremely dangerous. Perhaps he was murdered or starved to death, or perhaps, weary of wending his way through tangled swamps and treacherous morasses, he had lain down by the wayside and calmly given up his life. Well, these thoughts would trouble me and prompt more inquiries as to his fate, but always without success, and I finally indulged no hope of ever meeting him in this mortal life.

Out in Montana, where, as I said, I was stationed, the winters are always severe, and the blizzards that sweep its frozen hills and paint upon the landscape a picture of solemn desolation, were never fiercer and more pitiless than in 1882. The freezing winds would shriek and groan, week in and week out; the snow would whirl and shudder to the ground, day after day, night after night, till one would wonder where it would all go when the spring came.

Toward the last of this awful winter, in noisy, blustering March, I was in my sitting-room early one evening when I heard a knock on the door, and upon my calling "Come in," the sergeant of the guard entered.

"Colonel," said he, saluting, "ther's a man in the guard-room who says he wants to speak to you, and as he volunteered to come over here, I thought I would find out if you would be bothered with him."

"Who is the man?" I asked.

"I don't know his name, Colonel," replied the sergeant, "but he arrived at the post about an hour ago, saying he had been walking all day, and asked permission to sleep in the guard-room. I went to see the officer of the day, and he said that as it was so cold, and the poor devil might freeze to death if without a fire, I might let him stay till morning. Well, after he had warmed himself, he got to talking and said he was trying to get to the Simpson Mines, some forty miles from here. Then he began to ask questions about this fort and who the officers were, and when I told him your name he nearly fell off the bench he was sitting on, and said he must

see you right away. When I told him he could n't go to your house, that it was against orders, I thought he would spring on me like a wild beast and tear me to pieces. He said, 'To hell with orders,' and if I did n't see you quick for him, he would go himself. To prevent trouble, I came to see you."

From what the sergeant said I thought he must have a strange character over at the guard-room, so instead of asking him to send the man to me, I put on my cape and cap, and hurried there myself.

I entered the guard-room frowning, and standing in the middle of the floor, inquired of the tall, rough-looking stranger what business he had with me. In the uncertain light I could not well trace his features, but when he said "Don't you know me, Yank?" I knew the voice of my long-loved and lost Bill Anderson, and forgetting where I was and all things else, I wrapped him in an affectionate and long embrace. He hardly spoke, and I was so overcome with my feelings — with my delight at seeing him again after eighteen long years — that I did not know how to begin with the thousand questions that flashed through my brain. The few soldiers in the room stood looking on in blank astonishment, wondering if their colonel had gone clear crazy, in hugging a man whom they had just been feeling sorry for and would hardly have noticed under any other circumstances. Ignorant of the situation, they could not understand what this poor wanderer was to me, and the love I had cherished for him ever since I had come to realize the intense attachment which one man might learn to bear to another.

Putting my arm under Bill's arm, I hurried him over to my quarters, and while the best that the post afforded was being prepared by the cook, I hurried to tell my wife, and my children (who were now grown), and soon they were all shaking Bill's big hands, and making every suggestion for his comfort. My wife and two grown sons gazed on him with tender and loving eyes — big and rough and uncouth-looking though he was — for they had often heard me tell of the friend he had been, and knew that beneath his rough exterior beat a great, throbbing, manly heart.

He told me in a few words how he happened to get far out there beyond the limits of civilization. He said that after leaving me that night in 1864, he started at once for South Carolina, and walked all night, so that he might be a long

way from the hospital before they would miss and inquire after him. Being a Confederate soldier, and wearing the gray uniform, he had no difficulty in getting food and lodging every day and night; and in less than ten days he was at home among his people. He worked the farm his old mother had left him, for a year or more, and then, being discontented, he sold out and moved to Missouri, where his mother's relatives lived. He at once purchased another farm and worked hard, and though he found that he was making little money, he stuck to it for many years. A short while before we met, however, he yielded to the persuasive letters of a friend who had gone out to Montana and was getting rich. At the beginning of winter he had sold out his farm and everything he had on earth, and started for Simpson's Mines, situated about fifty miles from Fort A——. In Denver he had stopped for a few days, and making the acquaintance of gamblers, had been stripped to his last dollar. He had sold his watch and purchased a ticket to Bozeman, and from there, through the snow and breasting the bitter winds, he had wandered penniless to the very abode of one who cared more for him than did anyone on earth. He had hoped to be allowed to sleep by the fire in the guard-room all night, and to beg a little food in the morning, and then he expected to continue his journey to the mine where his friend was.

Of course he would not go for quite a while now, for I told him how useless it was to try any mining in the dead of winter, at a place where he would find such inadequate shelter. I begged him to make my house his home as long as he cared to, and, in any event, to wait till winter broke before starting out.

The best room in the house was assigned to him, and he grew contented and talkative, and his conversation would interest everyone at the post. He was soon a familiar figure, and as everyone knew how our friendship had begun, and had heard me speak of his manly qualities, he was looked upon with respect. Then, too, he was the colonel's guest, and his quaint stories had enhanced his popularity. I would spend a great part of my time with him, and have him accompany me whenever I went to the neighboring town. I hated to think that he was soon to go away again, for he had come to me as if risen from the grave.

Spring came after awhile, and Bill would ask queer questions about mining, and tell of the money he expected to

make, so I saw he was bent on digging quartz and that sort of thing, and making an independent living; and I told him, when I got ready I would fix him up, and send him to his destination in the ambulance. Before he left I bought him woollen shirts and strong clothing, and pick and shovel, and admonishing him to call on me if he needed anything, bade him a warm good-bye. He clung to my hands for some moments, telling me how good I had been to him, and how he would never forget my kindness (not remembering in his big heart that the debt of gratitude was on my side), and as the ambulance drove rapidly away I could see him in the distance looking back, waving his sombrero above his head.

I heard frequently from him, and now and then at the interval of a month or so he would come to visit me, always a welcome guest as long as he had a mind to stay. On one of his visits he said he had saved considerable dust, and was getting along well generally, though he and his pard had plans to make a big strike about a hundred miles further west.

Sure enough, in August he came to the post to say good-bye for a long time, as he and his partner, or "pard" as he called him, were going out to Idaho, where they would "strike it rich" and have everything their own way. He left with a light heart, and though at the end of four or five months I expected to see him, yet they came and went, and no Bill put in an appearance.

Then a year went by, and two years, and three years, and the regiment was ordered East, and still no word from the wanderer. Surely, I thought, we shall never run across one another again in this big country, especially after meeting him once under circumstances so extraordinary. Those things do not happen often in a lifetime. Beyond all doubt Bill is gone now for good; I shall see him no more.

In the winter of 1886 my wife and I visited Chicago, where we have many acquaintances, intending to put in a few weeks of pleasure and relaxation. We engaged rooms at the Palmer House, and were soon enjoying ourselves immeasurably.

About two days after our arrival, early in the evening, a servant knocked on the door, and handed to me on the silver card-receiver an engraved card, upon which appeared the modest name of "Mr. William Anderson."

I was surprised beyond expression that this prodigal should turn up again, and what, too, astonished me was, what in the

world was he doing with an engraved card? I told the servant to ask the gentleman up at once, and amused myself in the interval by getting my wife to guess who the visitor was.

In a minute there was a soft rap on the door, and at my invitation a tall gentleman entered, dressed in an elegant suit of broadcloth, carrying in his hand a silk hat and heavy gold-handled umbrella.

I saw the same old Bill, however, through all his disguises, and cordially grasping his hand and turning it over to my wife, begged him to be seated. I was delighted to see such signs of prosperity as his attire indicated, and was soon plying him with questions as to his doings since we separated in Montana.

He told me the story of his wonderful success; of the rich find that he and his pard had made; and that he had come East to buy machinery for his mines as well as to spend some of the money he had made. While carelessly looking over a newspaper he had seen my name in the society column, and had hurried around lest I should leave before he could see me. He was delighted to learn that I should be in the city several weeks.

At our suggestion he had his baggage moved to the Palmer House, and took up his quarters not in one room, but in three (its handsomest suite). To use his own expression, he could "buy and sell the whole blamed hotel." Every day he was wanting to present my wife or me with some costly present, and was all the time sending some delicacy to our rooms. He said he had plenty of money ("easy nine hundred thousand dollars"), and could afford to throw some of it away.

Now this enormous ring that attracted your attention to-night, and prompted this story, was a present he gave me as a symbol of our friendship. You see it is surmounted with a buckle.

When at last our little holiday was ended and we were starting for New York, I went to the hotel clerk to settle my account, and was politely informed that Mr. Anderson had paid it up to date. Bill would not listen to my offers to reimburse him for this outlay of several hundred dollars, and only laughed at my endeavors to make him take the money. He drove with us to the depot, and with the promise to write to me once a month, and to visit me at my home, he said good-bye. We are devoted friends to-day, and this beautiful home with its luxuries we owe to him.

And this is all I have to tell you.



May Knight Sewall

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THE PROBLEM OF MUNICIPAL REFORM. CONTRACT BY REFERENDUM.

BY HON. H. S. PINGREE,

Governor of Michigan and Mayor of Detroit, Michigan.

THE number of persons who write essays on municipal government, preach on municipal government, and deliver orations on municipal government is out of all proportion to the number doing work for municipal government. This condition of things is not the smallest "problem" of municipal government. It would seem at times as though everybody wielding a pen or wagging a tongue were wild to point out just what "work" ought to be done, while nobody pitches in to do the work. But when anybody happens to grab a grub-hoe and strikes out into the municipal field, all the essayists and the preachers and the orators find something wrong about the way the grub-hoe is wielded, the size of the grubber's boots, and the streaks of dirt flying about. There is no elegant way of doing such work. The elegant way is to urge somebody else to do it, and when nobody responds, fall to making speeches of complaint in some elegant clubhouse.

Municipal governing is doing certain lines of work for a city for the least sum of expense. That is all there is in it. But that is much.

A perfect municipal government is a body of men working together for the interests of the city.

A less perfect municipal government is a body of men working for the interests of the city, whose notions of such interests are involved with class, and the building up of certain special interests, which they regard as the building up of the city.

A bad municipal government is a body of men hired by special interests before or after election to steal contracts from a city. Most cities are governed by such interests, and most of the stockholders make speeches and fill columns of the newspapers. Some of these

steal a contract Tuesday night, and deliver an oration on municipal reform at the regular banquet Wednesday night, in full dress, before the applauding Society for the Prevention of Chilblains.

Contracts are the centre and almost the entire circumference of municipal government; and in these days of well-defined theory there are but few who do not know what ought to be done in a city.

Laws are not good if they are not enforced; and they are not enforced half the time. Bribery is common in municipal affairs, and but few bribe-takers and bribe-givers are struck by the law. Almost all the bribes of serious influence in municipalities are given for contracts.

Applicants sometimes pay for municipal-board employment, under cover of collections for some political fund; and certain appointments made by the common council direct, provide blackmail in a small way; but contracts, good fat contracts, provide the bulk of the bribe money. Contracts, therefore, furnish the chief "problem" in municipal government.

I am at a loss to say what system would provide against bad contracts. Systems soon bend to the money-makers. One system appears to be just as good as another if not retained too long.

- It seems to be a fad to look for some great system that will provide all of the checks and last for all time. In this is one of the difficulties of law-making; as instead of a reasonable time-limit for most laws, they are there on the statute books like the gods of the heathens set up for eternity. And they are quite as numerous as the heathen deities. Systems ought to be as easy of change as clothing, in cities at least; but the fact remains they are not, although safety lies in change. Private interests become involved with systems to such degree that to change the one is to tear down the other, and strong private interests always refuse to be removed. Private interests are so closely interlaced with any system, that any change in method cannot leave them out of consideration, and it is at this point where the mere theorist and the practical man radically disagree.

The practical man wants to make a change, but he knows what is in the way of change, and he knows that the specific change is not all that is required. The practical man may want the particular change, but he may see far enough ahead to know that the time must come when the new method in all of its theoretic beauties must be exchanged for the old. If the practical man could move the public to switch with reasonable rapidity, the job were an easy one. This, however, is too much to expect, until, perhaps, the Swiss referendum is applied to municipalities, which, of course, means the wiping out of party lines in cities.

Municipal ownership will provide the minimum of contracts of importance, and there is no reason why a city should not do all public work, like paving and sewer-construction, etc., by the day.

The ponderosity of advocacy of municipal ownership shows with what a reverential air the question of a change of system is approached, as also the slow ways of a people unused to seize opportunities by reason of the trammel of the fetich of supposed authority, behind which special interests lurk. The referendum would change all this as quickly as a ballot can be taken. The ballot is the ultimate system. All other systems are bolstered by private interests. All contracts of importance should be referred to the ballot for confirmation.

So far as my experience goes, the standard of morality of a people is the best standard. But if the people desire to amuse themselves by cheating themselves, it is at their own cost expressed in taxes.

The invincible ignorance of the men who are averse to change because of the dread of foolish opinion; the opposition to change of financially interested parties who may happen to own a newspaper; the idiocy of a swarm of cheap people who accept five dollars to assist a corporation which has robbed them of ten dollars,—all these, and more, are the barriers against change which is the life of a municipality.

Class interest is one of the greatest foes of the welfare of the municipality. These interests have taken the place of the old robber-baron system which existed in bygone times. They have substituted bribery and falsehood for the sword and the raid; instead of being mail-clad they are newspaper-clad. But, unlike the old robber-barons and their sword-flourishing retainers, who met the blows of their opponents in the open field, the moderns lie in the daytime and stab in the dark. The modern class interest, however, is as self-destructive as was the old robber-baron method.

Labor unionism in cities is classifying itself rapidly. Originally instituted to snatch the independence of the individual from the hands of the organized capitalists, and to interpose a shield between all labor and the greed and cowardice of the investor, it is becoming an unconscious aid in the hands of the designing, both inside as well as outside of the union.

Let me illustrate this and at the same time take this communication off the lofty perch of generalization and bring it down to everyday struggles. At the present time in the city of Detroit three street-car companies are attempting a combination, ostensibly in the interests of economic operation, but really for the purpose of selling watered stock. The companies as yet have discharged but few men, and these principally from the two power-houses which they have shut down, as they can operate the combined lines with one source of electrical power.

I have of course no objection to such economic operation, providing the people share in the economic profit. But the street-car companies are not looking to such sharing by any means. They contend not only that the fare be left as it is, but that they are entitled to a slight advance. I know that they can make money at a lower fare than the average fare prevailing, and run in competition with each other at the same time. I also know that the success of the combination means the reduction of the number of cars in the service, and the discharge of at least one-fourth of the present number of employes. Now, in the face of this what is the position of the motor-men and the conductors — men who belong to the street-car men's association or union? I learn with much astonishment that they sympathize with the proposed combine, and use the combine's argument that if the fares cannot be raised the current wages cannot be paid.

It is axiomatic in any kind of business that prices must be lowered when business is slack, when the power of purchase is lessened.

It is axiomatic, when a railroad is only making expenses or less than expenses, that to have receipts run above expenses the fares must be lowered, not raised. Thus, to the view of my experience and to that of all men of common sense, this local union is working against itself, since, with a fourth of their number discharged, demand for work will be increased, and, as such increased demand means decrease of wages, the existence of the union will be threatened and eventually destroyed. In this way and in other ways such combinations threaten the business interest of the entire city, of all cities, and indeed of the entire country.

THE DOORWAY OF REFORMS.

BY ELTWEED POMEROY.

PROBABLY the American people devote more time and energy to politics and to government than do any other people in the world. There are more political clubs, discussions, meetings, agitations than in any other great country. We do this because of race, training, climate, and governmental conditions. Perhaps no other race is studying so eagerly the science of government. Perhaps no other race has grasped so fully the idea that there is a science of government and that its correct application is of vital importance to the governed.

We are alert to seize new ideas and methods, and quick and practical in applying them. We have taken our civil-service reform from England, our secret ballot from Australia: we are eclectic, and therein is great strength. The masses of our people are reaching up to a better apprehension of correct principles of government and desire more to understand them than happens elsewhere, though, as everywhere, the masses have been usually dumb, and the voicing and framing of latent governmental aspirations and ideas have been left to the upper classes, who are trained to put their thoughts into words. But this is passing, and the line of dumb aspiration, of voiceless ideas and unexpressed interests, has in America been drawn to a lower plane in the social strata than in civilized countries in general. The working classes among us are learning how to express themselves, and they demand that their interests and aspirations be solidified into law.

OUR MANIFEST DESTINY.

This is a part of our manifest destiny. A century and a half ago we led the world in the statement and advocacy of democratic principles. The world has followed our lead, till to-day the coronation words of the Czar of all the Russias ring empty, obsolete, mediæval, an interesting survival, not a statement of a living truth. A century ago these words were alive, they meant something, they expressed a truth vital to the hearts of civilized men—the necessity of order at any price, even at the sacrifice of liberty; to-day, save in backward races and unpurged corners, they are dead. We have order, and shall have it, and can have liberty with it. The civilized world has accepted the democratic principles which we were the first on a large scale to state,

advocate, and attempt to apply. It has accepted them in its heart of hearts, although it often hangs on to the mere shell of its old ideas.

The American people have never knowingly approved dishonest principles or elected dishonest officials. We have often been deceived. We have often had to choose between evils. We have never knowingly chosen the worst. We have never knowingly inaugurated or even continued a dishonest or unwise policy. The American people are sound at the core.

UNEXPECTED AND POOR RESULTS.

Yet these principles, so gloriously argued, so eloquently stated, so generally accepted, so pregnant with promise, have failed to fulfil all their promises. Toilfully and painfully we have been learning that a statement of principles is not enough; that the practical and correct application of correct principles alone will produce beneficent results; that the application of these principles cannot be delegated to other parties than those directly interested, without a dishonest and corrupt application.

At first a crude application did produce beneficent results, and the American people turned their attention to conquering the continent, and later to the fight over slavery; now we are waking to the fact that, if democracy has been applied in this country, it is a failure. We are unable to accomplish results. Under present methods the will of the people is not enacted into law. Our municipal governments are crude and corrupt. The title of alderman is a title of dishonor. Jobbery pervades our city halls. Incapacity characterizes our municipal law-makers. In cleanliness, health, and beauty in our cities, the actual results of good government, we are behind the cities of semi-civilized Turkey and Russia.

Our state legislatures attract attention more by what they fail to do than by what they do, by their squabbles for offices and spoils, and by their incompetence. Two members of the highest legislature in the land thus give their opinions of Congress. Senator Vilas of Wisconsin recently said:

Partisanship and imbecility have again stricken Congress with paralysis. The Bond Bill, as it came from the House, was a mere sham and fraud, and deserved to be consigned to the hecatombs of folly's progeny, where the financial deeds of Congress for many years seem to belong. I turn from it to the graft which the Finance Committee has sprouted on it. It was a bad stock budded on a worse scion. The best hope was that both would shrivel in the desert air of the Senate.

Senator Smith of New Jersey said:

About the best thing that could happen would be for the Senate and House to adjourn, because no business is being accomplished, and there apparently is no hope of any being accomplished. It is a fact that the great majority of people are disgusted with Congress, and the Senate in particular.

But why repeat a thing you all know? If this is democracy, we want no more of it. Away with the lethal, degenerating thing!

AMONG THE PEOPLE.

What are the results among the people? The first result is that those who still cling with a blind but splendid loyalty to the noble principles of democracy, and who see that nothing can be accomplished with our present open and public methods, turn to hidden methods, to the formation of secret societies whose alleged aim is the reformation of abuses. Such are often noble in principle and inception, but they are perverted democracy. Their methods because secret are almost sure, in time, to become underhand and despicable. They fail to grasp the great underlying principle that true democracy is open and public in all its methods. Democracy aims to convince, not to coerce; to lead, not to drive; to unify a people, to harmonize and remove all discords, and not to create class or religious or economic divisions.

DISGUST WITH GOVERNMENT.

The second result of this perversion of democracy is disgust with government and all its affairs. The clean, honest citizen is afraid to touch it lest he too be defiled. I know of men, honest, honorable, capable, who have refused to vote for a quarter of a century. They say it is of no use. In some cities less than thirty per cent of the voters cast a ballot, and in twenty-four of the largest cities barely half of the voters vote. The stay-at-home vote increased in Pennsylvania from 70,000 in 1888 to 610,000 in 1895, in New York from 75,000 to 510,000, in Massachusetts from 80,000 to 230,000, in Ohio from 40,000 to 180,000. In Georgia, at a recent election, only nine per cent of the voters voted. These are startling figures.

This numbing disbelief in popular government because of our method of application is the creeping paralysis of the republic. It threatens to overthrow the principles of republican government, while still retaining its forms and names, by a subtle substitution of an oligarchy of office-holders and even of imperialism itself. Our best citizens do not attend to the science of government, the highest of all sciences, and so our worst attend to it. Our best citizens can accomplish little or nothing under present methods, and so they fold their hands and do not try.

The result is the centralization of power in a few hands. The mayors in our cities have to-day more power than they ever had. This is one-man power. The legislatures are assuming more power over large cities than ever before. John Fiske has said:

Obviously the preservation of local self-government is essential to the very idea

of a federal union. Without the town meeting or its equivalent in some form or other, the federal union would become, *ipso facto*, converted into a centralized imperial government. Should anything of this sort ever happen, then the time will have come when men may safely predict the break-up of the American political system by reason of its overgrown dimensions and the diversity of interests in its parts.

We have seen the Executive of the nation exert all the tremendous power of his great office to force the legislative body to repeal a law he wanted repealed, and he succeeded. Yet he is the man to execute and not to make the laws; at least, so the Constitution states. His acts have enlarged the prerogatives of the President and made him more of a dictator. His former Secretary of State, who recently occupied the highest foreign ambassadorship, has said that the American people need a strong hand to govern them, and that Cleveland is the man to do it. So low hath sunk a member of the party which once owned Jefferson and Jackson as its leaders! We see this centralizing tendency in the increased clamor for a larger army, a larger navy, a better-drilled militia, and in the building of armories and drill halls which are like bastiles and forts in their architecture. This rapid but subtle, silent, and often unnoticed advance toward imperialism is permitted by the disgust with the results of so-called democratic government.

WHITHER?

Whither are we drifting? If the centralization goes on, there is but one end—despotism and government by corruption, a government more subtly tyrannical, more hard to uproot, more vile and despicable in action, more foul in results on man, than the world has ever seen.

THE END OF THE CENTURY.

It may be the result of a superstition, it may be merely a coincidence, it may be that the ending of the old and the beginning of a new century give such an impetus to the imagination of the peoples of this world that an apparently new, vivifying force stirs the lifeblood of the nations; but it is a fact that the ending of the old and the beginning of a new century ever herald some great reform and change. It has been so in the past. Will the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century usher in the fuller and more complete application of the principles of democracy which roused the world a century ago in the American Revolution, and later, in the French Revolution, sent the doctrine of the divine right of kings to the limbo of the past? Shall we cease prating of our admiration for democratic principles and get down to their practical application? As we led the world a century ago in the statement of these principles, shall we again assume our hegemony in their practical application at the opening of this coming century?

THE PARTING OF WAYS.

We have come to the dividing of ways. On the one side is the imperialism of monopoly, corrupting, degrading, foul, but tinselled and begemmed; her head is in the stars and shining with false lights, but her feet of clay and iron mixed trample in the blood of the children: on the other side is full and complete democracy, perhaps not so fair at first to the outward sight, but beautiful with the beauty of use and trust and manhood developed and developing. On the one side is government; on the other is self-government. On the one side are the rulers of the people; on the other are its chosen servants. The one is a pyramid upside down; its apex, on which it sways uneasily, is the autocrat or small group of autocrats who really rule. You may call them a President and Cabinet, a committee from the railways or from the monopolies, or what you will; they may not even have the badges of power, but if they really rule, they are the apex on which the whole pyramid rests. Uneasy and uncertain is that rest. A final catastrophe is sure. No matter how deftly the pyramid may be balanced, some day it will topple over and drag its false civilization into ruin.

Can you expect reforms from this autocratic government? You may get economies in the methods of government, but you will not get real reforms which will benefit all the people. You may get the semblance, but you will not get the substance of reforms.

The other is a pyramid placed solidly on its base, the whole people. It is firm and will resist the storms of centuries. Like an oak with wide-spreading roots, it is of slow growth; but when once a reform is gained it is always held. It may be slow work educating the people in various reforms; but when once it is done you have got, not the semblance, but the substance of reform. Its outward manifestations may vary in different parts of the country, but when you have the people back of it the reality will be there every time.

Democracy is inevitable. Nothing can stop it. It is coming.

REPRESENTATIVE vs. DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT.

Representative government is not democracy; it is a half-way house toward democracy. This country has passed beyond representative government. Other countries may still need it, we do not. Its fruits prove that. What are its fruits? Rottenness. A prominent member of a former legislature, whose honored name you would at once recognize, once told me that he was morally sure that two-thirds of the members of that legislature had taken bribes, and that he thought that a majority of the remaining third would have taken them if they had had the chance. It is openly said of the farmers in another legislature that with a salary of \$500 and one term in the legislature they pay off

the mortgage on their farms. A member of a Michigan legislature told me that he saw so much corruption that he would not be a candidate again, and his successor told him that he had made \$15,000 out of his first term. Lobbyists have testified that they could give their employers a fairly accurate estimate beforehand of what it would cost to buy a majority of a legislature. This is due to two facts inherent in the representative system, and not in a truly democratic method :

First. The interest of the representative often is and can easily be made directly opposed to the interest of the people for whom he makes laws. This would not and could not be true if the people voted on the laws directly. The people then would make laws in their own interests.

Second. The corruption is concentrated under the representative system so that it is effective. Suppose a thousand electors elect one representative. Five dollars each would not buy a majority of them to vote for a law which was contrary to their own interests, yet much less than \$5,000 might buy their representative to vote for the same law. If \$5 each were offered to a thousand voters, some one would be sure to divulge the fact and there would be a public scandal defeating the bribe-givers. It is a thousand times easier to keep quiet the giving of a bribe to one representative.

Third. Notice where the corruption comes from. Mayor Swift of Chicago said recently :

Is it your men in the common walks of life that demand bribes and who receive bribes at the hands of legislative bodies or of the common council? No, it is your representative citizens, your capitalists, your business men.

It is not the mass of the people who are corrupt and who are corrupting our representative system. It is the upper classes, the men of wealth and influence, the class from which our lawmakers are usually chosen.

Corruption is inherent and inevitable in our representative system. No modification of that system can more than partially improve it. It will always be there till you take the final power away from the representative and leave the enacting of the laws in the hands of the people themselves. Make the representative a councillor, a law drafter, a law suggester, but not a law enactor. That power should reside in the people whenever they wish to exercise it. Until this change is made you will be like the widow who importuned the unjust judge till she got something of what was due to her ; by persistence you may get some minor reforms, but not any great permanent reform.

THE DOORWAY OF REFORMS.

The doorway to complete and thorough reforms is the practical

and complete application of democracy. That is the entrance not only to national, but also to state and municipal reforms. The machinery necessary is very simple. It is only putting in practice the principle of self-government. No community, no matter how small, no matter how large, should be governed by any law which they cannot vote on directly without the intervention of any representative body, if that community wishes thus to vote. This is self-government. This is Direct Legislation through the Initiative and the Referendum. By the Referendum no law—and this means a city ordinance as well as a state or national law—goes into effect under a reasonable time, varying of course with the size of the territory governed and the number of the voters in it. If during that time a reasonable minority of people—this percentage also should vary with the number of voters in the legislative district and should sink to one per cent or two per cent in the case of the nation and rise to ten per cent or fifteen per cent in the case of small localities—sign a petition to have a law referred to the people, it is held from operation till all the people vote on it. If a majority favor, it becomes a law; if a majority oppose, it does not become a law.

By the Initiative, a reasonable minority of the people can propose a law, which after discussion in the legislative body and among the people is voted on by the people, a majority accepting or rejecting. The two together, Initiative and Referendum, constitute Direct Legislation, or the direct proposing and voting of laws by the people who are to be governed by them. By this method the final power is not delegated to a lawmaking body. The people may accept suggestions from their legislature, they may tacitly approve of the work of their legislature by not calling for the Referendum on whatever is passed. But they can do it at any time. There is the gist of the whole matter—the ability at any time to do as they want. Having the power, they will rarely need to use it. At present they cannot do it, no matter how much they may wish it. This is the very simple and effective machinery of democracy, the never giving up the final power to make and enact any laws for their own government. This is self-government as opposed to government. It can be applied to the government of a nation, or to the affairs of a village, or to the scattered membership of an association for some object; and to-day it is applied to all these purposes, not only in foreign countries, but also, in a limited manner, in this country, and applied with marked success. A study of the literature of the subject will substantiate this statement.

NOT NEW OR UNTRIED.

Direct Legislation is not a new or an untried thing, but has its

roots in the early forms of our government, in the principles on which it was founded, in the practice of our constitution-making, in the methods of the New England town meeting, in the very atmosphere which surrounds all our institutions. Study Switzerland, study the town meeting, study our trade unions and various other societies, even some of our church organizations, and in the light of experience you will say that we should not seek relief from the evils of our present system of applying democracy by going back to autocracy or imperialism, but by going forward from a now false and corrupt application of democracy to a fuller and more complete application of it. In that direction lies safety.

RESULTS.

Lack of space prevents more than an outlining of the principal results of Direct Legislation :

First. It will be an outlet for our good citizenship, which, because it sees that it cannot accomplish anything without soiling its hands, folds them and does nothing. But unorganized good citizenship at present cannot accomplish anything. Our system does not permit it. Under Direct Legislation any citizen could start a petition for a law, and if he could interest a reasonable minority, he could bring it before the people for discussion and adoption or rejection. If a majority of the people thought it a good thing, it would be passed. And so our good citizenship could accomplish something; they could be real leaders. At present they can only write to the papers, or "raise a row" in some indignation meeting, or lobby, if they wish to try that; or they can get into a party caucus and be outmanœuvred and outvoted. Direct Legislation would bring out and develop the leadership of brains and patriotism so sadly lacking in our present public life. Look at the grade of our public men at present. There are no Websters, or Clays, or Calhouns, or Sumners, or Swards among them. Why? Because our system needs scheming politicians to run it; the man of brains and of patriotism has but little chance to really lead the people. So our public life is filled with second-rate men. Direct Legislation will bring back to public life the leadership of brains and of conscience, the true leaders of thought. All honest reformers are looking for this; hence they ought to advocate the system which makes it possible. Without such leadership, thorough reforms are impossible. Direct Legislation is therefore the doorway of reforms.

OUTLET FOR BAD CITIZENSHIP.

Secondly. Direct Legislation will be an outlet for our bad citizenship. It will allow it to formulate its demands, and that formulation will often relieve them of half of their danger; it will permit the free

discussion of these demands and their decision, and thus they will be rendered completely harmless. Stifle them and you sit on the safety valve, and explosion follows; let the steam blow off and it will be harmless. Perhaps among these demands there may be some wheat which is well worth the winnowing: in this public unrest perhaps there are some real grievances which the mere making public will remedy. Thus Direct Legislation will save what is good and remedy what is evil in our bad citizenship. Half of the needed reforms consist of the redress of grievances. Thus again is Direct Legislation the doorway of reforms.

AN EDUCATION.

Thirdly. It is a great educational scheme. At present our political campaigns are very valuable educationally. They are likely worth all they cost. But they are the old undershot water wheel which used only about five per cent of the available power, while Direct Legislation is the improved turbine which utilizes nine-tenths of the power. How much of our present political discussion is concerned with the characters of the candidates, with mud-slinging and abuse! how much with vain-glorious praise of our own party and detraction of the other party! How much of the party platforms really means anything? How ambiguous they are!—how capable of being interpreted in one way in one section, and in directly the opposite in another section! How little of the discussion is really educational! Under Direct Legislation we should have a discussion of measures, not of men, of principles, not of personalities, of laws and methods, not of records. Where under the present system there is one part which is really educational, under Direct Legislation there would be ten parts. Hence it is a great educational scheme. Again in this light is it the doorway of reforms.

THE WORDING OF THE LAW.

Fourthly. Unless it suits the wishes of the party bosses a reform cannot even be heard in legislative halls; under Direct Legislation you would only have to convince a reasonable minority that it was wise, to bring before the whole people the reform measure. You would not have to wait the pleasure of party bosses and so modify your plans that they would consent to give it a hearing. At present when the people do rise in their might and insist on the passage of some good measure, the politicians usually do their best to defeat it by inefficient enforcement or by some little clause in the law which will make it inoperative. This has happened again and again with civil-service reform and the secret ballot. The politicians endeavor to defeat reforms by indirection. When prohibition was passed in Kansas, ex-Senator Ingalls said that all was lovely, the prohibitionists had their law, the liquor men still had

their saloons, and both were satisfied. This would be prevented under Direct Legislation, for those who favored a measure would have the drafting of the law to carry it into effect; or, if not, they could propose amendments to make it effectual. While politicians control the wording of the law, that wording will be in their interest and in the interest of the men who pay them; and they do not receive the major part of their revenue from the public. Render harmless their power over the phraseology of the law by permitting the people to word their own laws if they wish to, and at once a great stumbling-block is lifted from the pathway of all reforms. Again is Direct Legislation seen to be the doorway of reforms.

FEW AND UNDERSTANDABLE LAWS.

Fifthly. Laws should be simple and short so that "he who runs may read," so that "the wayfaring man, though a fool, shall not err therein." At present they are many and complex. In the "off" years, when only seven or eight legislatures sit, there is an output of but a few thousand laws; but in the "on" years, when the full legislative machine is grinding, there are turned out between ten and fifteen thousand laws — Ossa piled on Pelion — good, bad, and useless laws, with a big majority of the last two kinds. In this vast mass of laws there are pitfalls for the unwary, ambushes behind which crouch shyster lawyers (the beasts of prey of this more than tropic jungle), great fungoid growths on what might have been good timber, slime, loathsomeness, and deadly malaria. Woe to the reformer who tries to hew his way through this dense, tangled, unwholesome jungle! The stubborn growth springs up behind him almost as quickly as he can cut it down in front, and when he begins to see light ahead he is tripped up by some previous legal enactment that makes his attempts nugatory.

The example of Switzerland is refreshing; there many of the cantons or states pass on an average but three or four laws a year, and these are short and simple: When the people vote on laws, they kill them unless they understand them. Hence those of our constitutions in whose enactment the Referendum has been used are short and simple. All truly great reforms are simple. It is becoming increasingly difficult to enact any such, because they are stifled by other laws. Thus again we see that Direct Legislation prepares the way for all other reforms.

UNENFORCED LAWS.

Sixthly. Our system would be absolutely unendurable if all our laws were properly enforced. An unenforced law is a despised thing, hence the fitting reverence for law is fading out of the popular mind. A reform that is enacted into an unenforced law is worse than useless.

Make the laws shorter, simpler, and fewer, and they will be the more easily enforced. A reform then enacted into law will be worth something; but what is it worth when a New York legislator can openly say that he is in favor of the law but against its enforcement? Here again Direct Legislation is the *avant-courier* of reforms.

Did space permit I might cite many other arguments.

PERMANENT REFORMS.

Lastly. No reform is permanent which does not have the people back of it. If you put the Ten Commandments from Sinai, supplemented by the Sermon on the Mount, into a nation's laws, they would be useless unless the people believed in them; if the people believe in them, they will be effective. Under Direct Legislation, the people are back of every law that is made. The nation progresses as fast as the people are ready for progress, and no faster. Such growth is normal and healthy. By Direct Legislation any reform that the people are ready for can be obtained, and no reform can be obtained till the people are ready for it. Thus again is Direct Legislation the doorway of reforms.

Soon we shall pass out of the old into the new century. Soon, let us hope, shall we pass through this great primal reform, Direct Legislation, or self-government, into other reforms. The signs of the times all point that way.

Forward, forward let us range,
Let the great world spin forever down the ringing grooves of change.

Dante put over the entrance to his hell:

Leave hope behind, all ye who enter here.

I would reverse this and say: "Take all hope when ye enter here," till, in the words of another poet,

There the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapped in universal law.

ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS IN BOSTON.

BY FREDERICK A. BUSHÉE.

THROUGHOUT the entire city of Boston one can hardly find a more interesting or picturesque spot than the old North End. It is interesting from an historical standpoint, while the strange and heterogeneous character of its inhabitants makes up its picturesqueness.

North Street, formerly known as Ann, Fifth, and Ship Streets, was among the first to be settled in Boston and was one of the few important streets in the town. It was on North Square that the old North Church was located in which the Mathers (Increase, Cotton, and Samuel) successively ministered; and at the foot of North Square there still stands an old-fashioned wooden structure which was for thirty years the home of Paul Revere. Instead, however, of the sturdy patriots of English descent who once resided here, immigrants from Italy throng the streets. An Italian Catholic church now stands where Cotton Mather once discoursed, and Paul Revere's house has undergone an equally startling change. The first entrance reveals an Italian provision store; while the following sign, which is self-explanatory, appears over the second entrance:

383 J. BLADOWCKE 383

MEERCHANT TAILOR

CLOTHING REPAIRED

CLEANED DYED AND PRESSED

All work prompt and done satisfactory

This house and Christ Church on Salem Street are now about the only relics in the vicinity of old colonial days.

As North Street was one of the oldest streets in Boston, it did not long remain a fashionable one. It lost its American features as soon as immigration commenced in the first half of this century. The Irish and Italians have successively held this region on the east, while the Jews have occupied a large portion of the district immediately west of the dividing line of Hanover Street. Portuguese, Russians, Swedes, and a few representatives of other nationalities are also found in the neighborhood.

The North End has seemed to be the natural rendezvous for every

new accession of immigrants until they earn their promotion to some more fashionable part of the city or are crowded out by the persistent pressure of newcomers. For many years after their famine the Irish held undisputed sway of the region ; and they seemed to be especially opposed to the advent of foreigners into their territory. Their contest with the Italians was sharp, but they were finally obliged to yield, as the Americans had done before them ; and now, with the exception of a few who have taken refuge in houses of their own, they have been driven to the outskirts or have taken up their abode in other parts of the city. Of all the nationalities in this part of the city the Italians are much the most numerous, and are becoming relatively more and more so. The most prosperous are purchasing houses in the neighborhood, and others of them are permeating the territory of the Jews so rapidly that the Italians will soon become possessors of the entire district if their numbers continue to increase.

At present they number about eighteen thousand, although the residence of many is so transient that it is difficult to count them accurately. The single men move from city to city with little inconvenience, and they visit their own country frequently. The last six years have witnessed a growth by immigration in the Italian population which is certainly remarkable, and which would seem to many alarming, for in 1890 they numbered less than five thousand. Comparatively few of the Italians are old residents. None are recorded as living in Boston before the census of 1855, and their growth was very gradual until 1880, when they numbered one thousand two hundred and seventy-seven. From that time until the present their numbers have doubled every five years, with the exception of the last five years, when they nearly quadrupled their numbers. In 1880 they formed one per cent of the foreign population in Boston. In 1890 they had grown to three per cent. And at the present time they form approximately eleven per cent of the foreign born. Such a movement in immigration as this has not been witnessed in Boston since the Irish famine of 1846, when nearly fifty thousand Irish settled in Boston in a single decade. The Italians and the Slavonic races now, however, form the bulk of that immigration which is on the increase in our Eastern cities.

If the North End is more picturesque than formerly, it has become so at a sacrifice to its industry. Groups of idlers may always be seen on pleasant days about North Square, the centre of Italian activity. The men are of an olive complexion, short of stature, with prominent cheek-bones and round heads. They uniformly wear low felt hats and ill-fitting clothes, and not infrequently adorn themselves with earrings. The women, with their gayly-colored headdress and huge ear-drops, are even more noticeable than the men, and, when walking through the

streets with large baskets or bundles on their heads, they remind us strongly of the European peasantry.

There are three general types represented among the Italians. The Genoese, or northern type, number six or seven thousand. They have a slight mixture of Teutonic blood, and most nearly resemble our own type. The southern Italians, represented principally by the Neapolitans and Calabrians, make up nearly one-half of the colony. The Sicilians, a darker-complexioned type, number about three thousand, but are not confined so closely to this section of the city.

The Genoese are rather the best educated class, and are perhaps the most quickly assimilated of any. But they are quite apt to be suspicious of strangers, and they are very bigoted. One can hardly fail to notice that their learning was not acquired in an atmosphere of freedom. The southern Italians are an excitable people, but on the whole are good-natured and friendly. They are rather attractive than otherwise, if we except some of the Calabrians, whose fierce countenances do not invite friendliness. They are the ones who carry knives and so frequently use them. This method of procedure, so revolting to us, is simply their way of fighting, for they do not know how to use their fists. Their conduct is greatly deplored by the better class of Italians, as is illustrated by the remark of a Genoese woman: "The Calabrians are terrible; they just as soon stab you." Under the influence of a stronger public opinion and a more rigid enforcement of the law than was the custom in Italy, this evil is gradually being lessened. The dangerous character which has been given to the North End by these acts of violence has, however, been greatly exaggerated. Quarrels seldom occur except among the Italians themselves, and then only under provocation. The North End is actually as safe for a well-behaved person as any other part of the city.

A large proportion of Italians come from the country districts in the interior of Italy, and possess a goodly amount of vitality. They are inexperienced but well-meaning people, and they seem quite out of place in their crowded city quarters. These are quite a different sort from certain rogues, refugees from justice, who live on the labor of their less experienced countrymen.

In most cases, if the Italian can lay up money in this country, his purpose in coming has been entirely fulfilled. He does not come, as our Puritan ancestors did, "to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience"; he is not even seeking a home, as the Irish are, nor is he fleeing from persecution like his Jewish neighbors. Comparatively few come at first with the intention or desire of making this country their home; and those who permanently remain very often do not prefer this country to their own Italy. The truth is, the heavy

taxes in Italy have driven many away from that country. They may have a sufficient amount of property in goods, but money is scarce and the taxes are enormous. So husband or son determines to set out for the new land where money is plenty and can easily be secured — at least according to the report of a returned countryman or the assurances of the smooth-tongued ticket-broker. The little farm is often mortgaged to pay the passage, and sometimes is entirely lost, for work is not always to be found even in America. Not a few are helping to swell the slums of our cities, who came from country homes, and heartily wish they were back there now.

Many of the Italians, especially those from the cities, are fugitives from military service; others are merely fortune-seekers. A few hundred dollars in Italy is the difference between poverty and comfort. If one can secure that amount in America, and return with it to Italy, his fortune is made. It is worth trying. One dollar and fifty cents a day for wages seems a large sum to a man who has been working hard for twenty-five or thirty cents a day. He will live as cheaply as possible here that he may enjoy his riches in Italy. American wages and Italian expenditures is the rule by which he makes his savings. Sleeping three in a bed lessens the expense of rent, and Italian food is very cheap.¹ In this way many of the unmarried men sacrifice the present and are thereby enabled to make very good provision for the future. Raphael Angelo, who is about twenty-eight years of age, has lived in this country three years. During that time, with the intermittent work which he has been able to secure, he has succeeded in sending six hundred dollars to his parents in Italy. Others are doing even better than Raphael.

Not all, however, are successful, especially at first. Failures here are due to certain obstacles peculiar to the Italians as well as to the usual difficulties of an immigrant. The first obstacle he encounters is the "boss" or "*padrone*," who has already become an historic character. The *padrone* certainly appears as an angel of light, for he professes to bring work and consequently wages. He may profess simply to give employment for a remuneration, or he may be the overseer as well as contractor for a piece of work, in which case his power is greatly increased. It is not the office, but the imposition, of the *padrone* which is objectionable. If work is actually furnished by a boss, which is not always done, even after the remuneration is given, living accommodations are usually furnished with it; and so large a sum is asked for very poor accommodations that the laborer's originally fair wage is reduced to almost nothing, the boss having improved his opportunity for enriching himself by becoming a boarding-house keeper.

¹ One Italian affirms that his living expenses are only one dollar and twenty-five cents a week. Eight men sleep together in one room, for which they pay one dollar a week.

A gang of Italian workmen in the country are usually living in a piece of woodland or even open field, as far away from human habitation as possible, scarcely leading a civilized life. Their dwellings are merely temporary wooden huts or even clay dug-outs just large enough to serve as a shelter at night. The bunks are arranged in tiers, if the size of the hut will permit; and at night the Italians are stowed away in them much like the steerage passengers of a steamship. In such a life as this the Italian laborers will spend two or three months at a time. It is no wonder that under such influences they become lax in cleanliness and neatness.

The work of the Italian banker has been too often dwelt upon to be a new theme. Their frequent exposures have served to make them more wary, yet even now ten or fifteen per cent may be charged for remitting funds to Italy, and occasionally they are not sent at all. Not long ago a banker disappeared with forty thousand dollars, which represented the small savings of a large number of industrious Italians. After squandering the money he returned and succeeded in again gaining the confidence of the people, with the hope of returning to them the lost amount; but after collecting another large sum he disappeared a second time not to return. As much as one hundred and fifty thousand dollars has been stolen in this way from the poor Italians in a single year. This illustrates some of the impositions which are practised upon the inexperience and credulity of these poor people.

About fifty per cent of the male Italians are unskilled day laborers. These are made up principally of the Neapolitans, the later immigrants. Although many of them were artisans or farmers at home, they are of rather inferior ability according to our standard, and hence tend to continue in unskilled work. Before this recent influx of southern Italians, however, the common laborers did not predominate in the occupations. The first immigrants left this sort of work before very long and became pedlers or fruit-dealers instead.

Next to common day labor, the fruit business now takes by far the largest number of Italians. It is estimated that between two and three thousand Italians in Boston and vicinity are connected with this business. The fruit business is not nearly so remunerative as it was ten years ago, when there were only seven hundred dealers in Boston. The increase in dealers has necessitated a division in profits, and now if a pedler makes five dollars a week, he is considered to be doing a very good business. The pedler does not buy his fruit from the market directly, but buys it in small quantities from the wholesale dealer or middleman, who orders it in large quantities through the main office, and stores it temporarily in his house or cellar. It is consequently the wholesale dealer who is subject to the large losses as well as the profits.

Antonio Ferrari, who carries on a large wholesale business in a three-roomed tenement, has had sad experiences in this line. It was a bad year for oranges, and seven hundred dollars' worth of the fruit which he had stored in his cellar spoiled in one winter.

Among the miscellaneous employments, many of the Italians work in manufacturing establishments, such as shoe shops, etc. A large number are masons and stonecutters or polishers in marble shops. The bakeshops employ a great many Italians, and barbers are now becoming very numerous, especially amongst the Sicilians. In fact, Italians are apt to become barbers before they have mastered the trade, and hence a cut in rates is a very natural outcome. The occupation of the street musician, which has always been rather popular, is carried on by the southern Italians, particularly the Calabrians. These are reported to despise such manual labor as the Neapolitans perform, but they take very naturally to this roving life.

The work of the women is quite a large factor in Italian industry. The habits of the European peasantry are preserved here by those women who do farm gardening outside the city. The freedom of outdoor work is a relief from the cramped life of the city, and the work is merely that to which they are accustomed. Some even walk to and from their work. The proportion of women engaged in this work, however, is growing less. The young women are working in the candy shops or becoming saleswomen in stores, and many more are working with the Portuguese women in the manufacture of clothing.

Life on North Street begins very early in the day. Four or five o'clock in the morning is the time for rising. Some are apparently in the same situation as the youth of an inert disposition who got up early in the morning that he might have more time to loaf; but many have work, especially in the summer, and all would work if they could.

In Italy breakfast consists chiefly of milk, bread, and coffee. In this country some sort of meat is added to the list unless poverty prevents. Cereals also are eaten. Beef is much too dear in Italy to be common, and is not most frequently used here. Pork or chicken better suits one accustomed to a vegetable diet. After a light breakfast those who have employment are off to their work. Even then this section is not at all deserted; it is less populous, that is all. Those who are not fortunate enough to have employment are soon loitering about the streets or gathered into the various saloons for a social time. The four or five saloons in the vicinity, with such names as Scipione, Petruccio, Generio, etc., over the doors, are a real product of the colony. It is not until we come to the very outskirts of the district that the familiar names of Sullivan, O'Brien, and Keefe again appear.

In Italy a man can buy a large glass of wine for a cent, and then

order an indefinite amount of water, and sit in the saloon for the rest of the day. Here he pays five cents for a glass of beer, is not expected to order more than one glass of water, and is not really welcome for more than two or three hours, unless he continues to patronize the bar. This custom is not so convenient for the loafers, but it means that the saloon-keeper, like the laborer, is on a higher scale of profit than when at home. The saloons in this neighborhood differ from most saloons in that gaming rather than drinking is the chief attraction. Some of the idlers are interested in pool, but most of them gather around the card tables. They play for the drinks. It is only courteous to the proprietor that they should do so. Sometimes five or ten cents is staked, but this is not usually done except in lotteries. During the summer months the saloons do not fill up until evening, but in winter they are frequented throughout the day, not entirely on account of the cold, but because of the enforced idleness during that part of the year.

Apparently the only amusement for those who remain outside the saloon is eating. Aside from fruit in summer, crabs, razor-fish, and boiled sweet corn are sold; and in winter, hot baked potatoes. Razor-fish and crabs are eaten from the shell, apparently with great relish. The crab-man sells a large basketful each day, and takes in about one dollar and fifty cents, at the rate of three crabs for five cents. Women go into the sweet-corn business. Mrs. Costa has been endeavoring to support herself and five small children by selling boiled sweet corn at the rate of two ears for one cent. It is needless to say that Mrs. Costa was "at home" to charity visitors even before the season closed. Pears and bananas may often be bought toward evening at the rate of two dozen for five cents. This cheap food supply is a great convenience to some, and often furnishes all the meal that is eaten, for the Italian goes without his dinner if he has no money; he does not beg.

The dinner of the ordinary Italian is made up largely of macaroni, French or Italian bread, and usually some meat and potato. That form of flour preparation known as spaghetti is most frequently used. This is boiled whole and served as a first course. The Italian experiences no difficulty whatever in eating this slippery food, for he merely sucks it into his mouth from his fork in a very unconventional if not elegant manner. The better class of Italians drink wine at their meals, preferably of their own manufacture. Sometimes it is purchased from a neighboring saloon, but they consider this a very inferior quality compared with that made in their own country. Fruit or a few dried olives, which very much resemble a small prune, are sometimes eaten for dessert. Supper does not differ very much from dinner for the workmen. Some kind of vegetable food constitutes their principal diet.

In the Italian colony the afternoon is spent much like the fore-

noon. The women, who have been indoors at their work, are now sitting on the doorsteps gossiping with a neighbor; but they do not go far from home nor make themselves conspicuous. The man here is lord of the household, and wife and daughter are guarded with a jealousy which insures a greater domestic virtue among the women than is always exhibited by the men.

The baker's cart makes its daily rounds to-day, and, in addition to his regular stock, the baker has brought a barrel of Italian bread, stale but still good, which he offers for fifty cents, barrel and all. But he is unable to sell it. The Italian makes no uncertain provision for the future. He buys only when he has to, and then as cheaply as possible. Occasionally a Jew wanders over from the village across the way with an armful of clothing to sell. Although he offers a coat for forty cents, and a waistcoat for fifteen cents, he fares no better than the baker, and goes away disgusted because the "Dago" wants to buy his clothing for nothing. But this is the accusation which, though in a less degree, the Jew makes against the world in general, so we must make some allowance.

A little after six o'clock the men begin to return from their work, and the village soon assumes its normal size. In the evening the saloons again furnish entertainment for the majority; but their accommodations are limited, and overflow meetings are held in the public eating-houses or in private rooms. The more retired the spot, the more excessive becomes the gambling and the more frequently do quarrels occur, though the drinking may be less.

The one Italian theatre, consisting of a marionette show, is the only regular place of amusement, and this is too dull to be popular, even for an Italian who has little else to do. We enter the dance halls expecting to find Italians there; but these are principally Irish affairs. Few Italians are present, for by common consent the two races associate as little as possible. "Only the decent ones are allowed," according to the dancers. "If any Italians come in who do not behave, we just fire 'em out." The Italians frequently have dances of their own on festive occasions, which are more elaborate affairs. But they are not always harmonious, and readily give occasions for quarrels on account of some jealousy or fancied slight.

By nine o'clock most of the women have disappeared from the streets, and all the girls are within doors, for the street-walkers are not of the Italian race. If the morrow is a working day, the men retire from the street by ten o'clock, and only the saloons and dance halls remain active. At eleven o'clock the saloons are closed. The dance halls keep open until midnight.

Although a majority disappear early from the streets, the district

does not become quiet until long after ; and the noise commences again so early in the morning that there are but few hours of rest. It is not the usual din of a city which reaches one's ears, but rather the peculiar hum of voices and stir of living beings. There is a certain unsettled state, a feeling of restlessness which haunts us continually. Men without homes, and whole families, trying to adapt themselves to their strange surroundings cause the unrest.

Sunday is an interesting day in the Italian quarters. The streets become rather more lively than usual because the public places are closed. By nine o'clock the streets are crowded. Men are lounging about or are gathered into groups talking in an excited way. Some are gesticulating so fiercely that we think a fight is imminent, but this is only their forcible way of expressing themselves. Here as elsewhere the Sabbath is a day for "dressing up" ; but a change of raiment being impossible with many, a first-class shine has to suffice for a recognition of the claims of the day. There is reason in this. The boys must have foreseen their opportunity, for one is urged to get his boots blacked at every street corner, though he can scarcely buy a newspaper in the vicinity.

On Sunday the rising hour is a little later than usual, but the church-goers are up by six o'clock, in time for early mass. There are two Catholic churches in the community, besides a Protestant church and a Protestant mission. The Catholic churches are well filled at all the services of the day.

The congregation takes its part in these services with great reverence, yet apparently with some doubts as to what it is all about. The contribution box seems to be well understood, for all contribute something. At the close of the service they file out with the appearance of having performed a necessary task of the day. The service in the evening is the more attractive, because of its longer musical programme, for the Italians are passionately fond of music. For this reason they are attracted into Protestant missions, where nothing is understood by them except the common language of music, and that poorly expressed.

The reverence exhibited by the Italians in their worship is very noticeable ; and through that a part, at least, of the idea of the service is fulfilled. This feeling is unfortunately apt to be wasted upon symbols alone, the priest, the altar, the image becoming in a sense barriers rather than helps to the worship of God. To them the priest is so far the embodiment of Christ that religious conviction is apt to wane in his absence. Even in the Protestant church the hall must be partitioned off from the platform and pulpit for any other than a religious meeting in order that the place may not be desecrated.

On the whole the Italians do not have a religion which materially

affects their conduct, and many have no religion at all. Probably fifty per cent rarely enter any church. The reaction against the church in Italy has generated a distrust which has caused many to lapse into atheism.

The Catholic church claims nearly the whole people of the colony as Catholic, and so they are in name; but the fact that both their churches together do not hold over eight hundred persons would seem to show that only a small proportion of the people of the colony are very actively religious.

The Protestant church has a constituency of about three hundred, although not all of these are members. Many have been gained through the work of this organization, which is not distinctly religious. An employment bureau and an Italian exchange form important branches of the church's work. Patriotism and good citizenship are taught by one of their number, who has not yet fully mastered our language himself. They are taught our national hymn, even though they have to sing it in Italian. And every year, as they celebrate their national freedom, they are taught to associate it with our greater liberty through the exercises which are held about the statue of George Washington in the Public Garden.

By such agencies a few become acquainted with American ideas and customs, but these influences are comparatively slight; and if they were the only ones we might well despair of ever becoming a homogeneous nation. The work of assimilation must be done principally with the children, hence we look to the public schools for a leavening influence which can scarcely be exercised by other means. These are indeed the great civilizing and Americanizing agencies, no less philanthropic because not carried on by individual sacrifice.

Nearly all the Italian children go to the public schools, notwithstanding that there is a large parochial school in the neighborhood. The fact that the public schools are free more than makes up for any conscientious scruples which the Italians might have against sending their children there. Here the Italian and the Jew, the Irish and the Portuguese, with a sprinkling of all the other nationalities except Americans, are educated together. Some of the Russian Jews prove themselves to be the brightest, while others are excessively dull. The Italians learn quickly, and probably on the average are as bright as any. They soon learn enough English to become interpreters for the family, and later, as they use the new language more and more, the old gradually falls into disuse. The knowledge acquired beyond this is comparatively little, for the parent is impatient to put the child to work in order to swell the family earnings, and the child is scarcely less anxious to make the change. As their circumstances improve, however, edu-

cation seems destined to become more general. Even now a few Italian boys and girls may be found in the high schools.

About thirty-five per cent of the children at the North-End schools are Italian, a smaller proportion than we might expect from the Italian population; but in crossing from the Jewish to the Italian quarter one of the most noticeable things is the diminution in the number of children visible in the streets. The young men form the great majority of Italian immigrants, as the young women do of the Irish immigrants, the Italians being one of the few nationalities in which the men greatly exceed the women.

If we consider the Italians as a whole we find that their ignorance is astonishingly great. Although education is not always a test of good citizenship, illiteracy is in this case an obstacle to assimilation. First of all it is a hindrance to their acquisition of the English language; and then it cuts them off from such knowledge of our life and customs as might be gained by reading. Fifty per cent of the Italians in Massachusetts cannot even read and write their own language, which is the poorest showing for any nationality except the Portuguese, sixty-two per cent of whom are totally illiterate. In Boston in 1885, only fifteen per cent of the male Italians of voting age could read and write English; and the women are even more illiterate. Hardly any of the southern Italians are able to read and write the English language.

This accounts to some extent for a certain indifference to public affairs, and is a sufficient explanation of the fact that only twelve per cent of the male Italians are voters. But in any case they are not natural politicians. Unlike many of our foreign-born citizens, the Italians tend to become Republicans. It is doubtful if race prejudice does not have as much to do with forming their political opinions as individual intelligence. Their common explanation, "No like the Democrats," might be interpreted to mean, "No like the Irishman."

As regards morality, in certain lines much may be said in their favor, but in some respects they are exceedingly lax. The Genoese, who constituted the first immigrants, were, perhaps, with the exception of the Jews, as seldom seen in courts of justice as any nationality. Since 1890, however, their record has been somewhat worse. The southern Italians are especially licentious and passionate, which is the cause of many of their misdemeanors. The majority of the prisoners are sentenced for serious offences, — crimes against the person rather than against property.

Domestic virtue is of a high order with them; the standard, it is needless to say, is set by the women, not by the men. Although after marriage there is much improvement in the habits of the male sex, they

do not even then equal the female sex in constancy. If the wife is left in Italy, another marriage may be contracted in America, which is not molested unless the absent wife should suddenly join her husband here. It is always cheaper to get a new wife, if one can be found, than to transport the old one from Italy.

Drunkenness is not a common failing among the Italians, although the use of American liquors has increased this evil of late. Beer has now become their most common beverage. Total abstinence is scarcely known amongst them. A certain moral degradation is of course avoided by their comparatively temperate habits, yet one has only to become acquainted with this district and the neighboring Jewish quarter to realize that temperance is not the only thing needful to regenerate society or to eliminate poverty. Poverty and suffering are found here as in homes of drunken parents, yet existing, it is true, under less hopeless circumstances.

The average Italian is an honest man, particular in the payment of his debts, yet he is somewhat of a liar withal, a very natural state of things in a community like this, for honesty is a characteristic of country folks, while truthfulness is a virtue not quickly acquired. That incorrigible love of dirt which has so injured the Italian's reputation is not exhibited in the case of families as it is with single men, for the wife keeps the house wonderfully clean, and takes pleasure in doing so. The Italians are very ingenious, they mind their own business, and exhibit a most proper gratitude for real kindnesses.

The home, the centre of life, is not with the Italians all that it should be. It contrasts unfavorably with the homes of the Jews, which their religion so much emphasizes as the unit of the race. In fact, among no people does the family attain its full position unless held together by religious ties, in which the Italians are lacking. The social and benefit clubs, fifteen or twenty in number, serve to satisfy the social instincts of the better class. They also undoubtedly encroach upon the home, for these with the public places become the centres of social attraction. The Italians marry young, — at eighteen or twenty years of age, — but they are not nearly so prolific as the Jews or even the Irish. Some have very large families, it is true, but the majority have no more than four or five children.

As laborers, the Italians are, with reference to unskilled work, "scabs," yet they are quick to learn the prices of the country, and will not work for less than they think is their due. If a dollar a day is accepted at first, they very soon clamor for a dollar and twenty-five cents or a dollar and fifty cents, if that is the amount usually paid; but they have not yet come to apprehend some of the finer distinctions made by the trade unions. Apparent individual advantage and lack of

interest for Italian welfare cause them to work in many instances where others will not. The testimony of employers shows that the Italians are good workmen, steady and faithful if they are treated well: while the testimony of workmen shows that those Italians who secure work and language knowledge are no diligent for the interests of the whole as the advocates of any nationality.

The Italians show a considerable tendency toward isolation, chiefly on account of their language, and this tendency increases as already difficult problem. Not till the second generation do they become really Americanized, but then they are quite transformed through their new environment. The schools, the street life, and especially the use of the English language bring them into closer touch with American life. Their dread of appearing strange before their playmates stimulates them to imitate American ways, and soon their home becomes the single link which binds them to Italy. Even their euphonious names become distasteful to them, and a Marondotti wishes he were a Smith or a Brown. The home life is but little changed in the new surroundings, for it seldom comes in contact with outside influences. Its influence is always Italian. American continues to be the Italian's food unto the second and third generations.

Put them up, we have in the Italians a large colony of immigrants held together by a combination of clannishness and ignorance, the latter of which separates them also from within on account of differences in ability and habits; a people who are physically strong but intellectually uneducated; perhaps no worse morally than ourselves, yet who offend and shock us because their vices are of a different nature from our own.

The Italians are not the most desirable nor are they the worst immigrants with which we have to deal. They represent, perhaps, an average of the difficulties which confront us in the problem of the assimilation of races.

It is only by a careful study of the people themselves and an observation of their actual life amongst us that we shall be enabled to judge of them correctly and estimate their contributions to American life.

SOUTH END HOUSE, BOSTON.

THE PRIESTHOOD OF ART.

BY STINSON JARVIS.

WHAT entitles an artist to the highest rank? Does not "greatness" include "value"? Must not the question often come to us in such ways as this: "Was Byron worth as much to the world as Tennyson? — was De Maupassant as valuable as George Eliot?" Can the highest rank be attained until the human heights be illustrated? What about the higher sympathies and recoils of the most refined? Can the best genius afford to ignore this region?

No one thinks the stage should interpret any branch of religious thought, but the needs of social life insist that it shall sometimes assist in sustaining or improving conditions which religions and fashions have succeeded in producing. The welfare of society does require that so-called ills of life be sometimes shown to have good results, and that talent should not be so incomplete as to teach nothing but despair.

The uplifted ideals, incentives, sense of humor, and refinements which are to a large extent common property among the best classes need not here be catalogued when saying that some celebrated artists ignore all of them. We find these widely advertised people carefully avoiding the attempt to carry the more primitive majorities beyond the range of their readiest susceptibilities. In plain language, their world-wide success is due to the liking of primitive majorities for low-grade plays. Spectators are wrought upon by the portrayal of the darkest and deadliest phases; they are fascinated by representations of passions which seize like an eagle or lure like a tigress, and kill when disappointed, so that many a man goes away saying: "Yes, very fine! — very realistic! — but very unlike the best people I know!" There is an unexplained want, an unrecognized subconsciousness that no higher part of himself has been called to the fore. In an undefined way he is disappointed. These are the grades of art which probably improve no one — except, perhaps, through the moral created by the absence of morals.

To mention a few peculiarities: neither Sardou nor Bernhardt nor the French stage as a whole seems to have discovered that grief may produce steadiness of character; and one will travel far through French plays before finding any remedy suggested for the so-called ills of life except death, either violent or natural. Bernhardt's acting does not

belong to the division of time known as Anno Domini. It belongs to prior ages. It is as untouched by the latter-day genius for advancement as was Nebuchadnezzar. And so far as she fails to portray the alterations effected by the more modern ideals, just so far does she lose in value as a delineator of mankind. She leaves out the best part.

Of course it is not suggested that people seek art or go to the theatres to be improved — not any more than they marry or read newspapers for that object. Yet they like and will support institutions which make improvement come in unlooked-for ways and with a pleasing seduction. Practically, a man is a picture-gallery. Those mental pictures and concepts remain with him which produce shock in him, whether pleasurable or otherwise. His advancement or degradation lies in his selection. And when the gallery may with equal ease be filled with either helpful or hurtful pictures, those institutions are favored which make improvement as easy and attractive as the opposite. This is nature's method of teaching. The world has never advanced by being ordered to do so, but through becoming possessed of concepts which made good seem desirable and even a delight. The best accomplishment in each branch of art is thus understood; also the grave responsibility of the artists themselves, when seen to be creators of improvement or degradation.

All admit that the Judiths, Jael, Jezebels, and Borgias have their human history to teach when well staged; and we owe Bernhardt something for personifying the Cleopatra, the slim, lithe creature who could be generous when pleased in vanity or passion, and could kill when either of these was slighted — more sensitive than mercury, nervous as jagged lightning, changeable as a stock report, volcanic as Vesuvius, and irresponsible as a lizard — the really dangerous woman who refuses to disappear. Yet the study which extends only to the peculiarities of more primitive humanity has often been found hurtful as well as narrowing. Some can safely gain a salutary recoil and an often unpleasant wisdom by descending with Zola to the lower world; but those who study nothing but the dredgings of the human depths will certainly lack scope.

Regard our continuous changes. Even those decadents who insist that darkness is the only light are tiring of their magic-lantern grotesqueries. In that burial of the living called pessimism, men notice, when all but their heads are covered, that the only light is overhead, and that none of it is underneath their chosen mud. They are climbing out. And pessimism must not be called asinine, because with many it is a necessary soul-school process, and because that idealistic animal which so happily finds grapes of thistles must not be wronged. The better part of the world is instinctively avoiding the fascinating mud of Adam.

The changes are many. Rome knew no altar to Pity; but now both the scientific and the religious acknowledge the necessity for compassion. In her survival of the fittest, nature is always seeking a better fittest to survive; and the rigor of the earlier rule has been mitigated by systems and tendencies which seek the survival of all. The sense of absurdity which has been of such immeasurable benefit in weeding out the unnecessary, is for the most part modern. Varieties of wit and unnumbered refinements of thought and speech which were formerly unknown are now indispensable. Such extensive alterations in mankind make it necessary that the playwright, novelist, and painter shall, before being awarded the highest honors as an artist, do more than reproduce the undeveloped natures of prior ages.

Nature's intentions in regard to the purpose or province of art require first consideration. Man's advances have been shown to be traceable to the gradual improvement of mental concepts. Art productions are materializations of these. Artists must "see," must visualize, must "feel." The phase in which they "feel" goes into their work, and subsequently appeals for the same phase in the spectator. To allow the appeal, or, in other words, in really enjoying an art creation, he takes on the same phase in which the artist produced his work. This may tend toward a refining exaltation, or, as the case may be, toward the lowest degradation. Such effects, whether helpful or hurtful, are everywhere felt. Even the police know that certain kinds of art depiction have the effect of drawing mentalities toward debased conditions.

The faculty for imaging, and the tendency to become that which is imaged, are continually being utilized in degrading ways. He who creates has in him the shaping of other lives. This terrible truth of human life is the one most ignored. It was no rhymster's rant that certified for the power of the "choir invisible," and about the only gratitude the world extends is to those who put high ideals into their art, thus making it a lasting power for general safety and pleasure. On the other hand, when the artist, by producing fascinating kinds of lower-grade nature, causes retrogression, he is in effect personating the mediæval devil, in presenting ideals which degrade. The best value in art is not arrived at by truth to *any* kind of nature, but by truth to the better and more advanced kinds.

Those whose ideals are high object to productions which belong to grades from which they (the more refined) have emerged. With them, a production from a lower plane cannot please. With them, its effect, if any, can only be retrograding. But sometimes it may still assist the ideals of those on a lower grade. Paintings which are unacceptable for a gentleman's residence may yield pleasure and improvement in a

taproom for rustics. Plays, literature, and pictures which one class calls "wretched" have wide following and are useful elsewhere. In the scheme for general improvement nature thus ignores personal opinion and class prejudice, because all grades must be assisted contemporaneously—one law applying to the whole: that there shall be advance, that in advance is gladness, that repetition is boredom, and retrogression still worse.

Perhaps no saying has done more harm than "art for art's sake," which has provided for the countenancing of so many unprofitable pictures and plays. If these were true to some kind of nature, no matter how low, they were accepted. The advocates of this phrase have often been criminally disobedient to their own intuitions when giving high rank to low-grade expressions merely because these were true to nature. They never seem to see that when human beings have arrived at higher grades they are intended to abandon the lower ones, and sometimes even hate them. So strongly are this necessity and method for advance implanted, that the best of men often fail to see that that which to them seems vile has been and still is necessary in the lower classes of nature's schools. Our own opinion on such a point is not as a rule valuable. For instance, most of us are not competent judges as to what ideals will do the best work for a savage. The clergy were shocked when celebrated travellers declared that Mohammedanism provided African savages with a more suitable medium for advance than Christianity.

A good deal of seemingly unprofitable work may therefore be expected from younger artists who have not yet discovered the better value of elevating creations, and whose ideals are still in the earlier processes of education. It must not be forgotten that the artist, the most favored child of nature, could not be what he is unless utterly free, with both the delights and dangers of freedom surrounding him, together with faculties which may take him to the heights or to the depths. We must not always expect that this collection of nerves and sensitization which is endowed with the divine gift of creativeness will during immaturity create on the higher and latest planes. As a rule, the younger artist does not yet know them, and sometimes the low-grade visions will out, for nature's child must remain in nature's school, to there learn (often through years of bitter dissatisfaction) why the unprofitable should be discarded, and why the most advanced should be sought.

It is in these classes of the young, the beautifully endowed, who are so often hurt by false ideals, that such phrases as "art for art's sake" do their worst work, because no one explains to them how the judgments of the intuitions control. Their work may be true to nature,

it may be fully entitled to be called art, but it may also be that in which men may find encouragement for vice. And when it lures downward by presenting low-grade ideals, it reverses the natural processes which demand advance, and consequently brings happiness to no one. For example, consider the face painted by Millais in his well-known picture called "The Huguenot." Compare it with the Beardsley faces. Both may, let us admit, be equally true to nature. Yet one of them has provided an improving ideal and a sense of gladness to millions, while the other has fed the imaginations which lead to lunacy and suicide. Shall we then, by virtue of the above phrase, give Beardsley's art a high value? Something in us revolts at the thought.

These truths are felt in the intuitions of everyone who receives disgust instead of a hoped-for charm, namely, through a subconsciousness which can recognize and feel the reality of the various gradations, even though it may not define them in words.

Why should our stage depend so much for its interest on killing? Since assassination went out of fashion we do not sing national hymns in praise of it, as the Israelites did. The leer and invitation of an utterly dissolute face is thrust before us, labelled "Venus." There was a time when that face was worshipped in the orgies of a national religion; and if that was the best ideal then possible, it was good art to paint it. But can anyone expect it to give pleasure now? In earlier Athens the courtesans were the most cultured women of the world, but that fact does not save moderns from recoil and shock when the decadents of to-day flood our illustrated books with pictures of the most ignorant and worthless creatures.

After all the chatter about what is or is not "good art," it is just as well to make sure about the good art that is bad. This seeming absurdity in words helps to explain nature's proofs that art ideals are only profitable when they assist advance, and that those of earlier and lower grades will, if followed, do harm to those who have been advanced. Because art is an educating process of nature, adaptable to each individual according to his needs (and thus always working on a sliding scale), the question as to what is good in art must be nearly always relative. It is therefore perhaps incorrect to speak of any true reproduction of nature being "bad." Yet a huge amount of technically excellent work may fairly be called bad when it does so much harm.

Dr. W. S. Rainsford lately said, "Man approaches God through man." It is a statement that perhaps dimly shadows forth a truer system of man's development than any yet taught. And even if its theological flavor be removed, there is no denying the truth of the same remark in another form, that "man advances through man." It

is here that the responsibility of the artist must be appreciated, for the greater he is as an artist the nearer he comes to a god or devil to help or hurt; and this free thing that can soar above the clods of earth on the beautiful wings of fancy must teach, advance, assist, and give healthy and lovely ideals to those who imagine poorly, not necessarily by striving to accomplish these ends, but by simply allowing his own creations to advance himself, in which case they affect others over whom he is an influence, no matter how unseen.

The largest amount of modern improvement has been in such ways caused by people who had no thought of doing good. If centuries of history have at all explained the inner disposition of the artist, perhaps we are correct in saying that nothing has been further from him than a preconceived intention to do good. To outsiders he has often seemed to be the most irresponsible creature on earth. He has worked because his own creation made him glad, not to do good.

In more recent decades, however, we have witnessed a difference. The artist's sense of his peculiar freedom, his recognition of his visualizing faculty and his power to reproduce in others his own mental images, have sometimes combined to make him appreciate his responsibility to man. He has begun to realize that when driven by his own desire for happiness to create, his creations will either assist others in the gladness of advance or to the misery of retrogression. The effects upon mankind of all the work turned out, both high and low, have at last made him know that high art means man's help to man. Creeds have come and gone, but the artist-poet knew only nature's teachings. When fanaticisms have made the world discordant, some genius has taught the value of melody, and the madding chorus has hastened back, shamefaced, to get into tune. An artist is a pipe for nature's finger "to sound what stop she pleases." And when he may so potently assist the rest of mankind, is he not a nature's priest? Is there any other priesthood which possesses more power to make or mar, or with greater responsibilities? Is there any other that is paid with greater gladness?

It would be interesting to mention some who have worked on these lines — improving others without trying to improve them, not on the Strasburg goose principle, but by utilizing nature's stealth. Here are found those who exist in the imaginations of refined people. Here the uplifted life, with its dignity, gentleness, and mirth, finds place; where maidens possess much simplicity, and not all the knowledge of Paris, when youthful graces are in play. Here are shown the advance and widening of love's province, its courage, steadfastness, and delight extending the comfort of example, the exhilaration of its merriment, and the tenderness of its compassion. These are some of the latter-day

ideals which keep life sweet and make it better. But can we imagine a Bernhardt producing these? Do we go through life feeling round for daggers?

Probably we could advantageously dispense with the portrayers of a past in which nearly all the ideals were different, just as we might reluctantly part with volumes of ancient history. To modern life, as it is, they are no actual necessity. But we need those who have felt that the highest possible art makes that which is profitable become a delight, those who know that mankind has progressed when the faculty for wonderment has been attracted upward. In a world of ideals we need the ideals that help. We require anyone who can bewitch us into imitation (perhaps unconscious) of those who seem to be improvements on ourselves.

Is not this the work of a priest? Is not the artist nature's intended priest? Can his lifelong hunger to create be explained in any other way? Can the gradual self-destruction of those who debase their god-gift be otherwise explained? Can the delight of him who has created be explained in any other way? There must be some profound reason for these ever-present conditions, or else the universe is foolish. The most effective priests do not always wear sacerdotal robes. I have seen them in sloppy clothes, smoking pipes, but with the joy of a god inside them. I never knew a true artist who did not sometimes have to skip with joy. Nature's intentions were being carried out.

THE CATHOLIC QUESTION IN CANADA.

I. A STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM.

BY F. CLEMENT BROWN, M. A.

WE who live in the Western world may not know what freedom is, in the fullest sense, but we undoubtedly know what it is not, in a civil sense. A merchant of limited means may not be free, for example, to compete with the great modern departmental stores, for the simple reason that he cannot; men of small capital may not be free to engage in certain industries without running the risk of being forced to the wall by a combination of great corporate and moneyed rivals; men who work for the lowest living wage at which they can maintain themselves and their families may not be free to leave their posts to try to better their condition without practically facing starvation; and men and women in very many other conditions may not, and do not, enjoy a freedom that satisfies the majority of men or accords with the ideas of humanity implanted in the human breast. And yet all men in North America, at least all men in the United States, can feel that, apart from the social and industrial conditions in which they find themselves hedged, they are perfectly free to devote themselves to the pursuit of happiness in any way whatsoever that does not subvert the laws or authority of the state. The Constitution of the United States grants them civil liberty, and there is no body or organization in the land that would assume to transcend or subvert the federal power. If any church, for example, should stand up and say to an American citizen that it forbade him to engage in a certain legitimate business, and if it should enforce its demand without any intervention being offered by the state, then all men would say that that is not freedom. Men may not be quite conscious of their industrial and social thralldom, but they are extremely conscious of their civil rights.

The battles for civil freedom had all been fought, we thought, long ago, and the results firmly established in all of North America. But it seems that that was a delusion. In French Canada recent events have shown that the spirit of the Inquisition and the ecclesiastical tyranny of the Middle Ages are still actively alive in the Province of Quebec. One of the more recent occurrences of a mediæval nature was the issuance of a certain destructive *mandement* by the hierarchy of Quebec. *Mandements* are not, to be sure, unknown quantities. There

have been many others. But the last one—the last at this date of writing—was of a character that challenged the rights of free citizenship in a manner so emphatic and unmistakable that it justly aroused the whole country. The main facts of the case have been widely circulated, though not always accurately. In brief they are as follows: On Sunday, Dec. 27, 1896, an episcopal *mandement* was read in all the Roman Catholic churches of the city of Quebec, against Mr. Pacaud's paper, *L'Electeur*, the chief Liberal organ of that district. It was signed by Archbishop Begin, of Quebec, and by Bishops Laflèche, of Three Rivers; Gravel, of Nicolet; Blais, of Rimouski; and Labrecque, of Chicoutimi, being all the bishops of the ecclesiastical archdiocese of Quebec.

The pastoral letter refers to the right and duty of the bishops to warn the faithful against dangerous publications, and says this is why they publicly denounce to the faithful, *L'Electeur* newspaper, published at Quebec, whose unhealthy articles are declared to constitute a true religious and social peril. The document then goes on to enumerate the various offences committed by *L'Electeur*, all of which have tended to antagonize the authority of the church and undermine the influence of the bishops in dealing with the school policy of the Dominion, especially that of the Province of Manitoba. At the close of a somewhat lengthy preamble, the *mandement* declares that "this is why, in invoking the name of God, we interdict formally, and under penalty of grave sin and of a refusal of the sacraments, the reading of *L'Electeur*, subscribing to it, working for it, selling it, or encouraging it in any manner whatever. The prohibition applies to ecclesiastics, even to those who are privileged to read the books contained in the Index."

The result of this ordinance was the immediate blotting out of *L'Electeur*. It ceased publication at once. To survive was impossible, and any effort to do battle with the bishops would have been mere folly. The newspaper was obliterated as effectually as though the earth had opened and drawn it into the subterranean fires. Mr. Pacaud minimized the force of the blow, to be sure, by at once starting another paper under the name of *Le Soleil*, which, so far, is not placed under ban; but it will readily be seen that the liability of another *mandement* descending upon him in reality muzzles him and places him under extreme disabilities.

This is not the first instance, however, in which the life of a newspaper has been at stake. A celebrated case occurred a few years ago. The *Canada Revue* incurred the displeasure of the hierarchy and was pounced upon in a similar manner. It attempted to fight the bishops in the courts, but the process was an expensive one, and the attempt had eventually to be abandoned for lack of funds.

Such is the power of the hierarchy in the French Roman Catholic section of Canada. But is that power *legally* exercised? This is the important question now calling for solution. If the ecclesiastics have the right to destroy private property, limit discussion, and restrict the freedom of the people by the publishing of bans, then the federal laws are sadly at fault and Canada is not a free country. But it is extremely doubtful whether such a right exists. Many thinkers are strongly of opinion that it is contrary to Canadian civil law, and undoubtedly the judgment in the celebrated Guibord case several years ago lends force to that contention.

"The Guibord case," says one writer, "arose out of the founding in Montreal of a society known as the Institut Canadien. That society had in its library books the reading of which had been prohibited by the ecclesiastical authorities on pain of spiritual punishment. Guibord was a member, and he read the books. When he died he was refused interment in consecrated ground because, by belonging to the Institut and reading the books he had incurred the penalties. The claim to burial was set up by his friends, and with the greater force seeing that he had purchased the lot in which it was proposed to bury him. In the courts where the question was tried the decision turned in part upon the powers of the bishops to prohibit the reading of the books. This brought up the entire question of the ban. It was maintained in support of this institution that under the terms of the cession by which French Canada passed into the hands of the English in 1763 the bishops had all the powers which appertained to the church prior to that event, in virtue of the treaty granting to the new subjects of the British Crown the right to freely exercise their religion. One of the rights, so it was urged, was the right which the ecclesiastical authorities had under the decrees of the Council of Trent to supervise the literature of the people. This position was met by an appeal to history. In the first place it was argued that the decrees of the Council of Trent came into operation only in such countries in which they were formally proclaimed. In the next place it was shown that they had never been proclaimed in France, whence the churchmanship of Canada was derived; and, furthermore, that they had never been proclaimed in Canada. Not having been proclaimed, the power to proscribe or to ban did not rest with the bishops prior to the cession; the power not resting with the bishops prior to the cession, it does not rest with them now in virtue of the grant of privileges to which the Crown assented on the occasion of the transfer. The Privy Council indorsed this latter view. It pronounced the ban illegal, and on this basis ordered the burial of Guibord in his own lot."

This decision would seem to have an important bearing upon the legality of banning newspapers. If on the issue of prohibited books the bishops were beaten, it hardly looks as if they could succeed when prohibited newspapers are the issue. In the interest of good citizenship generally, and of civil liberty in particular, it is to be hoped that the case of *L'Electeur* will yet be thoroughly fought out in the civil tribunals.

Another case has since occurred which shows the extreme tyranny under which the Quebec press is now laboring and the abject servility that the church demands of it. Mr. Armand Tessier, proprietor of the *Protecteur du Saguenay*, had committed the offence of praising the Manitoba schools settlement, and was asked by Bishop Labrecque to

apologize. Mr. Tessier apologized, but in the same paper took occasion to make statements that rendered his apology a mere mockery. The bishop was not satisfied, and consequently sent a letter to the *curés* of the diocese, which was read in all the churches on Sunday, Jan. 3, 1897, pointing out the fact and throwing out this gentle hint:

If this sheet continues to assume the mission of spreading among the faithful of this diocese the spirit of insubordination which so justly brought condemnation on *L'Electeur*, will you notify the faithful that the same condemnation will strike it without further warning than ordinary? It is time to treat with just severity those whom neither decency nor conscience can keep in the path of duty, of Christian charity, and of obedience to those whom God has appointed to govern His Church.

Here we have a sample of the terrorism practised in Quebec. But now for the recantation which Mr. Tessier was compelled to publish or else suffer the extinction of his paper by ban. It is a model of crawling servility. After admitting that the school question is a politico-religious or mixed one, that the bishops have a perfect right to interfere in the settlement, and that the neuter school commonly called public or national has been condemned by the church, it continues:

We acknowledge that in certain articles in our paper we uttered propositions which, taken as a whole, can be legitimately interpreted as an approbation of the neuter school. We regret and retract these propositions, inasmuch as they are contrary to the doctrine of the Church as well as to the submission and respect due to its high authority. We declare categorically that we will make it a duty in future not to form a rash judgment on the moral value of the settlement of the Manitoba school question promulgated the 20th of November last. As long as the bishops, the natural judges of religious questions, will have made no pronouncement, we engage ourselves to publish nothing which can either directly or indirectly prejudice minds in a way to render them incapable of understanding the teaching of the Church, and to put it sincerely into practice when such instruction will be given by those whom the Holy Spirit has appointed to govern the Church.

But these high-handed proceedings are, after all, interesting and instructive mainly because they are links in the great chain which the hierarchy is unconsciously forging about its own neck. In the days gone by, the priesthood of Quebec have kept a sharp watch over the temporal as well as the spiritual affairs of their flocks, and the flocks have always responded to the priests' bidding. "The faithful" have been instructed how to mark their ballots and at the same time warned of the penalties attached to a disregard of the instructions. The press of Quebec, if not instructed as to what it should say, has at least been instructed as to what it should not say, and these instructions have been emphasized from time to time by *mandements*. Furthermore, the Quebec press, even to-day, is not only instructed as to what it shall not say, but on certain questions is required to say nothing at all until the church has spoken. This point is made plain in the case of Mr. Tessier, just cited.

But notwithstanding all this, the days of clerical absolutism in

Quebec are passing away. "The faithful" are not so faithful as they once were. The priests are losing their hold. The flock do not always answer now to their shepherd's call. A leader has arisen who has caught the ear of his fellow French-Canadian countrymen, Hon. Wilfrid Laurier, a man who has the British idea of civil rights and whose attitude toward the church authorities is one of respect, but of great dignity and firmness. On the 23d of June the federal elections of the Dominion showed that the French Canadians had decided to exercise the franchise in the way that suited them best, not necessarily in the way that suited their ecclesiastical superiors. That day was the beginning of a new era for French Canada, and subsequent events have gone to prove it. There is a party in Quebec province to-day which knows and feels that French Canada has been unprogressive, not from any lack of ability in the race, but because of ecclesiastical domination and repression. That party wishes to unloose the shackles and give to its countrymen an opportunity with their fellow-citizens of English origin in the development of the common country. The other party, with the hierarchy at its head, wishes to keep things as they were. It does not read the signs of the times, or grasp the thought that once a people have tasted freedom they will not go back to slavery. The French Canadians are a long way yet from being out of bondage. The priesthood still have a wonderful power and influence. But the leavening process has begun.

Mandements may of course be looked for from time to time. A second one was threatened not long ago against the Manitoba school settlement, which the prime minister, Mr. Laurier, has consummated, but for some reason, best known to the Catholic officials, did not appear. The great Liberal statesman has had, forsooth, the audacity to effect a fair settlement of the vexed question, one that gives the Catholics much but not everything, and one, therefore, that is extremely distasteful to the hierarchy. The latter has not by any means seen fit to let the matter drop. No longer ago than Sunday, Jan. 17, 1897, parts of a long circular letter were read in the churches of Quebec province, by order of Archbishop Begin, director of all the bishops of his ecclesiastical province. The two most important sections in it are an attack on Mr. L. O. David's celebrated pamphlet, which advocated principles inimical to the supremacy of the church over the state, and which was published in *L'Electeur*, and an attack on the Manitoba school settlement, together with a plain implication that the fight for separate schools in Manitoba is to be persistently kept up. It will be interesting to observe, from time to time, with what success the hierarchy opposes itself not only to the whole Liberal party of Canada, but to a considerable section of the Conservative party.

But, as has been said, the leavening process has begun. The two parties that have been mentioned, the one for progress and individual freedom from ecclesiastical pressure, the other for retrogression and intellectual slavery, are dividing into camps, and a struggle, sooner or later, is bound to come. The suppression of *L'Electeur* and the forced recantation of Mr. Tessier are but incidents that mark an early stage in the conflict. The patience of Canadians is indeed phenomenal, but there is a limit to it. Would that the Roman Catholic authorities might see that their insistence on the supremacy of the church over the state will end in the complete precedence of the state and the hopeless disorganization and humiliation of the church. If they would but walk in the paths of wisdom and discretion, Canada would be saved from a long period of strife and religious animosity, and the rest of the continent from the contemplation of a distressing spectacle.

TORONTO, CANADA.

II. THE INDEX EXPURGATORIUS IN QUEBEC.

BY GEORGE STEWART, D. C. L., F. R. S. CAN.

To the Index at Rome, the hierarchy of Quebec has added a fresh title. Newspapers before this, which have incurred the disfavor of the church, have come under the ban, but the books which have been submitted to the indignity are few. In the present instance, the author yielded before his work—a mere pamphlet—was publicly condemned. It was sufficient for him to know that his writings had evoked the ecclesiastical displeasure, and, like a good churchman, he withdrew "*Le Clergé Canadien, sa Mission, son Œuvre*" from circulation, and thereby was rewarded with words of praise from lips which only a moment before had breathed scorn against the *brochure* itself.

The history of this incident may be told in a few sentences. The general elections in Canada, last June, turned largely on the Manitoba school question. In the Province of Quebec, which is mainly Roman Catholic, the battle was fought with bitterness, and in that conflict the bishops and priests played an important part. They went so far as to threaten the electors with dire ecclesiastical penalties should they support the Liberal candidates, whose plans for the settlement of the school question in a sister province were not in accord with their own. *Mandements* were issued from the pulpits of the various dioceses, and the faithful were enjoined to obey the commands of their clergy, or take

the consequences, which were severe and to some minds very fearful indeed.

On polling day, however, the voters withdrew their confidence from their spiritual advisers in large numbers, and won a victory the like of which had never been known, to the chagrin of the priests and the horror of the Conservative politicians, whose faith in clerical dictation was thus rudely shaken. A new government came into power, and the premier, a Frenchman and a Roman Catholic, presented his programme of settlement. It does not go far enough in the opinion of the priesthood, and war rages again. Archbishop Langevin says the battle has just commenced. Mr. L. O. David, a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, the author of several works of merit, and a writer of considerable force, felt constrained to enter a protest against the action of the fathers of his church. This took the form of a small book of a hundred and twenty-five pages, which appeared without the imprint of any publisher or printer. The mechanics evidently determined to run no risks, and probably knew beforehand what the result of the venture would be. Mr. David had the courage of his convictions, and has paid the penalty for his rashness in trying to teach the clergy their duty. That was his great mistake, as he has found to his cost.

His work takes him back to 1837, the year of the Canadian Rebellion, and he is especially bitter against the clergy of those days for siding with the Imperial government and the local bureaucracy, and against their fellow-compatriots, who were sacrificing their all for liberty of conscience and political freedom. The bishops, by their course, certainly checked the progress of the revolt and precipitated matters much more quickly than the bayonets of the British soldiers would have done, albeit they were very active. The rebels, who were characterized as brigands, were threatened with the refusal of the sacraments of the church, even if they were on the point of death. Ecclesiastical burial to those who died without making reparation was also denied them.

Mr. David tells all these things, and a great deal more, in a graphic and spirited manner, and carries his narrative down during a period of more than half a century. He shows how the clergy worked perpetually against the Liberal party, whenever Liberals and Conservatives came into contact. They tried to make it appear that the Liberals were bad Catholics, and that the doctrines they preached militated against the best interests of the church. Rome, on being appealed to, stepped in, and the bishops were cautioned and told that they were going too far, and further persistence might seriously estrange large bodies of the faithful. This had an appreciable effect for a time, but the clergy returned to their first love, and privately and publicly con-

demned the Liberals. Mr. David proves conclusively that the priesthood opposed every political measure brought forward by the Liberals, even when forced to accept as allies members of the Orange society and the Freemasons, organizations which, on principle, they could not tolerate. And he adds: "The majority of Conservative leaders for thirty years having been leaders of secret societies, and particularly of the Orange sect, how can the bishops and clergy justify themselves for having favored them? Since it is always necessary to strictly obey the church and its decrees, how have the clergy been able for thirty years to disobey prescriptions so absolute, orders given under pain of excommunication? Why this harshness and this thunder against the Liberal chiefs, who have never been condemned by the church, and this sympathy, these violent crusades, for chiefs of condemned societies? These questions have never been answered."

That Mr. David makes out a good case, fortified by evidence, against clerical prejudice must be admitted. Even Conservatives have stated over and over again that the clergy were on their side. During the last elections, the Quebec leaders of that party were so convinced of the efficacy of the *mandement* in their behalf, that one of their number telegraphed to his prime minister, Sir Charles Tupper, that a majority of at least twenty would be given him at the close of the polls. But the electors, using the secret ballot, kept their own counsel, voted for a compatriot for premier, and sent the *mandement* of the bishops to the four winds of heaven. Everybody was surprised, including the Liberals. But the most surprised of all were the Conservative chiefs and their supporters.

Emboldened by his success in arraigning the clergy through the gradations which finally bring him to the Manitoba schools, Mr. David allows his pen to run riot when he comes to discuss the events of yesterday. Briefly sketching the situation up to date, he describes the action of the clergy as the performance of the "old game," — a phrase which must have greatly disturbed the serenity of the sacerdotalists, — and says:

Naturally the school question was the ground prepared for the holy war, the field of battle where the sacred standard was to be raised. The clergy, according to their custom, replied to the appeal of the Conservative party, and the bishops began hostilities by launching a collective *mandement* in which the electors were invited to elect only men decided to restore to the Catholics of Manitoba their separate schools.

This is clear enough, in all conscience, as to the wishes of the clergy, but Mr. David emphasizes his views in stronger terms as to their motives, saying, "the clergy saw nothing, heard nothing, except that which permitted them to crush the Liberal party." That is the charge he makes, and his whole pamphlet is crowded with testimony

substantially sustaining his object, which is to show that the clergy, "by fighting Mr. Laurier, in the name of religion, by violating the conscience of the electors, committed a grave fault." He does not deny to the religious authorities the right of raising their voices in certain cases to condemn principles which are false and fatal to religion and society, but he refuses them the right to drive from the church men who wish to exercise freely their privileges as citizens, and to fulfil their duties as Catholics and patriots according to their judgment and conscience. He believes, in a word, that the citizens are in a "better position than members of the clergy to choose the best mode of securing the triumph of a great religious and national principle, and to judge of the effect and bearing of a law." He asks that "when ecclesiastical authorities will intervene, they be united, that the instructions be the same everywhere, and that this intervention be made according to all the rules of wisdom and charity. I have said," he continues, "that it would be difficult to secure acceptance and respect in America for a religion interpreted by men who would make it a scarecrow for liberty, progress, and civilization. With violence, Protestants are made."

These strictures awakened the severest displeasure of the church, and Mr. David was promptly disciplined for making them. A Liberal paper in Quebec, the *Electeur*, for seventeen years the special organ of its party, republished the pamphlet in full, openly attacked the bishops and *curés*, and even criticised their conduct. For these crimes it was placed upon the Index, and the faithful were commanded from the pulpits not to buy it, read it, or advertise in it. The usual pains and penalties for disobedience of these orders were threatened. The result was the immediate withdrawal of the *Electeur*, copyright and all, from circulation, and in its stead was reared *Le Soleil*. But the *Soleil* is in no danger of being put under the ban. It will not offend the church. A burnt child dreads the fire. In the meantime Mr. David's pamphlet was in Rome, enduring examination at the hands of that august tribunal, the Sacred Congregation of the Index. It was found to be a most mischievous production, for under the cover of patriotism and religion "were agglomerated erroneous principles, appeals to prejudices and passions, abusive interpretations of documents, travesty of historical facts, perfidious insinuations, and grave irreverence toward the authority and persons of the Bishops. Each and every member of the faithful is held, under pain of great disobedience to the Holy See, to destroy this book immediately or remit it to his confessor, who will do so. To refuse to submit would be a grave error, and absolution therefor is reserved to the bishop."

This anathema was too much for Mr. David. As soon as he learned — and he was on the tenter-hooks, one may well suppose, while wait-

ing for the verdict — that his work had been condemned, he wrote to the newspapers :

I submit to the judgment, and withdraw my *brochure* from all the newstands where it was on sale. I think it proper to add that I am alone responsible for the *brochure*, which I wrote myself from the first to the last word. *Dura lex, sed lex.*

The Index is a powerful weapon with which to scourge the recalcitrant. In Europe, where it is less frequently used, circumstances being taken into consideration, it is not as potent as it is in Quebec. The good French Canadian Catholic has a mortal dread of its sting, and well he may, for it means social and commercial ruin to him.

QUEBEC CITY, CANADA.

LINCOLN AND THE MATSON NEGROES.

A VISTA INTO THE FUGITIVE-SLAVE DAYS.

BY JESSE W. WEIK.

LONG after the close of the late war in the United States the law of the sovereign State of Illinois contained this heartless provision :

No black or mulatto person shall be permitted to reside in this State until such person shall produce to the County Commissioners' Court, where he or she is desirous of settling, a certificate of his or her freedom; which certificate shall be duly authenticated in the same manner that is required to be done in the cases arising under the acts and judicial proceedings of other States. And until such person shall have given bond with sufficient security to the people of this State for the use of the proper county, in the penal sum of one thousand dollars, conditioned that such person will not at any time become a charge to said county or any other county of this State as a poor person, and that such person shall at all times demean himself or herself in strict conformity with the laws of this State that now or may hereafter be enacted, it shall not be lawful for such free negro or mulatto to reside in this State.

Another section read :

If any person shall harbor such negro or mulatto aforesaid, not having such certificate thereof, or shall hire or in any way give sustenance to such negro or mulatto not having such certificate of freedom, and not having given bond, shall be fined in the sum of five hundred dollars, one-half thereof to the use of the county, and the other half to the party giving information thereof.

Although Illinois was adjoined on two sides by slave territory, yet prosecutions for violations of this odious statute, commonly known as the Black Law, were of rare occurrence within her borders. Owen Lovejoy, who drank so deeply and persistently at the fountain of Abolitionism that he has been compared to Otis, the "flame of fire" in colonial days, brought down upon himself the mighty arm of the law for "harboring a certain fugitive slave girl named Agnes." This occurred as early as May, 1842; and early in the following October he was again indicted for the same offence in connection with "a certain negro girl named Nance," in the circuit court of Bureau County, Illinois. Aside, however, from the intervention of the law which men of his violent stripe provoked by their persistent hostility and defiant attitude, we find but little evidence of the enforcement of this statute in the existing court records of the State.

It has been the privilege of the writer, however, after a laborious search among records, to unearth one suit for a violation of the Black Law which, but for the subsequent fame of one of its participants,

might have remained buried under the dust of ever-deepening forgetfulness. In order properly to appreciate the story of this suit it will be necessary to relate a few antecedent facts.

Early in 1848 Robert Matson, unmarried and well connected by family ties at his home in Bourbon County, Kentucky, purchased a large tract of land in the northeastern portion of Coles County, Illinois, subsequently known as Black Grove. True to the Kentucky custom of that day, he proceeded to "stock" his new purchase with the due proportion of slaves for farm labor and household purposes. After the crops had been gathered and when the year neared its close he returned the negroes to Kentucky, and speedily replaced them with another contingent from the same locality, under the impression, then prevalent, that by making frequent changes each instalment would, if interrupted by officers of the law, be held to be *in transitu* and thus not lose their legal status as slaves or acquire any of the rights of freemen by having been in the State of Illinois.

One negro, named Anthony Bryant, he permitted to acquire his freedom by remaining over from year to year, and he, by reason of his continuous service, was permitted to officiate as foreman or overseer. This negro, taking advantage of the opportunities which his advanced position gave him, made some attempts at an education, and had so far progressed in that direction as to be able, "by keeping his forefinger on the line, to spell his way slowly through the Bible"; and at religious gatherings he was often allowed to exercise the functions of exhorter, or local preacher. This son of Ham had a wife and four children, who formed part of the contingent of negroes which had arrived from Kentucky early in the year 1847.

These latter, at the end of their sojourn, would, doubtless, have returned to their former home beyond the Ohio as willingly as their predecessors had gone, but for the officious intervention of Matson's housekeeper, a white woman named Mary Corbin, whom the former had installed in that questionable relation as mistress of his household. She was a woman of ungovernable temper, and one day, venting her displeasure upon Jane, the wife of Anthony, soundly berated her, threatening her with immediate return to Kentucky, where she and her brood should be sold by their master and go "way down South in the cotton fields." That threat never failed of its effect on a slave. The poor negro woman stood transfixed as if doomed.

Anthony, too, heard the sentence, but it only roused him to a determined resistance. Driving to the neighboring village of Oakland, he told his sorrows to a crowd of listeners. Two men who heard his story were deeply stirred. They were brave and resolute, and firm in the faith that the "soil of Illinois should be made too hot for the foot

of a slave." One of them, Hiram Rutherford, a young physician, had emigrated from a point in Pennsylvania not far from Philadelphia; the other, Gideon M. Ashmore, hailed from the Duck River region of Tennessee. Though apparently antipodal in origin and early training, both these sturdy pioneers had the same inborn sense of justice, and both were thoroughly inoculated with what was then believed to be the virus of Abolitionism.

"We told the frightened old negro," related Dr. Rutherford to the present writer several years ago, "to return to the Matson place and bring his family down to us, spiriting them away, if necessary, during the night. Realizing the danger of such a proceeding both to us and to the slaves, we quietly invoked the aid of a few discreet and fair-minded friends. The time had now come for us to show our hands. We met at the home of Ashmore, and had our forces within hailing distance by nine o'clock that night. We waited till midnight, when the party, father, mother, and one child, on horseback, the rest on foot, arrived, all excited and panting from their hurried journey across the prairie. They remained with us several days, although Matson and one of his trusted friends, Joseph Dean, endeavored by alternate appeals and threats to win them from our protection. Failing in this, Matson resorted to the only alternative left: he executed before William Gilman, a justice of the peace, the affidavit required by the statute in such cases, and the negroes were thereupon taken to Charleston, the county seat, and lodged in the jail. This was just what we wanted — the intervention of the law. The trial before Squire Gilman consumed the better part of two days. Orlando B. Ficklin, a lawyer of recognized ability, consented to appear for the negroes, and Usher F. Linder, another attorney living in Charleston, was retained by Matson. After wrestling with the case for several days, Gilman, who was an exceedingly deliberate individual, decided that he had no jurisdiction as to the question of freedom, but, finding the negroes in Illinois, and therefore outside of a slave state without letters of freedom, he remanded them to the custody of the sheriff. Matson's plan, in case the magistrate gave him possession of the slaves, was to transport them to the Ohio River and thence across to Kentucky soil as speedily as possible. Joe Dean had a wagon and horses in readiness for the purpose, and I myself saw the rope with which it was proposed to tie the negroes in case they should resist or become unduly demonstrative. In anticipation of this move, however, Ashmore and I had certain men detailed to overtake the party the moment they drove beyond the town limits of Charleston."

The court records of Coles County, so far as they relate to this case, show that the negroes were confined in the Charleston jail during the better part of the fall of 1847, the sheriff, a facetious individual, having filed with the lawyers' papers a bill against Matson for "Keaping and Dieting five negrows forty Eight Days at thirty-seven cents each per day."

*State of Illinois Robert Matson vs.
 Coles County vs. A. G. Mitchell J. P. Sheriff
 vs. Keaping & Dieting four Negroes
 forty Eight Days at 37 cents each
 per Day \$107.30
 Keening and Discharging 3.25
 \$111.55*

What the peculiar items of diet were the records fail to state. Meanwhile litigation, as the result of this attempt to deprive the negroes of their liberty, did not cease. Matson was arrested and convicted on the charge of having lived in improper relations with Mary Corbin, his housekeeper; he, in turn, brought suit against both Rutherford and Ashmore, claiming damages for the detention of his slaves; and the latter filed a petition in the circuit court demanding their release by virtue of the writ of *habeas corpus*.

At this juncture, and in the midst of the cross-firing of these varied court proceedings, there is a pause in the play, and the man destined to reach immortality as the Great Emancipator steps into view. Here again we must let Dr. Rutherford — for he alone of all the participants still survives — take up the story:

Ashmore and I, having espoused the cause of the slaves, now fell under the shadow of Matson's wrath. His revenge culminated in a suit brought against us in the circuit court under the Black Law, demanding damages in the sum of twenty-five hundred dollars, or five hundred dollars for each slave. As soon as the summons was served on me I rode down to Charleston to hire a lawyer. I had known Abraham Lincoln several years, and his views and mine on the wrong of slavery being in perfect accord, I determined to employ him; besides, everyone whom I consulted advised me to do so. I found him at the tavern sitting on the veranda, his chair tilted back against one of the wooden pillars, entertaining the bystanders and loungers gathered about the place with one of his irresistible and highly-flavored stories. My head was full of the impending lawsuit, and I found it a great test of my patience to await the end of the chapter then in process of narration. Before he could begin on another I interrupted and called him aside. I told in detail the story of my troubles, reminded him that we had always agreed on the questions of the day, and asked him to represent me at the trial of my case in court. He listened attentively as I recited the facts leading up to the controversy with Matson, but I noticed a peculiarly troubled look came over his face now and then, his eyes appeared to be fixed in the distance beyond me, and he shook his head several times as if debating with himself some question of grave import. At length, and with apparent reluctance, he answered that he could not defend me, because he had already been counselled with in Matson's interest, and was therefore under professional obligations to represent the latter unless released. This was a grievous disappointment, and irritated me into expressions more or less bitter in tone. He seemed to feel this, and even though he endeavored in his plausible way to reconcile me to the proposition that, as a lawyer, he must represent and be faithful to those who counsel with and employ him, I appeared not to be convinced. I remember retorting that "my money was as good as any one's else," and although thoroughly in earnest I presume I was a little too hasty.

The interview and my quick temper, I am sure, made a deep impression on Mr. Lincoln, because, a few hours later, he despatched a messenger to me with the information that he had sent for the man who had approached him in Matson's behalf, and if they came to no more decisive terms than at first he would probably be able to represent me. In a very brief time this was followed by another message, that he could now easily and consistently free himself from Matson, and was, therefore, in a position, if I employed him, to conduct my defence. But it was too late; my pride was up, and I plainly indicated a disinclination to avail myself of his offer. Instead, I employed Charles H. Constable, a lawyer who had emigrated to Illinois from Maryland, a classical scholar, fluent and ready in debate, and of commanding physical presence. Ashmore made terms with Orlando B. Ficklin, a Kentuckian who had already won considerable renown as a lawyer, and had been more or less conspicuous in politics.

Strangely enough neither of these men, by reason of early surroundings, had evinced any decided opposition to slavery; in fact, one of them, in some respects, upheld it, and the other leaned so far in his prejudices toward the South, slaves and all, that he was arrested for uttering sentiments disloyal to the United States during the late war.

The court records show that the decision in the *habeas corpus* proceeding, which was tried before Judges Wilson and Treat, of the Supreme Court of the State, who had come down to Charleston for that purpose, virtually disposed of the suit for damages. The case was one of far-reaching importance, and lawyers and people generally were interested in the outcome. In his argument Mr. Lincoln demonstrated his instinctive honesty and his signal weakness in upholding a cause which failed to meet the approval of his conscience. "I remember well," is the testimony of one of his colleagues, "how he presented his side of the case; 'This then,' he explained, 'is the point on which this whole case turns: Were these negroes passing over and crossing the State, and thus, as the law contemplates, *in transitu*, or were they actually located by consent of their master? If only crossing the State that act did not free them, but if located, even indefinitely, by the consent of their owner and master, their emancipation logically followed. It is, therefore, of the highest importance,' he continued, 'to ascertain the true purpose and intent of Matson in placing these negroes on the Black Grove farm.'"

It is plain that this statement of Mr. Lincoln *gave his case away!* In the face of these admissions, no proof beyond the testimony of an ignorant, worthless fellow, who was easily and ruthlessly impeached, was or could have been produced to sustain the theory that the slaves were not located or domiciled, but were only *in transitu*. Mr. Lincoln laid stress on the fact that when Matson placed a slave on his Illinois farm, he declared publicly — the attesting witness being, generally, an irresponsible farm hand — that the settlement was not permanent, and that no counter-statement had ever been made in public or private by him. But even if true, this was not tenable ground, for Mr. Lincoln knew that these declarations of Matson were made with a design to be used in future for his own benefit, and therefore were of no more significance or weight as evidence in the case than any other verbal statement made in his own interest. Mr. Lincoln was pitifully weak and half-hearted in his prosecution of the case.

His associate, Linder, both eloquent and bold, went a bowshot beyond him, and, by contending that the recognition of slavery by the Federal Constitution was coupled with the corresponding obligation of protecting slaves as well as other chattels wherever the Constitution obtained and had sway, enunciated a doctrine that grated harshly on

the ears of people so far removed from the presence of actual slavery as were the residents of Coles County, Illinois.

"We were forced to rely," related Mr. Ficklin, one of the counsel for the defence, several years since, "on the Ordinance of 1787 and the Constitution of Illinois; but nothing helped us so much as the decisions of the English courts. The English people were unquestionably more obstinately hostile to African slavery at that time than were we on this side of the water, and the decisions of their courts, therefore, betokened a broader and more liberal spirit than ours. I shall never forget how Lincoln winced when Constable quoted from Curran's defence of Rowan: 'I speak in the spirit of the British law, which makes liberty commensurate with and inseparable from British soil; which proclaims even to the stranger and sojourner the moment he sets his foot upon British earth, that the ground on which he treads is holy and consecrated by the genius of universal emancipation. No matter in what language his doom may have been pronounced; no matter what complexion incompatible with freedom an Indian or an African sun may have burnt upon him; no matter in what disastrous battle his liberty may have been cloven down; no matter with what solemnities he may have been devoted upon the altar of slavery; the first moment he touches the sacred soil of Britain the altar and the god sink together in the dust; his soul walks abroad in her own majesty; his body swells beyond the measure of his chains that burst from around him, and he stands regenerated and disenthralled by the irresistible genius of universal emancipation.' Even Linder's trenchant wit and fervid eloquence — and no man more completely moved others by his language than Usher F. Linder — failed to keep the court from drifting around to the position Constable and I had taken. Our triumph was complete, and we had every reason to feel that our enthusiasm and zeal had not been wasted in advocacy of an unjust or unrighteous cause."

The further history of this case, as obtained from the decree of the court, signed Oct. 16, 1847, shows that Jane Bryant and her four hapless children "are discharged from the custody as well of the Sheriff as of Robert Matson and all persons claiming them by, through, or under him, as slaves, and they shall be and remain free and discharged from all servitude whatever to any person or persons from henceforward and forever."

We have the testimony of Dr. Rutherford in support of the fact that, "after the trial, which ended Saturday night, Matson left the country, crossed the Wabash river on his way to Kentucky, evaded his creditors, and *never paid Lincoln his fee.*" The suit for damages against Rutherford and Ashmore, in the prosecution of which Thomas A. Marshall, a lawyer in Charleston and a member of the Marshall family famous in Kentucky, was meanwhile joined with Lincoln and Linder, was, on plaintiff's motion, dismissed; and the following morning, after a wholesome breakfast, Lincoln, "mounted on his old gray mare, ruefully set out for the next county on the circuit. As he threw across the animal's back his saddle-bags, filled with soiled linen and crumpled court papers, and struck out across the 'measureless prairie,' he gave no further sign, if he experienced it, of any regret because, as a lawyer, he had upheld the cause of the strong against the weak."

A few days later old Anthony Bryant, determined to leave the scene of his troubles, converted what effects he had into cash, and

Rutherford and Ashmore collected by subscription from sympathizing friends about Oakland money enough to transport the now liberated slaves to the Mississippi river. Ashmore wagoned the brood across the country, making stops at Springfield, Jacksonville, and other places, where more money was contributed by persons whose sympathies were awakened by the story of their oppression and struggle for freedom. Strange enough, one of the donors at Springfield was Lincoln's law-partner, William H. Herndon. Arrived at Quincy, Ashmore turned back; thence the negroes floated down the Father of Waters to New Orleans, at which point, being freedmen, they were to set out across the Atlantic for their destination in Liberia.¹

¹"After the trial ended and the slaves had left for Liberia, I was again in the hospitable home of my old friend Ashmore. Isaac Rogers also was present. He had borne a noble part in the trial. Taking from his pocket a bank-bill and extending it to Mr. Ashmore, he said, 'Here, Matt, is the balance due from me on account of the Matson slave trial, and it does me more good to pay it than any bill I ever met in my life, because now I am sure I have helped some poor slave to gain his liberty.'" — *From unpublished MS. by Rev. John Wood.*

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

APRIL 15, 1865.

BY FRANC REMINGTON.

The cycling year now marks the day's returning,
On which the nation mourned her fallen chief,
When rich and poor alike were joined in mourning,
And all the land was eloquent of grief.

The flags waved low upon that sad to-morrow,
And heavy on the breezes seemed to lie;
While men met, speechless with their weight of sorrow,
And grasped each other's hands all silently.

The solemn bells rang out from every steeple,
For him whose word delivered the oppressed,
As on they bore him 'mid the stricken people,
And laid him, as a king is laid to rest.

And yet no robe of state was folded round him,
No diadem that rugged brow bedecked;
His gracious words and kindly deeds best crowned him,
And robed him best his kingly intellect.

A royal soul, that knew nor fear nor quailing;
Mighty to suffer for the cause he loved;
When foes were mocking and when friends were failing,
He stood upon the rock of Right unmoved.

As the disciples met their Lord at even,
And walked with Him amid the gathering night,
And felt their hearts burn when He talked of heaven,
But knew Him not until He left their sight, —

So there were those who journeyed close beside thee,
And knew thee not, O grand, heroic heart!
And trust and sympathy were oft denied thee,
As thou didst walk thy burdened way apart.

And when at last their eyelids were unsealed,
And they beheld thy noble soul aright,
By Time's uncompromising light revealed,
Lo! thou didst pass forever from their sight.

But we who dwell beneath thy later glory,
O grand and true! — we see thee as thou art.
Year after year we tell again thy story,
And shrine thee close and closer in the heart.

But all the tribute that our hearts can render,
Can ne'er enhance the lustre of thy name.
We murmur it in accents grave and tender,
And leave, still shining on, thy deathless fame.

Year after year thy name on history's pages
Shall brighter grow in Truth's transcendent ray;
Thine is the vindication of the ages,
And thine the crown that fadeth not away.

THE NIÑA ARCADIA.

A LEAF FROM LIFE IN HONDURAS.

BY GERTRUDE G. DE AGUIRRE.

I WAS one of a group of Americans who sat on a wide veranda one Sunday afternoon in Honduras. Our host and hostess were Americans, and the big new adobe house they had built stood alone on the side of a baby mountain, commanding a fine view of the capital in the distance.

The city's red-tiled roofs and white walls glinting in the dying sunshine, and the limpid river running round it, made a picture whose beauty we were not slow to comment on. As we were all familiar with the realities to be found under its picturesque red roofs, and most of us dismally homesick, things were said about the enchantment lent by distance — things intended to be humorous, but for the most part stale and unprofitable.

Still, we were courteous enough to take them as fresh and mirth-provoking, and to laugh at the correct time, though it was a perfunctory and somewhat grim order of laughter which deceived nobody.

Talk was taking its usual drift when Americans meet in that country, which is to find fault with everybody and condemn everything. They themselves may dwell in the depths of insignificance at home, but when in any part of Spanish America they look down on everything native from an eminence of self-conceit positively astounding. They have a contemptible habit of measuring everything by their standard of civilization. Whatever fails to conform to that must be sneered at and despised, — sure sign of the "little learning" well known to be "a dangerous thing."

In this carping spirit conversation moved on.

A man who had made history in his own country, which he was then industriously trying to forget, was particularly severe on Central Americans. Lazy, untruthful, sly, cunning, and supremely selfish he painted them, laying on the colors with no niggardly hand.

One of the ladies gently protested against this wholesale condemnation, ending her protest by reminding him that our own countrymen were by no means flawless.

"Of course we are not angels," he said, with a self-satisfied shrug, "but we are not unmitigatedly selfish. We do forget ourselves some-

times in pulling others out of holes. The American" (meaning a native of the United States) "may be very unsymmetrical in character and conduct, but for the most part he has one quality we can rely on: he will give his last dollar to help a friend. These people wouldn't do that to save their fathers and all their race from perdition."

"Is the American conspicuous for giving something better than dollars?" asked the lady; and there were unuttered things in her calm, clear eyes.

"Something better?" he echoed, greatly astonished. "Why, what is better? The world over the test of friendship and generosity is to share your money with your friend."

"It has always seemed to me an easy thing to give money when one has it, and no particular proof of unselfishness or friendship," said his opponent. "Usually it is the least troublesome thing we can do, the cheapest thing we can give. There are many better things. Our time, labor, sympathy, and love — these are all better, all costlier than money. Life itself is sometimes freely given, and this is the last, best gift. Perhaps any of us could give our money or more to a friend; but the true test of unselfishness is to give of our most precious possessions to those not our friends, to those whose wretched condition, perhaps, inspires loathing in all but the great-hearted."

"Well, if there are any such big souls on the earth, they are not indigenous to this soil, I am sure," said he, with a satisfied grin, thinking he was perpetrating humor.

The lady had some journals and magazines fresh from the States on her lap. With the view, doubtless, of quieting our self-satisfied countryman's too critical tongue, some one asked her to read aloud. Something had to be done, as one of our number had a Spanish-American husband, and assuredly could not enjoy hearing such wholesale condemnation of his race.

"I will read a poem I find here," she said. "It is by James Buckingham, and is called 'The Plate of Gold.'"

We begged her for the poem, with the greatest sincerity, as literature of any brand was scarce enough to be valued highly.

In the most musical of voices she read:

One day there fell in great Benares temple court
A wondrous plate of gold, whereon these words were writ:
"To him who loveth best, a gift from heaven."

The story ran that the priests then made proclamation to the effect that at midday all claimants to the gift should assemble and tell of the deeds on which their claims were based. The news flew fast, so that soon from every quarter and of every class they came. For a year the

priests sat in solemn council hearing the tales of the claimants who came and went.

At last, after they had patiently weighed the worth of all, they bestowed the gift on one who seemed the largest lover of his race, for he had parted his whole estate among the poor. But at his first finger-touch the gold changed to lead. While all stood aghast he dropped it clanging on the floor, where it was again transformed to shining gold.

Then the priests sat and judged another year. Three times hosts made the award, and as often heaven refused the gift. Meantime hosts of maimed beggars lay all about the temple gate, and gold rained freely into their hands; but not one of those who gave, so much as turned to look compassionately into the eyes of those who begged.

The second year had almost passed, and still the gold was turned to lead as soon as touched. One day there came a simple peasant to pay a vow within the temple. He had never heard of the strange contest for the plate of gold; but as he passed along the line of shrivelled and maimed beggars, all his soul was moved to pity, and sympathetic tears trembled in his eyes.

Now by the temple gate
There lay a poor sore creature, blind and shunned by all.
But when the peasant came and saw the sightless face
And trembling, festered hands, he could not pass, but knelt,
And took both palms in his, and softly said: "O thou,
My brother! bear thy trouble bravely. God is good."
Then he arose and walked straightway across the court,
And entered where they wrangled of their deeds of love before the priests.

Awhile he listened sadly; then
Had turned away; but something moved the priest who held
The plate of gold to beckon to the peasant. So
He came, not understanding, and obeyed, and stretched
His hand and took the sacred vessel. Lo! it shone
With thrice its former lustre and amazed them all!
"Son," cried the priest, "rejoice! The gift of God is thine.
Thou lovest best!" And all made answer, "It is well,"
And one by one departed. But the peasant knelt
And prayed, bowing his head above the golden plate;
While o'er his soul like morning streamed the love of God.

The listeners were silent. The beautiful tale had gone to their hearts, and lifted them above the cheap phrases of appreciation which rush readily to the lips of the shallow.

The American who believed in Americans and nobody else soon broke the spell.

"That's all very fine for old Benares," he said contemptuously, "but it won't do for our country and these times. We are too far along in science to go about hugging beggars that way. One could catch some disease by such nonsense. Neither does gold come to us from heaven

in platefuls. We get it by being sharper than our neighbors." He spoke in dead earnest and according to his light.

Nobody disputed with him. His unabashed disclosure struck us all dumb. Taking this for a proof that we were silenced by his superior wisdom he went on:

"If a plate of gold were put up here for that kind of a raffle nobody would get it — nobody born in Honduras at any rate."

"The *nifia* Arcadia is coming," said our hostess; "I am so glad. I want you all to meet her. She is a magnificent character, a kind of moral Amazon seldom found in any country."

The large, bare grounds surrounding the house were enclosed by a thick adobe wall seven or eight feet high. From the gateway a wide walk led to the door. Slowly up this path came the *nifia* Arcadia, a tall, large, Juno like figure. She moved with a grave stateliness, which gave an old-time elegance to the flow of her wide skirts. The rest of her costume was hidden under the inevitable *pañolón*, a large richly fringed silk shawl of fine texture, without which no Honduran lady ever appears on the street. Her head, however, was bare, after the custom of the country, but shaded by a handsome silk parasol, also deeply fringed. (Next to the *pañolón* the parasol is the Honduran lady's most important adjunct of apparel, and must be costly as her purse can buy.) Her dark hair was parted plainly in the middle, and hung down her back in two long shining braids. But about the forehead delicate little rings clustered airily.

The *nifia* Arcadia means "the child Arcadia." In Honduras the old Spanish custom of addressing every lady by her Christian name still obtains. Invariably, however, the word *nifia* (pronounced *neen-yah*, with the accent on the first syllable) is prefixed, and is a term of affectionate respect, applied only to those of the upper class. She may be eighty years old; but to her friends and servants she is always the *nifia* Maria, Juana, or whatever her name may be. *Dofia* is the formal title, but to those who cling to old usage *nifia* is believed to convey more delicate regard.

The *nifia* Arcadia walked between two atoms of humanity in short, starched skirts, and with legs and feet very correctly clad. Their faces were completely hidden by wide-brimmed, modish hats, the very pinnacle of luxury and splendor in Honduras, where millinery is a modern innovation, and costs ruinous prices.

When the lady reached the house she was introduced to each of us in turn. She acknowledged the introduction to the ladies with the pretty, graceful embrace there in vogue as the polite manner of greeting or adieu. To the gentlemen she made a courteous but yet most formal bow.

Then it was that we saw the atoms shorn of their hats, and were dumfounded at the sight. Two uglier or more weird little beings it would be hard to find in or out of Honduras. They were of Indian and Caribbean mixture, without a drop of white blood in them, and were miserable specimens of their miserable class at that. They had dark, dark skins, long, lean old faces, big, solemn eyes, elfishly thin bodies, and little claw-like hands. Both were so extraordinarily ugly that there was no choice between them. You could not say that one was either better-looking or uglier than the other, and there appeared not to be a day's difference in their ages. They were about five years old, and their names were Ramona and Esther.

Our hostess explained in English — of which her visitor did not understand a word — that these were the niña Arcadia's adopted children. Perhaps we let our astonishment show in our faces. Anyhow she went on to tell us that her friend had been the mother of four children, all of whom had died, and that she and her husband had taken these two hopeless little creatures when they were tiny babies, because there was nobody else to do for them, there being no orphan asylums in Honduras. One was the child of a servant who went away leaving it on their hands. About the same time the parents of the other, who lived near, died of smallpox, and there was nobody to care for it; in fact, nobody would go near it. Both babies were ill from neglect, so ill that the work of building them up looked almost impossible.

The niña Arcadia gave them a mother's care, doing everything for them with her own hands, and as a matter of course passing many a sleepless night and wearisome day. By her intelligent and faithful care she had brought them from the very verge of the grave; and, incredible as it seemed, she loved them as her own. In all particulars they were treated as her children, and they were not to know anything to the contrary as long as she and her husband could prevent it. She dressed them in fine and fashionable clothes, and where she went they went.

And how they loved her!

They sat, one on either side of her, on low seats, and constantly caressed and kissed her hands and her garments, and sprang up from time to time to kiss her lips, each vying with the other as to which could show the greater affection for her.

She told them to dance, and, unabashed, they stepped forth and executed a quaint and feathery dance they had taught themselves, an inherited memory of their Toltec ancestors, perhaps.

Meantime the niña Arcadia watched them with her placid, patient, kind eyes. Hers was a fine face on which rested a rare and noble composure. She was sweetly unaware that her attitude toward these dusky human atoms was unusual. She never thought of her mothering of

them as a sacrifice, or as a work that called for special nobility of heart. It had come in her way, and she had done it without hesitation; but never for a moment did she think of making a merit of it. Now she found great pleasure in it because she loved them.

When she left us and was moving down the long walk, leading the two little girls, some one said :

"The plate of gold would never turn to lead if given to her. She loveth best."

All assented, even he who had declared that unselfishness was not indigenous to Central-American soil.

"I am beaten without moving out of my tracks," he said. "This is ahead of giving one's last dollar to a friend, far and away. Nothing I know of can hold a candle to it. All the love I have ever seen has been rank selfishness beside this, and couldn't touch the plate of gold with a ten-foot pole. It beats the man in old Benares, too. Little did I think I was to see my first angel down here in Honduras."

COEDUCATION IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

BY MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,

*Ex-President of the National Council of Women of the United States, and
Vice-President at large of the International Council of Women.*

OF all the tendencies in current education, none is more marked than the tendency to educate girls and women seriously. Society formerly refused women the higher education on the ground that, being cut off from large interests, they had no use for large culture. In so far as that argument was sound, the large interests which society now confides to women are an unanswerable argument for giving them the higher education.

With the discussion concerning the higher education of women has been the other contention of coeducation, and the two have been frequently treated as if synonymous terms presenting identical claims. The problem of coeducation has really been solved by State universities, as coeducation in the higher institutions supported by the State was the necessary and logical sequence of coeducation in the primary, grammar, and high schools maintained at public cost. Coeducation began in the necessities of pioneer life, and spread in the common schools; it was the sense of justice to the taxpayers that opened the State universities to the system; and it was the influence of the latter which compelled the opening of non-State colleges, as it was only by admitting women that these could compete with the coeducational State universities.

Coeducation has passed the stage where it can be spoken of as a tendency. The fact that, without petition or discussion, such private institutions as the Leland Stanford Jr. University and the University of Chicago were from the beginning open to women, shows that the wisdom and feasibility of coeducation in the higher institutions is no longer an open question in the public mind. The habit of the present time, however, is to emphasize the best opportunities for higher education rather than to insist upon coeducation. Originally to ask for the best opportunities was to ask to be admitted to institutions which had been founded and organized for men, as no institution offering first-rate opportunities existed for women alone. At the present time, however, opportunities of the highest order, not identical, but perhaps equally rich in possible fruitage, may be found either with coeducation or without it.

It really is not in the university at the present moment that the tendency to treat the education of women seriously is most marked, but in the secondary school. This may be seen by a comparison of the bulletins, catalogues, and programmes of the leading secondary schools for girls in our country as recently, say, as in 1876, with the corresponding documents of the present year. The subjects of study, the time allotted to their mastery, the attitude toward the further development of the pupil, and, above all, the general comments of the principals respecting the advantages offered and the object sought, tell the whole story.

They strikingly illustrate the social change from the period which regarded the daughter of every family in comfortable circumstances mainly as an ornament and a luxury, to the present situation in which the daughters are educated with respect not only to their social position and to the purses of their fathers, but to their own qualities, their possible abilities, and their right to use them.

The most remarkable tendency connected with the one just discussed is that of educated women to take themselves seriously and to apply their trained minds to the solution of the very domestic problems to which it was originally supposed the higher education would make them averse. This proposition is established by the annual reports of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae. These reports show that Collegiate Alumnae are engaged in studying the sanitary conditions of public schools in different parts of the country and in securing sanitary reforms in the schools; that the Association has a committee on the study of the development of the child, and is trying to work up an interest among undergraduates with the hope of being able to define a special line of study and research in child psychology that will lead up to the Doctor's degree.

The most important tendency is that toward individual work which culminates in original research and consequent professional advanced scholarship. The degree to which the public mind is becoming imbued with the necessity for such independent high scholarship may be measured approximately by the number of scholarships and fellowships established for American students, both at home and abroad, during the last decade. Advanced study, original research, the real mastery of a specialty, and high scholarship, have been made possible to American women only within very recent years. The number and the character of the women who are availing themselves of these opportunities show that aptitude for real scholarship is not lacking among women.

This departure in modern education is, however, only just begun. It is only within the last thirty years that any opportunities for higher education have been available to women in this country. At the present time, therefore, the women who first bore college degrees are still

on the youthful side of middle life, and it is only within the last decade that the battle for the higher education of women may be considered won. Our State universities are the most democratic of all the institutions of higher learning, and it is due to this fact, as well as to a sense of justice to the taxpayers, already mentioned, that they were opened to women. But even these potent reasons did not succeed in securing the admission of women until 1860. The one exception is found in Utah, whose State university, founded in 1850, was coeducational from the beginning. The following table¹ will be read with interest as illustrating the attitude of the State universities toward women.

	Opened.	Admitted Women.		Opened.	Admitted Women.
Ohio {	Athens ..1809.....	1871	Minnesota	1869.....	1869
	Columbus 1873.....	1873	Oregon	1876.....	1876
Indiana	1824.....	1867	Kansas.	1866.....	1866
Illinois	1868.....	1871	Nevada.....	1874.....	1874
Missouri.....	1843.....	1870	Nebraska.....	1871.....	1871
Michigan.....	1841.....	1870	Colorado	1877.....	1877
Iowa	1860.....	1860	N. Dakota.....	1884.....	1884
Wisconsin	1849 {	1860 to 1863	S. Dakota	1885.....	1885
		1868 to 1871	Montana.....	1883.....	1883
		1875 continuously	Washington ...	1862.....	1862
California	1869.....	1870	Utah	1850.....	1850

A glance at this table will show that but one of the State universities opened prior to 1861 has been from the start coeducational, but that all opened prior to that date became coeducational between 1861 and 1871; and that all organized since 1871 started as coeducational institutions; a statistical illustration of the advance of public sentiment on this question.

The higher education of women in the West is identified with coeducation. Of the total two hundred and twelve higher institutions west of the Alleghanies which receive women, one hundred and sixty-five are coeducational. Of the remaining forty-seven but thirty are authorized by charter to grant degrees. Of these thirty but seven are non-denominational. The remainder are distributed among denominations as follows: Presbyterian, seven; Methodist-Episcopal, five; Baptist, three; Christian, two; Protestant-Episcopal, one; Congregational, one; not ascertained, four. In an article of this character it would be unjust to withhold the fact that the colleges under Methodist control have been generally first and most generous in opening their opportunities to women, and that they are also conspicuous among the colleges that include women in their faculties and boards of trustees.

In Ohio, the oldest of the Western States, the higher education of women was first conceded. It is almost universally asserted that "Oberlin was founded to give women the same educational advantages

¹ Taken from the writer's chapter on "Higher Education of Women in the West," in a volume entitled "Woman's Work in America," published by Henry Holt & Co.

enjoyed by men," but a study of the history of this institution will not sustain that statement. Such a study will show that such collegiate coeducation as Oberlin now offers has been developed gradually, and that it differs in many essential respects from that to be found to-day in our State universities. Antioch College, opened at Yellow Springs, Ohio, in 1853, was from the first avowedly coeducational, and women were not only received as students, but also from the beginning included in the faculty.

Many colleges in the West had, at the start, a "female course," in which music was substituted for mathematics, French for Greek, etc., but in a little while such a course was repudiated by the women, who proved their capability to take the same course as the men.

The "normal class" was another of the steps toward coeducation. In the middle of this century it was not uncommon to hold special short terms of instruction for teachers during vacations; and to secure the advantages of good lecture rooms and appliances, and also the aid of distinguished professors, permission would be obtained to hold these normal classes in the State university or in college buildings elsewhere. Women entered and sometimes exclusively composed these "normal classes." Such classes being over, the women students would desire to attend the lectures which were delivered by the same professors to the men students in the regular college work. Thus gradually women were admitted to one privilege after another, until at last the college awakened to the consciousness that it had no reserves.

The opinion began to prevail that the women teachers who are to prepare the boys for the university ought to know, by their own experience in it as students, what the requirements of the university are. In early years, when a denominational college for men was formed, a "Female Seminary" was frequently established in the vicinity. Usually poorly equipped in books and appliances, the students of such a seminary were permitted occasionally to use the library and laboratory of the men's college, to witness experiments by the professors, and also to attend the popular lecture courses. Finally the two institutions would be merged into one.

The cry for the "practical" in modern education has aided also in bringing about coeducation. One opinion in which all men agree is that women should be useful; and in connection with education the average man thinks that "scientific" is a synonym for "practical." The conviction that a "scientific, practical" course of study will enlarge her capability for usefulness has secured the entrance of many a woman to a college where such courses of study are offered, when she would not have been permitted to go where only the inflexible courses of classics and mathematics were taught.

The elective system also has silenced a host of objectors to coeducation. All of that class who entertain vague notions that women are intuitional creatures, that their perceptions are quicker but their reflective powers less developed than those of men, and who hold the consequent conviction that women cannot so well conform to prescribed lines of study, are reconciled to coeducation by the elective system.

Until recently the popular view might be expressed as follows: "Women may do the highest work if they can make themselves ready for it, but we will do nothing to help them prepare;" therefore it is only in recent years that private secondary schools where a sound, thorough preparation for college could be obtained by girls have existed. Such schools now are winning popular favor and support, and doubtless in time will displace the foolish institutions called "finishing schools," where formerly the daughters of our well-to-do people were sent for a superficial instruction.

No doubt the strongest argument for opening the universities to women is found in the fact that women in such large numbers are teachers in the public schools, even in the high schools. President Eliot, of Harvard, and other leading educators have convinced us that our youths at eighteen are only as far advanced as European boys at fifteen. This mortifying fact cannot be attributed to American stupidity, for it is well known that Americans are not stupid; but it may be explained by the fact that our teachers often have but a very limited education. If we would have our children well and early prepared for college, they must be instructed by teachers of sound attainments and disciplined minds; and as a majority of teachers in the United States are women, this means that to women the university must be opened.

This article does not afford space to take up and discuss in detail the arguments against coeducation. The best answer to all objections is found in the results of the experiments which have been made and closely observed during the past quarter of a century. President Angell, of the University of Michigan, says:

Women were admitted here under the pressure of public sentiment, against the wishes of most of the professors; but I think no professor now regrets it, or would favor their exclusion. We made no solitary modification of our rules or requirements. The women did not become hoydenish; they did not fall in their studies; they did not break down in health; they have been graduated in all departments; they have not been inferior in scholarship to the men; the careers of our women graduates have been, on the whole, very satisfactory.

Andrew D. White, while president of Cornell University, said:

My own opinion is that all the good results we anticipated, and some we did not anticipate, have followed the admission of women; on the other hand, not one of the prophesied evils. I do not hesitate to say that I believe their presence here good for us in every respect.

The learned Bascom, while president of the University of Wisconsin, said :

Coeducation is with us wholly successful. There is no difference of opinion concerning it, either in our faculty or in our board. It does not seem to us to be any longer an open question. The advantages of the system are manifold; the evils are none.

The president of Northwestern University testified :

The effect of coeducation in this institution, upon the manners and morals of both men and women, is only good. The history of coeducation shows that men and women trained under its influence are less open to the temptations of the passions than are those trained in separate schools.

President Harper, of Chicago University, who, before the opening of that institution, was reputed an opponent of coeducation, now expresses himself like an ardent advocate of it.

President Jordan, a graduate of Cornell, at one time president of the Indiana State University, and now president of Leland Stanford Jr. University, after a long experience in three coeducational institutions, is a thorough believer in the system.

Letters from over two hundred of the presidents and professors in coeducational colleges give unvarying testimony of the same nature as that quoted above, and it must be accepted as conclusive evidence of the value and success of the system of coeducation. As one of its most important results we find that the intellectual association of men and women begun at college continues after leaving it, and modifies the social life of every circle into which graduates of coeducational colleges enter. Literary clubs, associations for the promotion of art and science, committees engaged in philanthropy, etc., are composed of men and women, and the offices in such organizations are distributed between the two sexes. Men who have studied with women in college, almost invariably favor their admission to county and State medical, legal, and editorial associations, and to the various positions in business and professional life. The growth of this cordial recognition of equality has not, as it was feared would be the case, been accompanied by the decadence of man's reverence for womanhood and woman's admiration for manliness. Both these sentiments apparently survive intellectual acquaintance, competition, and partnership.

Coeducation must recede or go forward, and the system cannot be regarded as permanently established until we have not only coeducation but co-instruction. The almost universal absence of women from college faculties is a grave defect in our coeducational institutions; and, negatively at least, their absence has as injurious an influence upon young men as upon young women. Women in the faculty, women on the board of visitors and board of trustees, holding these positions not because of

their family connections, not because they are the wives or daughters or sisters of the men in the faculty and on the boards, but because of their individual abilities, are the great present need of higher coeducational institutions. Only the presence of women in such official places can relieve young men who are students in the institutions from an arrogant sense of superiority arising from their sex, and the young women from a corresponding sense of subordination due to *their* sex.

The great modern universities of Stanford and of Chicago offer a new type, making absolutely no distinction between the opportunities offered to men and to women. As women entered both institutions at the beginning, men can have no sense of priority or previous ownership, and the term "co-ed," which college boys are so fond of applying to college girls, may with equal propriety be applied by the latter to the boys. In both institutions women have a place in the faculty, and enjoy the same advantages of fellowships. The latter especially are an evidence of the recognition of the right of women to the really higher education.

Most colleges assume that book education and education under professors cease at maturity. Chicago and Stanford universities assume that even mature men and women may feel the necessity for studying under guidance, and both extend a welcome to old as well as to young, and large numbers of the students registered in both institutions are past early youth. This continued education of older men and women was foreshadowed in the university-extension movement, but the two great universities named, so widely different in organization and administration, have made it possible for mature people to avail themselves of formal teaching without comment from others or embarrassment to themselves.

In spite of this flattering presentation of the origin and progress of coeducation, it is undeniable that a reaction against the system has set in. This reaction in the university itself may be due partly to the fact that the faculties of modern colleges are being made up largely of young men of whom it is required that they shall have studied abroad. Usually they study in France or Germany. In the years thus devoted to foreign study and to obtaining their doctorates, the young professors are apt to imbibe the prejudice which exists in those countries, especially in Germany, against coeducation. This prejudice they bring back to America and carry with them into our coeducational institutions. Contemporary writers on pedagogy, more than their predecessors, emphasize the need of recognizing the sex of the pupil, and most thoughtful people now agree that sex is as characteristic of mind as of body. There be those who, believing that sex enters into *mind*, assume that therefore there must be feminine studies for *feminine* minds. It would be just as logical to provide feminine for

inine bodies ; but it is universally admitted that milk is good for babes of both sexes, and meat for the mature of both. We trust to the different natures to provide for themselves by their assimilations. Each will assimilate according to its own kind. On the same food girls will become plump and rounded, boys lean and sinewy, because such is the nature of each. The same principle applies to the curriculum for the mind as to the table of foods for the body. The mental nature may be depended upon to select and to assimilate from common food the elements demanded by its needs, including the needs of its sex, with as much accuracy as does the physical nature.

Coeducation has tested the ability of girls to pursue the curriculum formulated for boys, and their possession of such ability has been proven. The approved curriculum, however, is not inseparable from coeducation ; as boys had followed it before coeducation was tried, so girls may enjoy it after coeducation shall have been abandoned.

This increasing study of sex as a factor to be reckoned with in the development of our educational system undoubtedly will result in a return to the separate schools for boys and girls, between the time at which children leave the primary schools, at ten years of age, and the time at which they enter the university, at twenty or twenty-one years of age ; and during the period spent in what are popularly called the grammar grades of the elementary schools, in secondary schools and colleges, girls and boys will be educated separately.

Thus coeducation will be limited to the early period of life, before sex consciously asserts itself, and to the period of disciplined adulthood, when sex may be controlled consciously by the judgment and the will.

In many of the best public grammar and high schools of the country the separate system has been adhered to always ; undoubtedly it would have been maintained everywhere but for the additional cost of supporting separate schools for boys and girls ; for during the past half-century, characterized by the organization of public high schools, the same economical reasons have existed for coeducation in such schools as existed for coeducation in the colleges when the demand for the collegiate education of women was first made.

As the wealth of the country increases, and the habit of public expenditure for educational purposes becomes confirmed, the economical reasons urged for coeducation during adolescence will cease.

One great gain thus far secured by coeducation is the popular consciousness of the native intellectual equality of the sexes, a consciousness that could scarcely have been developed within the same mind under the separate system of education.

men to present, however, the economic conditions of our country, the of visitors of the relation between popular education and popular

prosperity, and the attainment of the recognition of the rights of girls to share all opportunities of education, render it possible for students of psychology, for practical observers of our social life, and for teachers to unite in a careful and unprejudiced study of the dangers and the defects of the coeducational system between kindergarten and university. It is quite safe to say that the coeducational grammar or high school five years old that has not had its tragedy is rare. That coeducation during adolescence exposes both boys and girls to premature emotional development and to a series of emotional experiences which, when not resulting tragically, diminish emotional power and impair the purity and the ardor of the affections in maturity, cannot be doubted.

Two other relatively new and rapidly growing demands upon the school, namely, for physical culture and for manual training, are also arguments for separate education; since differences in physique and differences in industrial and economical demands will compel a differentiation of methods in these departments of instruction.

People are beginning to realize that logic, philosophy, mathematics, and the ancient classics do not change the sex of the mind which is fed by them. The study, the contemplation, the knowledge of these subjects do not make women masculine, but do render them keen-sighted, open-minded, and rational; and it may be demonstrated that the feminine side of life needs the application of these qualities for its best development quite as much as does the masculine side.

Nothing is more evident than the continued need of the study of logic in institutions for men only, since fair-mindedness and the rational habit are supposed to be fruits of logic. It is always charged against women that they are ruled by sentiment. So far, however, all history affords no example of large numbers of women acting in an organized body so manifestly governed by sentiment as are the Boards of Overseers of Oxford and Cambridge Universities in England, and of our own Harvard University. It is sentiment and not logic that makes majorities of these boards vote to give to women who have taken advantage of the opportunities for study grudgingly granted at these institutions, certificates equivalent to the A. B. degree, instead of the A. B. degree itself. When logic shall bear its perfect fruits, the sex of the student will not be considered in granting the official statement of work done by her.

If one would realize the degree to which women are penetrating the realm of the higher scholarship, one could not do better than read the reports of two committees of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, namely, that of the Committee on Educational Progress, and that of the Committee on Fellowships.

THE SCRIPTURE-ERRANCY CONFLICT.

BY BENJAMIN F. BURNHAM.

AFTER Ezra Cornell had been grievously assailed for not giving the presidency of his university to some clergyman, rather than to a "mere layman," its president, Dr. Andrew D. White, delivered in Cooper Institute, New York, a lecture on "The Battlefields of Science," wherein he maintained this thesis:

In all modern history, interference with science in the supposed interest of religion, no matter how conscientious such interference may have been, has resulted in the direst evils both to religion and to science, and invariably; and, on the other hand, all untrammelled investigation, no matter how dangerous to religion some of its stages may have seemed for the time to be, has invariably resulted in the highest good both of religion and of science.

Thereupon the religious press furiously attacked his position. But his thesis was approved by Dr. Woolsey, President of Yale, and by all the leading "square" scholars. The lecture was amplified into a little book entitled "The Warfare of Science." New chapters were brought out in the *Popular Science Monthly*, and the whole is now published in two volumes entitled "History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom."

The twentieth and concluding chapter is entitled "From the Divine Oracles to the Higher Criticism." A rapid review thereof, together with a few supplementary reflections upon this and cognate or corollary points, is our present concern.

Sacred literature is developed under certain general laws. First of all, the mind of man in every civilization shapes his sacred books out of myth and legend; and the fittest survive.

The second law (named by Comte "the Law of Wills and Causes") is the tendency of man to attribute to the Supreme Being a physical, intellectual, and moral structure like his own. Hence it is that "the votary of each of the great world religions ascribes to its sacred books what he considers absolute perfection: he imagines them to be what he himself would give to the world, were he himself infinitely good, wise, and powerful."

The third law is, that when the sacred books are once selected and grouped they come to be regarded as a final creation from which nothing can be taken away, and of which even error in form, if sanctioned by tradition, may not be changed. Thus, when a few years ago a

group of scholars — ministers and laymen of churches widely differing in belief — met in Westminster Abbey, and carefully revised the English version of the Bible, scrupulously preserving the old matter, their work was no sooner done than it was bitterly attacked, and to this day is by many people viewed with dislike; they prefer the old version, notwithstanding its glaring misconceptions, misinterpretations, and mistranslations.

A fourth law is, that when once a group of sacred books has been evolved, though really a library of dissimilar works, they come to be thought "one inseparable mass of interpenetrating parts; every statement in each fitting exactly and miraculously into each statement in every other; and each and every one and altogether, literally true in fact, and at the same time full of hidden meanings." Thus the Jewish rabbis once declared that each passage in the law of Moses had seventy distinct meanings, and that God himself gave three hours every day to their study.

A fifth law is, that "when literal interpretation clashes with increasing knowledge, or with progress in moral feeling, theologians take refuge in mystic meanings." Thus allegory was resorted to in evading the atrocities of Brahma, the infamous adventures of Jupiter, and the trickery, cruelty, and injustice of Jahveh. Even Mr. Gladstone is said to have fancied that Neptune's trident had a mysterious connection with the doctrine of the Trinity!

The modern method of criticism of the Bible by comparison of manuscripts is said to have been initiated in the fifteenth century by Lorenzo Valla, who proved certain apocryphal writings to be forgeries, and who showed that the "Apostles' Creed" post-dated the Apostles by several centuries. In the twelfth century, Aben Ezra (not relishing risk of martyrdom) had advanced, merely as a sort of enigma suggested by a Jewish rabbi of the preceding generation, a query as to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, a thing clearly disproved by the books themselves. In 1670, Spinoza demonstrated that all the five books were full of glosses and revisions made long after the time of Moses. In 1678, Richard Simon, in his "Critical History of the Old Testament," showed from internal evidence that the Pentateuch and other of the books had been compiled from older sources, and that Hebrew was not the primitive language of mankind. Bishop Bossuet denounced Simon's work as "a bulwark of irreligion," and unsuccessfully ordered the whole edition to be burned. Soon afterward Jean Leclerc, a Swiss refugee at Amsterdam, similarly showed that in the plural form of the word used in Genesis for God, "Elohim," there is a trace of the Chaldean polytheism. In 1755, Jean Astruc published his work showing that two main narratives enter into the composition

of Genesis, one using the word "Elohim," the other, "Jahveh" for Jehovah.

Early in the sixteenth century Erasmus proved that the seventh verse in the fifth chapter of the first epistle of John was an interpolation. But although Sir Isaac Newton and the nineteenth-century revisers also rejected this passage as to the "three witnesses," the Anglican Church still retains it in its Lectionary, and the Scotch Church in the Westminster Confession, as a main support of the dogma of the Trinity. Luther, in averring justification by faith and not by good works, rejected the epistle of James as a "book of straw;" and he would not concede that Paul wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews.

In the eighteenth century, John Gottfried Herder wrote his "Spirit of Hebrew Poetry," proving the Psalms to be by different authors and of different periods, and Solomon's Song to be simply an oriental love poem, not an allegory of Christ's love for the Church, or a recondite representation of the love of Jehovah for Israel. In 1806, DeWette published his "Introduction to the Old Testament," showing that Deuteronomy is a late priestly summary of the law, and that Chronicles is a very late priestly recast of early history. In 1853, Hermann Hupfeld published his treatise establishing that three documents are combined in Genesis. In 1839, Abraham Kuenen published his "Religion of Israel," proving that the Levitical law had been established not at the beginning, but at the end of the existence of the Jewish nation, when heroes and prophets had been succeeded by priests; and that the Old Testament history is largely mingled with myth and legend. In 1878, Julius Wellhausen published his "History of Israel," showing it to be "an evolution obedient to the laws at work in all ages," and Jewish literature to be "a growth out of individual, tribal, and national life."

In 1860, there appeared in England a volume entitled "Essays and Reviews," by six different authors, all insisting that the Scriptures are to be interpreted like any other book. The principal one, entitled "The Education of the World," is by Frederick Temple, who was head master at Rugby, and who in 1885 became Bishop of London, and has lately been made Archbishop of Canterbury. In his reply to the protest of Bishop Tait (afterward Archbishop of Canterbury), he asked: "What can be a grosser superstition than the theory of literal inspiration?" Two of the essayists were prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts, and appealed to the Privy Council. Lord Chancellor Westbury's decision avoided pronouncing any opinion of the book as a whole, but, as to Essayist Wilson's denial of the dogma of eternal punishment, stated that "the court does not find in the formularies of the English Church any such distinct declaration upon the subject as to

require it to punish the expression of a hope by a clergyman that even the ultimate pardon of the wicked who are condemned in the day of judgment may be consistent with the will of Almighty God." Thereupon a humorist proposed for Westbury an epitaph, recounting, among other good deeds, that he "dismissed Hell with costs, and took away from orthodox members of the Church of England their last hope of eternal damnation."

This reminds a Bostonian that the pulpits which only half a century ago denounced Hosea Ballou's restoration dogma, now boldly declare that neither hell nor heaven is a locality, but simply a condition of the human soul; also of Starr King's answer to the question: "What is the difference between a Universalist and a Unitarian?" namely, "A Universalist believes that God is too good to damn him; a Unitarian believes himself to be too good to be damned!"

In 1862, John William Colenso, Anglican Bishop of Natal, published his "The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua Critically Examined," wherein he pointed out that an army of 600,000 could not have been mobilized in a single night; that 3,000,000 people with their flocks and herds could not have obtained food and drink on so small and arid a desert as that over which they were said to have wandered during forty years; and that the butchery of 200,000 Midianites by 12,000 Israelites, exceeding infinitely in atrocity the tragedy at Cawnpore, had happily been carried out only on paper. He had found the Zulus whom he sought to convert suspicious of the legendary features of the Old Testament, and when his catechumens questioned him back, he answered them honestly. As to one of the points upon which he was anathematized by his ecclesiastical superiors, Prof. Hitzig of Leipzig remarked: "Your bishops are making themselves the laughing-stock of Europe. Every Hebraist knows that the animal mentioned in Leviticus is really the hare; and every zoölogist knows that it does not chew the cud." Colenso appealed to the Privy Council, and his excommunication was declared to be null and void. Three of the wisest and best men in England — Bishops Wilberforce and Thirlwall and Dean Stanley — championed Colenso. Phillips Brooks once gave a vivid description of the scene witnessed by him in the Convocation of Canterbury when Stanley virtually withstood alone the obstinate traditionalism of the whole body in the matter of the Athanasian Creed.

In 1875, George Smith, the great Assyriologist, published his "The Chaldean Account of Genesis." Finally, the higher criticism so prevailed that when in 1889 there appeared the book of essays entitled "Lux Mundi," sustaining the new view, Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury, asked the famous question: "May not the Holy Spirit make use of myth and legend?" The method also extended among rational

clergymen and scholars in other churches through the writings of Samuel Davidson, John Pye Smith, Robertson Smith, Prof. Sayce, and others in England, and of Theodore Parker, Prof. Egbert Smyth, Charles A. Briggs, and others in America. In a little book on "Assyriology," Prof. Francis Brown related that a thousand years before Moses, an Accadian babe named Sargon was placed in a basket of bulrushes by its mother, was found by a stranger, and was so well brought up that he became a king.

In closing Dr. White's great work, the reader cannot but admire, at every step of the history, his clearness, his dispassionate judicial candor, and his indefatigable research — not merely throughout libraries at home, but also among alcoves abroad — in many a nook and book rarely disturbed by any bookworm. One is also struck with his habitual dignity, notwithstanding the comical phases of the absurd sayings and doings of arrogant theological (im)potentates.

Upon certain features of the scripture-errancy conflict — features perhaps less noteworthy by the present knowing generation, and consequently less delineated by Dr. White — we may turn for further study to one or two books whose author has not been so apt to conceal the humorous emotions inspired by the comical aspects, namely, to "Leading in Law and Curious in Court"¹ and to "The Life of Lives," with its supplementary brochure, "Elsmere Elsewhere."²

This writer informs us³ that Joseph Cook, upon being interrogated at one of his "Monday Lectures" as to the dates, genuineness, and methods of composition of the four Gospels, held up to his audience a translation of Bernhard Weiss's "Lehrbuch," etc., as voicing the present most advanced Evangelical thought thereon. Weiss tells us that they were based on oral traditions; that about 67 A. D., Matthew wrote in Aramaic (the dialect Jesus conversed in) a collection of the sayings of Jesus (the "Logia" which Eusebius says Papias mentioned), and that after the destruction of Jerusalem some unknown redactor compiled the body of our Greek Matthew Gospel by combining Matthew's "Logia" with portions of Mark's Gospel and some new material from oral tradition. Also that the principal source of Mark's Gospel was his reminiscences of Peter's preaching.⁴

Probably the genealogy of Jesus and the Bethlehem legend of his

¹ Published by Banks and Brothers, New York and Albany, 1896. See its chapter on "Ecclesiastical Cases."

² Published by Wm. Macdonald & Co.; successors, Smith & McCance, Boston, 1896.

³ "Elsmere Elsewhere," p. 11.

⁴ More fully, see Dr. E. A. Abbott's article "Gospels," in "Encyclopædia Britannica," ninth ed. vol. x.

nativity were prefixed by some later editor.¹ His error (Matt. i. 8) in putting only fourteen generations between David and the Captivity, when copying from the Septuagint II Kings xii or II Chron. xxiv (omitting Ahaziah, Joash, and Amaziah), was caused by the resemblance between the Greek "Ahaziah" and "Ozias." This mistake is reported to have been incidentally conceded by members of certain synods at Cincinnati and Toronto, in trying cases against theological seminary professors. A New York synod is said to have conceded that—the gospel rule of loving one's enemies being correct—errancy is predicable of the imprecatory Psalms, *e. g.*, Ps. cix, 10, "Let his children be continually vagabonds and beg."

Since the abolition of the old New England "Fast day" in Massachusetts, leading evangelical clergymen in the land of the Puritans preach that (notwithstanding alleged words of Christ advocating an objective benefit of prayer) supplication is merely a vehicle for aspiration,² and condemn the practice of certain "evangelists"³ in reading written requests from strangers to pray for specified personal objects, this being deemed tantamount to asking God to act not by law, but by caprice. The ground for this recent rapid change of public sentiment—this conviction that the benefit of prayer is wholly subjective—is obvious to every willing observer. The prayers for President Garfield's recovery were not enlightened by any X rays on the direction Guiteau's bullet had ploughed his vitals. Like the child whose thought is the offspring of the wish that a Santa Claus, though two feet in diameter, shall descend a ten-inch chimney flue, some grown-up Christians would often seem to expect God to gratify caprices as inconsistent as a whim to have two mountains created with no valley between. In some prayer meetings a candid listener would be reminded of the comment of the observer in Mark Twain's "Innocents Abroad," upon the passengers' prayers for winds to favor the steamship, regardless of the interests of the Christians on board the estimated fourteen sailing vessels they would be meeting in that commercial belt of the ocean.

A French commentator⁴ has remarked :

Under the régime of Aristotle, as under that of the Bible, people were permitted to think as freely as they are nowadays, but on the condition of proving that such and such a thought was really in Aristotle or in the Bible, which, after all, was not very difficult. The Talmud, the Masora, the Cabala are curious proofs of the capability of the human intellect when fettered to a text. One begins to count its letters, its words,

¹ See first edition of Johnson's "Universal Cyclopædia."

² See "Elsmere Elsewhere," p. 74, as to Priestley's reply to Thomas Paine, that "petition may be an unnecessary part of prayer."

³ See "The Life of Lives," p. 203.

⁴ Renan. See "Fu. Science," p. 50.

its syllables; the material sound gets to count for more than the sense; one goes on multiplying the exegetical subtleties, the modes of interpretation, like the starving wretch who, after having devoured his hunk of bread, carefully collects the crumbs thereof. All the commentaries on sacred writings are like one another, from those of Manu to those of the Bible, from those of the Bible to those of the Koran. All are a protest of the human intellect against the enslaving tendency of literal interpretation; a miserable attempt to fertilize a barren field. When the mind does not find an object commensurate with its activity, it is fain to create one by a thousand tricks.

The theologian, then, — whether counting himself of the Christian or of some other system, — while insisting on the stereotyped, non-amendable form and substance of a sacred writing, must not be surprised to find himself disrespected by the philosopher, who, on discovering any assertion of fact to be erroneous or any expression of truth defective, does not hesitate to resort to something more adequate. Facts are stubborn things; the existence of "barren fields" *passim* cannot be gainsaid. But the sacred books of all the great religions abound in fields fertile — unfathomed riches of more kinds than one, and nowhere else to be found. And no real philosopher could

— on this fair mountain leave to feed,
And batten on this moor.

Homer, the Bible, and the Vedas will forever be the sacred books of humanity. As has been well remarked:

The mythologies are grandiose, divine poems, in which the primeval nations have poured out their dreams with regard to the supra-sensitive world. They are, in a certain sense, more valuable than history, for in history there is a necessary and fortuitous part which is not the work of humanity; while in the fables everything is its own; it is its portrait painted by its own hand.¹

Thus religion is the best means of understanding humanity, just as a Gothic cathedral is the best piece of evidence of the middle ages, because the generations have dwelt there in the spirit. Even if the roof lets in the light of heaven, and the torrents from the sky drench the upturned face of the believer on his knees, science would wish to study those ruins, to describe all the statuettes that adorn them, to lift the stained window panes which only admit a mysterious semi-glow, in order to introduce the radiant sun, and to study at leisure those admirable petrifications of human thought.

Upon this view of the Bible, liberalized Christians have now no quarrel with the scientist. To the advanced critic religions are the philosophies of the spontaneous — philosophies amalgamated with het-

¹ "The general thread of the life which man pursues is woven with twenty united threads which cannot be isolated but by tearing them down. The links of love, of family, of right, of art, of industry, are incessantly mingled with that of religion. Moral activity includes religion, but is not included in it. Religion is a cause, but it is much more an effect. . . . When faith creates the heart, it is because the heart has already created faith. . . . Come, girls and boys, take boldly the Bibles of light. Everything is there wholesome and very pure. The purest of those Bibles, the Avesta, is a ray of sunshine. Homer, Æschylus, together with the great heroic myths, are full of young life — the vigorous sap of March, the effulgent azure of April. The dawn is in the Vedas." — Michelet, in the preface to his "The Bible of Humanity," Califa's translation; Bouton, N. Y., 1877.

erogeneous elements, like food that is not solely made up of nutritious parts. Exclusively scientific formulas would afford but a dry food; with every great philosophical thought there is mixed up a little mysticism — that is, a compound of individual phantasy and religion. Hence, as has been profoundly remarked, "Religions and languages should be the first study of the psychologist. For humanity is more easily recognized in its products than in its abstract essence, and in its spontaneous products than in its premeditated ones."

Plentiful are apt illustrations hereof. Tacitus, whatever be his talents for painting human nature, contains less psychology than does the artless and credulous narrative of the Evangelists. His narrative is objective, presenting things and their causes as they really were; theirs is subjective—the views they conceived of things, the manner in which they appreciated them. To adduce a more familiar illustration: if you had had a certain adventure, you would relate it thus: "One evening, in passing by a churchyard, I was pursued by a will-o'-the-wisp." A peasant woman, who happens to have lost her brother a few days before, and to whom a similar adventure had occurred, would express herself as follows: "While I was passing by the churchyard at night, I was pursued by the soul of my brother." Both accounts are veracious; but one is simple, the other complex, mingling with the averment of the fact a judgment of cause.

Now, criticism consists in recovering as far as possible the real color of facts from the colors as refracted through the prism of the nationality or individuality of the narrators. The primitive age was religious, not scientific; the later age is at once religious and scientific. And there yet will be once more "an Orpheus and a Trismegistos, not to sing to peoples in a state of childhood their fanciful dreams, but to teach a humanity grown wise the marvels of reality."

A rural New-England maiden, in the "Bible class" of the Methodist Sunday school of her native village, stood *facile princeps* in disocculating the "hard passages." But on one occasion, getting beyond her depth, and in her flounderings vainly clutching at Bishop V——'s exposition, she quietly launched out for aid from her old family physician, one very like his prototype in Dr. Holmes's story, "Elsie Venner." He squarely told her that not only the good bishop but also the writer of the passage and the translator were *quasi* mistaken.

"The original historic fact may have been a gem, but the light from its facets has been slightly colored by redactor, translator, and commentator."

Soon after, on the eve of her departure for a Chautauqua course, she was bidding the old doctor adieu. Half playfully, but not without slight emotion, he said:

"I've known you almost from before your infancy; so you'll pardon my momentarily assuming Polonius and perhaps also Kingsley.

'There; my blessing with thee!
And these few precepts in thy memory
See thou character.'

'Be good, sweet maid, and let who will be clever.'

Be good, even if to be good you have to be pious. But don't let your softness of heart take to your head. Aim higher than too low; attain a good top. Aim lower than too high; keep good fundamentally; keep *sana mens in corpore sano*. Aim straight, and not one-sided. Don't try to lift anything that's too heavy; Milo couldn't carry the ox until he had tried the calf and the steer. You never could have extracted the cube root until you had studied simple addition and subtraction. And in matters not purely scientific, study human nature first of all. As Solon said, 'Gnothi seauton!' — 'Know thyself;' then note the make and motives of others. And having discerned the teacher or the writer, you can sample the product; for the fruit is guessed by the tree — unless there has been considerable grafting. You are going to mingle with ambitious, positive preachers and authors. You'll find them to be clever in both the Yankee and the English sense of the word. 'Salute' Bishop V——, and as to 'Pansy,'¹ 'greet ye one another with a kiss of charity.' Grace (and mental symmetry) be with you. Amen!"

On her return, she met the doctor with an archly grateful expression, and quietly remarked:

"I have made the personal acquaintance of Bishop V—— and of 'Pansy,' amiable and well-meaning souls both. I have read Pansy's 'The Prince of Peace, or the Beautiful Life of Jesus.' Now I understand somewhat of anthropomorphic and Evangelistic redaction."

"Religions, so profoundly studied at present, have been subordinated to the *genius* that made them, to the soul which created them, and to the moral condition of which they are the fruit. We must first locate the race with its proper aptitudes, its surroundings, and its natural inclinations; then we may study it in the fabrication of its gods, who in their turn influence the race. This is the natural course. These gods are *effects* and *causes*. But it is essential to first prove that they are effects, the offspring of the human soul; if on the other hand we admit that they came down from heaven, and suffer them to dominate over us, they oppress, absorb, and darken history."²

¹ Isabella M. Alden.

² Michelet, "Bible of Humanity," Califa's translation, p. 89 (note), at text, "the heart makes faith," — after referring to the exquisite outburst of Valmiki (in the beginning of the "Ramayana") against the hunter that killed the heron "in the sacred moment. . . . It is because this race, of acute

Those who assert that Masonic Knight Commanderies "neglect Bible religion" would better read a preceding passage: "In Rama are reunited the twofold ideals of the two great castes. On one side he attains the highest point of Brahmanic virtue, and on the other he adds to it the highest devotion of the warrior, who, for the sake of others, hazards not only himself, but sometimes those whom he loves more than himself. In the defence of the frail, of solitary anchorites, who are troubled by wicked spirits, he sacrifices more than his life—his love, his charming, faithful, and devoted wife, Sita. The complete man, this Brahman warrior, is then still nearer to God than is the Brahman who simply prays, but does not make any personal sacrifice. Rama follows the exact ideal of the Khatrya, the high ideal of the chivalry, to win and to pardon—to wait until the wounded enemy recovers—to give and never to receive."¹

Ah, the Chautauqua, the Epworth, the Christian Endeavor assemblies! Blessings on ye so long as here may the anchorite and anchoress commune with the cenobite,—the hermit sage with the fraternal devotee,—and sociality, free thought, science, and religion walk onward hand in hand! The more ye multiply, the faster will the dogma of literal inspiration and scripture-inerrancy become a mere matter of theological chronicle.

sensibility and penetration, feels and loves the soul even in the forms of the inferior, in the feeble and simple, that it has created the doctrine of transmigration."

¹ "Bible of Humanity," p. 35.

THE PAST AND THE FUTURE OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO.

BY D. W. CULP, A. M., M. D.

AT every crisis in the history of the negro, in the period intervening between 1700 and the present date, there has been some heroic, philanthropic, heaven-commissioned, and heaven-directed white man to champion his cause.

When, in 1700, the negro in Massachusetts was struggling to free himself from the cruelties of the Puritans, who were so called because of their pretended holiness, who had fled from their native land because of oppression, and who were earnestly endeavoring to throw off the British yoke, while they were forging chains for their own slaves, Judge Samuel Seward suddenly came forth, and with voice and pen labored to convince the cruel Puritans that the negro should not be rated with their horses and dogs, but should be put upon the common foot of humanity; that he should not be excluded from the Christian Church; that he should not be denied the right to marry; that he should not be ruthlessly torn from his family and sold to merciless taskmasters; that there is no proportion between silver and liberty; and that the negro, being a son of Adam, had an equal right unto liberty and all other outward comforts.

In 1829, when the nation was fast asleep and heard not the rumblings of the earthquake that threatened her destruction; when the state was morally paralyzed, the pulpit was dumb, and the Church heeded not the cry of the slave; when commerce, greedy of her gain, piled her hoards by the unpaid toil of the bondsman; when judgment was turned backward, and justice stood afar off, and truth was fallen in the street, and equity could not enter; when the hands of the people were defiled with blood and their fingers with iniquity, and their lips spoke lies, and their tongues uttered perverseness; when men talked of slavery with a moral blindness and perverseness like that of Sodom and Gomorrah; the uncompromising and inflexible Garrison appeared upon the stage to bombard the almost impregnable fortress of slavery and "to fight it to the death;" and with an indefatigableness and earnestness, of which those soul-stirring words, "I am in earnest, I will not equivocate, I will not retreat a single inch, and I will be heard," give us but a faint conception, he labored with voice and pen to give immediate emancipation to the suffering negro.

When, in 1861, an abolitionist was needed in the presidential

chair to look after the interests of the negro, God put the immortal Lincoln in that chair, who, in 1863, proclaimed the emancipation of 4,000,000 oppressed slaves. It was Major Hunter, who, in 1862, when the negro wanted to go to the battlefield to fight for his own liberty, had the effrontery, in the face of the bitter opposition of the President and every other white man, to employ negroes as soldiers, and who in defence of his action had the courage to say to an indignant Congress that had condemned him, the following:

The experiment of arming the blacks, so far as I have made it, has been a complete and marvellous success. They are sober, docile, attentive, and enthusiastic, displaying great natural capacities for acquiring the duties of a soldier.

But for this championing of the negro's cause at this crisis, he might not have had the opportunity of fighting for his own liberty, and of demonstrating his capabilities as a soldier, by his heroism at Port Hudson, at Fort Wagner, at Milliken's Bend, at Wilson's Wharf, at Petersburg, at Deep Bottom, at Chappin's Farm, and at Hutchin's Run.

When, in 1866, a brave and able man was needed in our national Congress, to have a law enacted that would give the negro the same right as a white man to make and enforce contracts, to sue and give evidence, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property, and to have the full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property, and that would punish a white man who dared to interfere with the negro in the enjoyment of these civil rights, the matchless statesman and patriot, Charles Sumner, came forth with his Civil Rights bill.

When, in 1869, the hellish and fiendish Kuklux were perpetrating their cruel and dastardly outrages upon the defenceless and innocent negroes in the South, the fearless Grant showed for what purpose he was brought to the presidential chair in that year, when, disregarding the false doctrine of state rights, he suspended the right of *habeas corpus*, and thus put an end to the wholesale murdering of negroes.

When, in 1881, the negro needed some influential and scholarly Southern white man to take his part, and to interest the Southern white people in his elevation, the late Bishop Haygood, a Southern man to the manor born, and a Georgian at that, came forth with his "Our Brother in Black."

And now that some courageous, reputable, scholarly man is needed to advocate the emancipation of the negro from political and social thralldom, Prof. Willis Boughton unexpectedly sallies forth with his article on "The Negro's Place in History."¹ The courage that characterized and enabled the abovenamed men to champion the negro's cause in the face of an opposing and frowning world, was not a whit greater than that

¹ ARENA, September, 1896, pp. 612-621.

which enabled Prof. Willis Boughton to put that article in *THE ARENA*. And I here wish to assure the Professor that, while he no doubt has incurred by that article the animosity of many a white man, he has won by it the high esteem and the profound gratitude of every intelligent negro of this country; and that like Seward, Garrison, Hunter, Lincoln, Sumner, Grant, Haygood, and others, he will ever be held in grateful remembrance by every such negro. It is obvious, therefore, that my attempt to animadvert upon or to review Prof. Boughton's article is not due to any lack of appreciation of the invaluable service which he has rendered to the race by that article, but is rather due to a desire to express some thoughts suggested to my mind by the article.

The first thought suggested is, that the white people of this country are woefully ignorant of the true intellectual status of the negro. The Southern people boast that they are thoroughly acquainted with the negro, but they are greatly mistaken; their knowledge in this direction does not extend beyond the ignorant negroes in their employ. They know absolutely nothing of the educated negroes of this country with whom they do not come in contact. Very few Southern white people know that we have such scholarly men as Greener, Crummell, Langston, Blyden, T. McCants Steward, Bishops Tanner and Lee, Bowens, Coppin, Reeves, F. J. Grimke, and Crogman, who do not suffer by comparison with the foremost scholars of the nation; that we have thousands of young men who graduated from first-class colleges; that we have not a few men who graduated from the same colleges from which the greatest men of the nation graduated; that we have women whose literary and musical attainments are equal to those possessed by the most cultured white women of this country; that we have over a hundred authors whose writings could not be differentiated from those of white authors by the most critical mind; that we have three hundred editors, who compare favorably with their white peers in journalism.

Nor do the Southern whites put themselves to much trouble to gain information concerning the intellectual status of the negro. They will not visit our schools and the other places where they could get some idea of the intellectuality of the negro. There are forty-four schools in this city (Jacksonville, Fla.) for the higher training of the negroes, and I venture the assertion, that there are not a half-dozen Southern white people in Jacksonville who have ever visited these schools. There is Atlanta, Ga., with her Atlanta and Clarke universities, her Morris Brown and her Spellman seminaries, and her Gammon School of Theology; and there is Nashville, Tenn., with her Fisk, Roger Williams, and Central Tennessee universities, with their hundreds of brainy students; and yet, excepting the few white men who have visited these schools as detectives to see whether the professors'

children attended them, not a dozen white persons in the two places have visited them. Nor will these people read negro literature, from which they could get an idea of what the negro is intellectually.

If the Southern white people would read negro literature, visit the negro schools, and encounter the negro educated men, they would have very different views respecting the negro's intellectual capacity, and they would have more respect for the race. I have observed that in all cases in which prejudiced Southern people have visited negro schools, read negro literature, and come in contact with learned negroes, they have had their views respecting the intellectuality of the negro greatly changed. Prof. Boggs, of the University of Georgia, is one of the few Southern men whose views respecting the intellectuality of the negro were greatly changed by visiting negro schools and coming in contact with educated negroes. The following is what he said the other day, in a speech to the legislators of Georgia:

I have seen negroes solve problems in quadratic equations, and I will wager my head against a turnip, that there are not six members of the general assembly who could solve those problems. I myself could not solve them.

The Professor uttered these words in proof of the fact that the negroes of Georgia are getting in the lead educationally. Now, what is true of the Southern people in this particular, is also true in a large measure of the Northern people, although they have superior opportunities of knowing more of the negro in this respect.

Prof. Boughton's article betrays his ignorance on this point, and it is plain that he has not put himself to much trouble to inform himself. Had he made as profound a research into the present history of the negro as he made into his ancient history, he would have known that, instead of the one successful negro physician in Nashville, there are nearly three hundred, who graduated from some of the best medical colleges in this country, and who show by their work at the bedside that they are the equals of their white brother practitioners. He certainly would have known that there are several competent negro dentists, instead of one; that one of the members of the faculty of the dental department of Harvard University is a negro; that Dubois is not the only negro who has won a prize in contests with white students; that not only was Biddle University built by a negro, but that, with few exceptions, all the houses in the South are the work of negro carpenters.

The ideas suggested by the part of Prof. Boughton's article touching the race problem, came in the form of the following questions: 1. Is it the divine purpose that the race problem shall be solved by amalgamation? 2. Would such a solution of the problem be desirable? 3. Can the problem not be solved in some other way than by fusion?

Taking these questions in their order, we have 1st. Is it the divine

purpose that the race problem shall be solved by amalgamation? If it is a fact (and there is no question as to that) that the distinct racial types are the result of a providential ordering, then that fact is so far forth a revelation of God's purpose as to the final disposition of the races. It does seem to me, if it was in the divine mind to make the whites and the blacks of this country one at some future day, that the Hamites and the Japhetites, in being dispersed from the land of Shinar, would not have been sent to the countries in which they were brought under the climatic and other influences that produced those marked and distinct physical changes in both, which, together with the other conditions that have supervened, render the fusion of the blacks and the whites of this country very difficult, if not impracticable. It is not God's method to render the problems which he proposes to solve by natural means difficult of solution by such means. Hence, inasmuch as the physical characteristics, the social conditions, and the racial instincts of the two races are such as to make intermarriage between them by natural means very difficult, it is fair to infer that it is not God's purpose to solve the problem in that way. If we reflect a little upon Jewish history, we shall find that, when the Jews were in Egypt, God used the physical and social differences between them and the Hamites, and the caste resulting therefrom, as means to prevent the Jews losing their identity in Egypt by amalgamation; otherwise, no doubt, the Jews would have been lost in Egypt, and God's plan respecting them would have been thus frustrated.

Prof. Boughton refers to the fusion of the Hellenes and the Hamites in Egypt, and to the absorption of the black element by the whites in Rome, as examples of the fusion of distinct races. But neither of these is an analogous case for the reason that the barriers to the fusion of these peoples were not so great as those to the fusion of the whites and the blacks of this country. The physical and the social differences between the whites and the blacks are greater than those that existed between the Hellenes and the Hamites of Egypt, and between the whites and the dark element of Rome. History does not record an instance in which two races, as dissimilar as the whites and the blacks of this country, have fused. Nor, in my opinion, will it ever be the task of any future historian to record such an instance. I verily believe that God has a distinct mission for each distinct race to fulfil, and that it is His wise purpose to keep the races separate that they may fulfil their respective missions. What the negro's mission is I do not know, but I am certain that it is not that of drawing water and hewing wood for the white man.

I cannot here refrain from mentioning the remarkable and melancholy fact, that only a few years ago many of the so-called Christian

white people of this country held (and their hypocritical ministers preached it from the pulpits) that God made and put the negro here to serve the white man. If it be thought that all of this class are dead, read the following extract:

The negro bears about him a birthright of inferiority that is as unalterable as eternity. He who, in the morning of creation, set the shifting sands as a barrier to the mad waves of the mighty deep and said thus far, has also set His seal upon the negro forevermore in his black skin, kinky hair, thick lips, flat nose, double layer of skull, different anatomy, as well as analogy from white men. His stupid intellect is fulfilled in that prophecy, uttered thousands of years ago, but no less true to-day, "A servant of servants shalt thou be."

This extract is from "The Compendium of Facts of the Plant System of Railways and Steamship Lines," written by Judge Tillman, of Quitman, Georgia, a pamphlet sent broadcast through the land by the railroad officials, who, strange to say, compete for the negroes' patronage. If I could bring myself to believe that it expresses the truth, I should be a worse infidel than Tom Paine or Robert Ingersoll. But I do not believe any such thing; on the contrary, I believe that God put the negro here to fulfil as high and honorable a mission as that assigned to the white man. What that mission is I am not prepared to say; but I do not concur with Bishop Haygood and others, in saying that the negro's mission is the redemption of Africa, for I do not believe that it is God's intention that the American negro shall emigrate to Africa. My candid opinion is, that it is in the divine mind that the negro shall remain and work out his destiny here.

Nor do I agree with Prof. Boughton in thinking that the negro has been placed here by the Creator that his blood may be used in producing a people that shall, in its day, be as peculiarly gifted as were the Greeks and Romans. I am fain to believe that the negro's mission lies along the line of the redemption of this country.

2nd. Would the solution of the problem by amalgamation be desirable? I am certain that such a solution would not be desirable to the whites. Nothing is so repugnant and revolting to the white man as the thought of miscegenation, and this is true even of the negro's most ardent friends. I have known a few "Yankee" teachers — men who were loud in their profession of undying love for the negro, and very intolerant of the Southern people's prejudices against the negro — to go into hysterical convulsions when they discovered that their daughters had a little too much fondness for some of the negro male students. I know one such teacher who gave up his work and returned home, because he suspected that his daughter was interested in a negro student.

Nor would such a solution of the problem be desirable to the negroes. I admit that the few negroes who have the "white fever," and who would rather be white than be good, would welcome amalga-

mation with delight, but no truly educated, self-respecting negro with race pride would desire such a solution of the problem. Every such negro is anxious for the race to retain its identity, so that it may have the opportunity of demonstrating, before a doubting world, the fact that the negro possesses the same capabilities as the white man.

3rd. Can the problem not be solved in some other way than by fusion? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to know what the race problem is. Some understand the problem to be this: Can the negroes become educated, moral, wealthy, and enterprising citizens like the whites? If so, how?

This was the great problem that confronted the nation immediately after the emancipation, but the negroes have, within the past thirty years, made such phenomenal and prodigious strides along the line of education, wealth, and morality, that this is no longer a problem. The great problem that now confronts and agitates the nation, and to which Prof. Boughton refers, is the following: How can the two races, so heterogeneous the one to the other, live here together in peace and harmony? Now, cannot this problem be solved in some other way than by amalgamation? I think it can. My opinion is that, in order to solve this problem, there are certain things which the negroes must do, and certain other things which the whites must do.

1st. The negroes must regard and treat the whites as their friends. In the reconstruction period, the negroes alienated themselves from the whites and regarded and treated them as enemies. It being to the advantage of certain designing and wily politicians to keep the negroes estranged from the whites, they unscrupulously and faithfully taught them to look upon every white man as a foe; and the negroes did not fail to follow the instructions of their political masters. But the negroes are getting their eyes open on this point, and are beginning to know that, while there are many Southern white people who are opposed to, and do what they can to prevent, their elevation, who endeavor to keep them in a condition of servitude and ignorance, and who to this end refuse to pay them living wages for their hard labor, who cheat and swindle them, who force them to ride in dirty and uncomfortable cars, who lynch and murder many of their fellows, there are also very many Southern whites who are their friends.

I will not admit, as some do, that the Southern whites are the negroes' best friends; for there is a class of white men and women in the North who are far better friends to the negroes than the Southern whites. I refer to the men and women who before the war labored assiduously and indefatigably with their voices, their prayers, their pens, and with their money for the negro's emancipation, and who since the war have given their millions to the establishment and the mainte-

nance of the schools, colleges, and universities that are sending forth young, active, intelligent, enthusiastic negro men and women, who are doing much toward the solution of their problem. I refer also to those heroic men and women who, taking their lives in their own hands, came to this South land, when it was dangerous to come, to labor in the schools and in other spheres to elevate the downtrodden negroes.

We have no such friends as these in the South. But we have whites in the South who are friendly enough to the negroes to wish them well. It is through this class of whites that we have tolerably good public-school facilities, and in some instances good colleges for the higher training of our young men and women. I believe that every Southern state has in operation a normal and industrial college for the higher education of the negroes, and that some of the Southern Churches, as the Methodist Episcopal, the Presbyterian, and the Episcopalian, are operating colleges for the negroes. This class of whites have encouraged and helped the negroes to buy homes and lands. Now, while this class of whites are not willing for the negroes to enjoy to the same extent as themselves the immunities, rights, and privileges guaranteed to them by the Constitution, yet they desire to see their status along this line bettered. They are willing for the negroes to have better accommodations on the railways, but they are not willing for them to ride in cars with themselves. They are willing for the courts to deal justly with the negroes except where white men are involved. I do not believe that there are a hundred white men in all the South who would favor the hanging of a prominent white man for the murder of a negro. This class of whites are willing for the negroes to be educated to a certain extent, but they are not willing for them to be educated to the same extent as themselves. A few of this class are opposed to the lynching of negroes, even when there is evidence of their guilt.

It would not be amiss at this juncture to mention the fact that there are many whites in the South who have always been the negroes' friends. It was persons of this class who were opposed to slavery, and would not own slaves. It was masters of this class who manumitted their slaves and sent them North or to Africa. It was persons of this class who would not go to the battlefield to fight for the perpetuation of slavery until forced to do so. It was masters of this class who did not touch their slaves, and did not allow anybody else to touch them, and who fed, clothed, and treated their slaves well in every way. Now, this class of whites the negroes should regard and treat as friends. To do this is to make them better friends and to get more out of them. The negroes of the South have lost considerably by their indiscriminate antagonism to the Southern whites.

2nd. The negroes must take a lively interest in the white man's

best welfare. Somehow it has not gotten into the minds of many of the negroes that the two races are so intimately connected that what affects the one affects the other, and what helps the one helps the other; that when the white man prospers, the negro prospers; that when the white man has money, the negro has work and bread; and that when the white man has no money, the negro has neither work nor bread. Within the past three years, during which the white man, by reason of the financial stringency, has not been able to employ and give bread to the idle negro, it has been seen by the negroes as never before that the interests of the two races are identical. That being true, how important it is that the negro should interest himself in the white man's best welfare! To do this is to receive, in turn, the white man's interest and friendship. One of the many things that have made the white man feel unkindly toward the negro and indifferent to his welfare, is the fact that, after getting his bread, his home, and the education of his children through the white man's employing and paying him good wages, the negro antagonizes the white man's interests. Let the negro, then, realizing that his and the white man's interests are one, that he and the white man must stand or fall together, do what he can to promote the white man's interests, and the white man will feel better toward him and do more to advance his interests. If the two races are to live here in peace, they must look to each other's interests, and labor for each other's welfare.

3rd. The negroes must disintegrate politically. The negroes' political solidity has worked greatly to their disadvantage. It has made and kept up the solid South. The negroes being solidly Republican, the whites are solidly Democratic to prevent negro domination. But for the negroes' political solidity the solid South would have broken long ago. Now, the negroes' political and, for that matter, his other salvation, will never come as long as there is a solid South; and there will be solid South as long as the negroes are solid. Nothing, therefore, will break the solid South but the political disintegration of the negroes. Now, if the negroes can break the solid South by disintegrating, they had better disintegrate; for the solid South means the negroes' political oppression. I need not remind the reader of the melancholy fact, that, with few exceptions, the thousands of negroes who have been slain since the war, were murdered for no other reason than that they were Republicans and voted solidly for Republican candidates. Nor need I state that the ballot-box stuffing, the tissue ballot, and the other villanous election frauds were the schemes of solid Democrats to defeat solid negro Republicans. Nor need I say that the failure of the negroes to have their votes counted is due to the fact that those votes are cast solidly. Let the negroes disintegrate, and ballot-box stuffing, the tissue ballot, and the other election frauds, and the

murdering of negroes for political reasons will be numbered with the things of the past. Nor will there ever be the best of feeling between the two races in the South as long as the negroes are solid politically on the one hand, and the whites are solid on the other. Let the negroes disintegrate, and much of the bad feeling on the part of the whites toward them will vanish.

But, says one, if the negroes disintegrate, where should they go? Should they go to the Democrats? I answer no, a thousand times no, and for the following reasons :

1st. The Democratic party from its origin has rightly been known as a party opposed to the negro and his best interests. The congressional records will show that every measure looking to the negroes' welfare passed by Congress was vigorously opposed by the Democratic party. The 14th and 15th amendments and the Civil Rights bill were opposed by that party.

2nd. The Democratic party has all of the negroes' bitter enemies in it. I certainly would not like to belong to the party that has so many negro murderers and lynchers in it.

3rd. The negroes should not ally with the Democrats for the same reason that they should not be solid as they now are. Any party will use as tools and badly treat any class of voters who stick to them like sycophants. The Republican party has not failed to take advantage of the negroes' sycophantic adherence to them. When that party was in power, the Irishman or the Frenchman or the Italians or the Swedes or the Hungarians could go to Washington and put in their claims for office with a great deal more prospect of success than the negroes. Why? Because, on the one hand, the appointing powers felt that they had to make concessions to these nationalities or they would at the next election throw their votes to the other party; and, on the other hand, they knew that the negroes were solid Republicans, and that they would vote for them, office or no office. Now, if the negroes were solid Democrats, they would be treated in the same way. I once thought that it would be a good idea for the negroes to ally with the Populists, as they promised a disintegration of the solid South. But I do not think that now. I think, now, that the negroes should organize themselves into a negro party; not a solid negro party, in the sense in which they are now solid, for then the solid South would become more solid, but solid in the sense of being independent of the other parties, having it understood that they would go to and support the party that was ready to make the greatest concessions to them. This would set the several parties competing for the negroes' votes. In such case each party would try to treat the negroes the best and to do the most for them in order to win their votes. The party in power would, in order to remain in power, do

the very best for the negroes; while the party out would accord the very best treatment to the negroes in order to secure their votes at the next election. In this way the negroes would have the best treatment, and would get whatever they wanted. In such case, moreover, every negro vote, in this way, would surely be counted; and if the negroes got into trouble on account of voting for the men of one party or faction, the men of that party or faction would protect them. The negroes, therefore, would have protection, and there would be no murdering of them for political reasons. In this way the negroes would become the pets of all parties and factions, each trying to do the most for them in order to gain their votes.

I hope to see the day come when the negroes will do this thing. Whenever that day comes there will be a great change in politics, so far as the negroes are concerned, and you will see the negroes and the whites getting on peaceably; for no two peoples like the whites and the negroes can live together in peace when they are arrayed against each other in politics. Let the negroes then disintegrate.

I have now named the things which the negroes must do in order to the solution of the problem; let us next see what the whites must do.

1st. They must cease to think that the negroes were designed to be only their drawers of water and hewers of wood. They must stop trying to keep the negroes in this position. They must realize the fact that all negroes are not their servants; that there are some negroes who have risen above the necessity of hewing their wood and drawing their water for bread. They must accord to this class the treatment which they deserve; they must treat them as they treat any other people in similar circumstances. Intelligent negroes, who have their thousands, will never be satisfied to be cuffed and kicked around as servants. And I want to say here that the negroes who are serving the whites in menial positions are not satisfied with the treatment which they receive at the hands of their employers. Many white people seem to forget that their servants are not their slaves. The white people must come to the point where they will treat both the colored people who are their servants and those who are not their servants, better, if they would have the negroes satisfied and peaceable.

2nd. The whites must learn to treat the negro right as a neighbor. Bishop Haygood indicates the way in which white men should treat their negro neighbors. He says the white man should propose this question to himself:

"How must I and my black neighbor treat each other? He is my neighbor, living near me with his family; he is my friend also. He is a citizen; more than that, he is a man: the law made him a citizen, God made him a man. I am as much bound by eternal righteousness to deal as righteously with him in all things as with my most cultivated neighbor; and let it not be overlooked that the negro is as much

bound as I am to deal righteously in all relations that bind us together. I may, because I have larger opportunities, owe more duty to him than he owes to me, but the nature of the obligation is just the same. If I wrong my black neighbor, taking advantage of his ignorance or weakness or dependence, or of anything peculiar to his condition that gives me the advantage of him, I am all the viler for using my advantage unrighteously. I must teach him to respect my rights. I do this best by respecting his. I must teach him to respect and keep his contracts; to do this I must respect and keep mine. I must teach him to obey law and respect authority; to do this I must set the example. I must teach him to speak the truth; to do this I must speak the truth to him. I must teach him honesty; to do this I must be honest to him."

Now, should the whites treat the negroes as above indicated, it would help matters wonderfully.

3rd. The whites must respect the negroes and concede to them their rights. The negroes will never be contented as long as they are forced to ride in dirty smoking cars, when they pay the same fare as the whites; nor as long as they are excluded from the jury box and proscribed in public places; nor as long as they cannot have their votes counted; nor as long as they are murdered and lynched. And if the education of the negroes is to make them what it has made white men; if, in becoming educated, the negroes will become more independent, more manful, more conscious of their rights, and more willing to die for them, there will be the most terrible conflict in this South land some day that has ever been heard or read of. Unless the whites be educated out of their prejudices, educated up to the point where they will readily concede to the negroes their every right, this "irrepressible conflict" is bound to come. For when the negroes become educated, they will not quietly submit, as they now do, to the wrongs perpetrated upon them. If that time should come and find the whites with the same prejudices which they now have, the same spirit, the same determination to deprive the negroes of their rights, there will be many negroes who will rise up and cry, like Patrick Henry of old, "Give me liberty or give me death." There will be thousands who will bravely die rather than have their rights trampled upon by white men. So the white people of this country had better begin their education along the line of treating the negro better.

4th. The whites must take greater interest, —

1st. In the Negroes' education. As has already been observed, the Southern whites have done considerable toward the education of the negroes; and there are not a few of these people who are beginning to feel that they have done enough in this direction. But how comes it that the negro is ignorant? Who is responsible for it? Why, the Southern white people, who, in years gone by, kept the negro under strict surveillance, that he might not have the opportunity to learn to read and write, and who made any attempt on his part to learn, punishable by the lash. How can the Southern people, in view of the fact that they

are responsible for the negroes' ignorance, and that they are indebted to them for 270 years' hard labor, feel that they have done or can do enough for them? It would seem that the white man would have such compunction of conscience over the negro's ignorance, for which he is responsible, and such a desire to make amends to him for his ignorance, that he would consider what he has already done toward his education as nothing compared to what he ought to do.

But, says one, what more can the Southern people do? I will let a Southern white man answer:

The Southern people should give money to help educating the negroes. I do not mean only give it as States, in the payment of taxes, but as individuals they should give it when they are able; and some are able to give money to this cause. If the work of educating the negroes of the South is ever to be carried on satisfactorily, if ever the best results are to be accomplished, the Southern white people must take part in the work of teaching negro schools.

I do not concur with this last statement, for the reason that, while it may be the duty of the Southern people to teach negro schools, they are, by reason of their inveterate prejudices against the negroes, unprepared to teach them. Among other things, the Negro needs to be taught that he is as capable of intellectual development as any other people; that he should have none the less self-respect because he is a negro; that he should not cringe and bow to a man because he has a white face; that he should have the same race pride and ambition that characterize the other races; that manhood and womanhood do not consist in a white face. Now, the Southern people's prejudices will not allow them to teach the negro thus. They are therefore not prepared to teach negro schools.

But they are prepared to give money to this cause, and they should give it, not only because they are responsible for the negro's ignorance and are indebted to him for centuries of hard service, but also because the education of the negroes would render the problem less complex and, therefore, less difficult of solution, and would put the South on a more substantial basis of prosperity.

2nd. In the Negroes' moral elevation. The Southern white people are so far from interesting themselves in the negroes' moral uplifting, that they neither condemn nor endeavor to create a sentiment against white men corrupting negro women. The following questions, propounded by Prof. Boughton, give an idea of the indifference with which the Southern people regard the unlawful alliance of white men with negro women:

Is that man, who can shamelessly and often openly pass his leisure in the presence of his colored mistress, too supreme a being to be that woman's legal husband? Is it more honorable for him to rear about him a brood of bastard offspring than to be the husband of the woman of his choice and the legal father of his children?

I wish to say here that the negroes are by no means satisfied with the fact, that the same so-called Christian people of the South, who think it no crime to swing to the nearest tree, without judge or jury, the negro who looks at a white woman, wink at the white men who, as Prof. Boughton says, openly pass their leisure with negro women.

3rd. In the Negroes' legal rights. And here I cannot do better than use the words of an eminent Southern white man :

If we of the South are to make progress with our problem, if we are to become the people Providence designs us to be, if we are to do our duty to God and to man, then let us understand distinctly, once and for all, that in the administration of law the negroes shall receive, not only in theory but in practice, fair dealing and justice. And this principle must assert itself in every court and in all matters that are brought into the court. In theory we have one law for both races; the practice must be according to the theory. When the court says, Make the negro pay his debt, let it also say, The white man must pay his debt. Let the same law be applied in all criminal prosecutions. The law does not know color or condition in its definitions; the administration of law should not know color. A crime that should imprison or hang a negro should imprison or hang a white man. A white man was hanged in Georgia for the murder of a negro; it was a contribution to right sentiment and good morals in the whole State.

4th. In the Negroes' protection against murderers and lynchers. While it is painful to contemplate, on the one hand, the outrages perpetrated upon the negroes in the South, it is gratifying to recall, on the other hand, the fact that many of the Southern whites are beginning to do something in the direction of putting an end to the lynching of negroes. And the time is not far distant when the Christian people of the South, believing lynching negroes to be as great a crime as prize-fighting, will by the same vigorous measures put an end as quickly to the former as they did to the latter. And the negroes will not feel right toward the whites until this is done.

I have now indicated what, in my opinion, the negroes and the whites must do in order to bring about the solution of the race problem. Does the reader ask me when this problem will be solved? I answer, Just as soon as the two races reach the point where, on the one hand, the negroes will regard and treat the whites as their friends, will take a lively interest in the white man's best welfare, will disintegrate politically and ally themselves with whatever party or faction will do the most for them; and where, on the other hand, the white man will cease to think that the negro was designed to be his servant, will treat the negro right as a neighbor, will respect and concede to him his every right, will take greater interest in his education, in his moral elevation, in his legal rights, and in his protection against lynchers and murderers. When will they reach that point? Not until they get enough of the spirit of Christ into their hearts to enable them to fulfil the golden rule: "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

CLAIMS OF SPIRITUALISM UPON CHRISTIANITY.

BY REV. T. E. ALLEN.

FOR the purposes of this article, it is assumed that Spiritualism, as herein defined, is true. No attempt will be made to present any of the phenomena, or to discuss the relative strength of the several hypotheses which are held by different thinkers to explain them. My object is to show some of the chief claims of Spiritualism upon Christianity, which necessarily arise from the scope of each, and their relations to each other, in the hope that a few Christians may be aroused from that slumber of complacency which so effectually paralyzes growth.

Reduced to the lowest terms, the essential teachings of Spiritualism are: 1. Man continues to exist after the change called death; and, 2. There are laws in operation by obeying which spirits and mortals can communicate with each other. Now, not only is the doctrine of the immortality of the soul a vital part of Christianity, but its denial involves the actual destruction of almost all systems of theology, and a great weakening and loss of grandeur in the case of the remaining ones. Deny this doctrine, and the more or less fantastic schemes of reward and punishment in a future life fall to the ground, and the power of the evangelist with them. According to Smith's Bible Dictionary,

The resurrection of Christ is the grand pivot of the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the dead. . . . Immortality is no longer a dream or a theory, but a practical, tangible fact, a fact both proved and illustrated, and therefore capable of being both confidently believed and distinctly realized. . . . Christ brought life and immortality to light, not by authoritatively asserting the dogma of the immortality of the soul, but by *his own resurrection from the dead*.

The difference, in this writer's opinion, between heathen philosophy and Christianity in respect to the doctrine of immortality grows out of the resurrection of Christ. The "Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge" says:

The firm belief in the resurrection and the eternal life is one of the products of Christianity, and rests upon the resurrection of Christ.

Paul looked upon the resurrection of Jesus as a fact of tremendous significance; we may well say, as the central fact of Christianity, or as the keystone of an arch whose removal would ruin the whole system of Christian teaching. For in I Cor. xv he says:

If Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain. . . . If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miser-

able. . . . If after the manner of men I have fought with beasts at Ephesus, what advantageth it me, if the dead rise not? let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we die.

After asking, "Will the religion of the future involve immortality?" Dr. Alfred Momerie says :

It is the only hypothesis which affords a logical basis for religion. . . . To sacrifice pleasure for character — apart from immortality — would be to give up the certain for the uncertain, the real for the chimerical, the possible for the impossible. The art of life is to be in harmony with one's environment. But if there be no future, the universe is immoral to the core, and therefore devotion to goodness is the crowning folly of the race.

One of the most striking phenomena of our time is the new point of view from which many men look over the field of religion. In the past the Christian conception of the universe has been to a great extent dualistic. There has been a realm of nature wherein man by the use of his faculties could learn many things of value. Above this there has been another realm, the ethico-religious, where these faculties were insufficient, and where it was needful that their operation should be supplemented by a miraculous working of intelligence, which alone, it was held, could reveal the will of God to man and point the way to bliss in a future life. These two parts of the universe were so hopelessly out of joint with each other that one who desired to find ethico-religious truth had to pin his faith exclusively to revelation, to the Bible, since they could neither be discovered nor verified by the operation of active, or even latent, universal human faculties. Little by little, the evolution of the soul of science, the scientific method, and its constant diffusion amongst the people, aided and accelerated by the discoveries of our own century, and by the battles between geology and Genesis, and evolution and theology — little by little, the triumphs of this method, and the underlying ideas which they suggested, have revealed to men that the universe is really a *uni*-verse, and that a truth, wherever and whenever found, must harmonize with every other truth.

When these conceptions fairly get possession of a man, he holds in well-merited contempt the dictum of many theologians, used in the past to stifle free inquiry and to open a door for retreat when they were hard pressed in argument, that "God never intended that we should know that." Seeing, then, that truth can form but one harmonious system, he takes a fresh start, and, casting aside the superstitions of the past surrounding the Bible, perceives that it is a human production, and that it must be judged, precisely as any other literature would be, by an appeal to the whole range of human experience.

It is to the growth of this consciousness that we owe the existence of the "higher criticism" of which we hear so much. But, precisely *what* do we mean by a *human* production? Because a bookkeeper

engaged in the prosaic occupation of posting his ledger, where no man would affirm inspiration, needs the coöperation of the air he breathes to enable him to do his work, no one denies that his labor is strictly human. Why, then, shall we set up the claim that the work of the prophet, alleged to be inspired, is something other than human, in the widest sense of the term normal, and within the possible attainment of all human beings, making it fall within the scope of universal law, merely because the *kind* of coöperation is somewhat different in that it is here with a real or supposed spiritual realm?

Now, it is precisely here that we come to the parting of the ways. For, it can be said, without the possibility of refutation, that the higher critical movement having, as it has, the support of the most truth-loving and many of the most eminent scholars of all creeds, has come to stay, and that no sortie of the reactionists can capture and chain it up in a dungeon away from the light of truth. While all this is true, that mysterious something called inspiration remains, with the problem of the "supernaturalism" of the Bible, and that other problem of the immortality of the soul which Christianity shares with all great religions and all adequate philosophies. What do the higher critics say to these questions? Dr. I. Hooykaas, in a work sanctioned by Kuenen, says,¹ "The return to earth of one already dead and glorified, or the veritable apparition of a spirit, is a thing which far transcends the limits of credibility." Is this author true to his basic principles of interpretation? Does his work show that he has made a careful study of psychical phenomena, as they occur in our own time, in order to obtain the key with which to unlock the casket enclosing the mysteries of Bible "supernaturalism"? No. He accepts the logical consequences of his own belief, even though it involves the denial of the resurrection of Jesus as an historical event. We honor him for being consistent at such a great cost, but, when he makes his own prepossessions the touchstone of truth, with no thought of an appeal to modern psychical experience, he ceases to be scientific, and must be declared a blind guide.

Let us take another case. Rev. Edward H. Hall says:²

Supernatural, in its common acceptation, means somehow or somewhere, whether close at hand or infinitely distant, a permanent line of separation between the known and the unknown; it means the existence of some other world where the divine agency is more direct and arbitrary than here. The very necessity of the word, and the insistence upon it, show that the word "natural" is not enough; that either above nature, or beneath or beyond it, there is supposed to be something which is not exactly nature, and which requires a special name. In urging the claims of naturalism, a term which has to bear ever and anon a fresh burden of contumely, I believe

¹ "The Bible for Learners," vol. III, p. 468.

² *The New World*, Sept. 1898, p. 550.

myself to be pointing out a distinct line of cleavage which runs through all faiths and churches and schools to-day. . . . The same cleavage it is, if I may be allowed to stray for a moment beyond my beat, which is showing itself in certain fields of scientific research, as in the infant science of psychology, between those who, in groping among the obscure phenomena of mind, and making startling discoveries there, are ready, with every new mystery, to fancy themselves beyond the limits of natural law, and those to whom each new region of consciousness, or stratum of personality, or power of mind over mind, only tells of the vastness of the mental universe, and opens new worlds for science to conquer. Every such schism, whether in church or laboratory or lecture room, marks more distinctly the breach between those to whom nature seems unequal to her own necessities, and those to whom nature is forever sufficient to herself. Every provisional expedient, whereby church or Bible or invisible ghostly agencies are enthroned in supreme authority once more, postpones for a time only the final renunciation of all authority but that of truth. For what is truth but the consistency, through time and eternity, of nature with herself?

If we ask what assumption it is on the part of some students of psychology that shows that they "are ready, with every new mystery, to fancy themselves beyond the limits of natural law," the answer is, if I rightly interpret Mr. Hall's words, that of "invisible ghostly agencies" as a cause. Now, while it is true that there are many Christians who believe in the dualistic scheme rejected by Mr. Hall, and while some of these may, upon the authority of the Bible, believe in the reality of "ghostly agencies," even though they refuse to accept the logical consequences of such a belief; the believers in modern Spiritualism, and the students of psychology who have stumbled upon facts which, to their minds, prove or render probable the spiritualistic interpretation of certain facts, deny such a dualism as emphatically as Mr. Hall himself. They believe, either that "invisible ghostly agencies" form a part of that nature "forever sufficient to herself," or else that the inference that such exist is just as scientific — if the facts compel it — as any known to chemistry and physics. Furthermore, they would say that the language used by Mr. Hall is tantamount to his claiming the possession of a kind of knowledge unknown to science, whereby he is able to determine *a priori* the limits of nature and the unreality of "ghostly agencies." What I have said elsewhere¹ in discussing the term supernatural seems appropriate at this point:

Our knowledge of facts is, in the strictest sense, limited to our knowledge of states of consciousness. It is from these that we infer the characteristics of causes which we judge to be adequate to the production of one or more effects. From the standpoint of science . . . every effect experienced, or capable of being experienced, in consciousness, results from the operation of one or more causes which originate within the cosmos and are therefore cosmic, whence nothing that can possibly be of the slightest concern to man can be denominated extra- or super-cosmic. Now I strongly suspect that many modern thinkers have made the term "supernatural agent" synonymous with *extra- or super-cosmic cause*, whereas it can much more properly be rendered *an invisible entity acting as a cause*. Very properly denying, as they do, the existence of anything extra-cosmic, these thinkers are disgusted with anyone who uses the word "supernatural" or any allied term. This leads them to

¹ *The Psychical Review*, vol. II, p. 222.

distrust the intellectual capacity of one who propounds explanations in any way involving this conception, and to infer that his testimony as to alleged facts must be worthless. From a misapprehension as to what is involved in the term "supernatural," they are erroneously led to infer that the facts . . . [so explained] cannot be genuine.

To sum up this part of the argument, the position taken by Mr. Hall is not scientific; for the great questions of the investigator are, what happens and under what conditions? and of all these things that *do* happen, no one of them is any more miraculous or any less natural than any other.

The quotations made illustrate the dilemma in which I hold that the vast majority of Protestant Christians are destined to find themselves ere long as an inevitable consequence of the growth and diffusion of the scientific consciousness. For, granting the unity of the universe and the reign of law, either: 1. The leaders of Christian thought, true to the principles of the higher criticism, must look to modern psychical phenomena for the light by which to interpret the resurrection of Jesus and other phenomena of the first century, and then, finding nothing that sustains the contention of the spiritualist, dismiss the first-century evidence as unreliable, thus eliminating from the Bible all phenomenal evidence that supports the doctrine of immortality; or: 2. Finding in modern phenomena facts that do sustain the spiritualistic claim, they must conclude that genuine phenomena, susceptible of the same interpretation, could have been witnessed in the first century, and therefore might have been observed by the authors of the New Testament and then, very properly, incorporated in its text. But this second alternative concedes the truth of the basic contentions of Spiritualism, which is so almost unutterably odious to thousands of good Christian people! Now, it is precisely for this reason, because *everything* that is fit to be called *proof* belongs, by its very nature, to its domain, that I maintain that, if true, Spiritualism, whose basic claim is that it proves immortality, is most emphatically worth while, and that its strong claim upon Christianity cannot be gainsaid. In fact, Spiritualism — in spite of that bugaboo, *fraud*, and the narrowness of many of its advocates — is an integral part of primitive Christianity, and those Christians who attack it are blindly seeking to undermine the chief prop of their own religious system!

Christians must face the truth that there is no escape from the dilemma just pointed out. It will be said, indeed, that Jesus was different in nature from other men; very well then, until it be proved that what is true of horses is necessarily true of snails, his resurrection proves absolutely nothing for other men, for the particulars in which Jesus differed from other men might be the very ones that rendered his resurrection possible. It will be said that such phenomena were per-

mitted by God in the apostolic age for a special purpose, and that they no longer occur. But the scientific consciousness, already mentioned as growing in its hold upon men, replies: "No. The universe is one; phenomena are governed by laws the same yesterday, to-day, and forever." And the spiritualist says: "Look at *these* phenomena and then say, if you can, that the evidences of immortality ceased with the apostolic age."

When the average Christian says to you that he wants *the truth*, he is a liar; not consciously, in the majority of cases, but he is a liar nevertheless. What he does want, above all other things, is to sustain *his* creed, to see it victorious, to see other men bow down to it. If he *did* want the truth, he would be willing to give up any or all of his ideas for it; he would recognize that the history of thought is strewn with errors and outgrown ideas; he would therefore suspect that his present beliefs *might* not be one hundred per cent true. This would make him solicitous to learn the means by which truth can be separated from error, and he would seek opportunities to compare his opinions with those of others, in order that he might be led to new truth. True, he identifies his creed with truth, but had he not lurking suspicions that there is a flaw somewhere, he would be open-minded, knowing that a truth is ever more firmly established, and more powerful for good, in proportion as its relations to other truths are perceived. For centuries the churches have erred by laying great stress upon orthodoxy of belief, saying, "We *have* the truth." There was once a Teacher — one would think that they had never heard of Him! — who taught that the open-mindedness of the child is the very condition of entrance into the kingdom of heaven, that the *spirit of truth* will lead his disciples into all truth, and that they shall do greater things than he did. Did *He* recommend creeds and stagnation — *final* formulations of truth? Whom do the *signs* more largely follow, the orthodox believers or some of the cranks, to whom, if they desired it, many would deny the name Christian? Wise in their day and generation, the orthodox say: "Go to, now, let us deny that any signs are given, then we shall be without reproach. It is easier to *believe* on Jesus Christ and Him crucified, than to fit ourselves for the indwelling and manifestation of his spirit." "By their fruits ye shall know them."

The average Christian is a coward — *very* respectable, but a coward nevertheless. He dare not lift up his head and face the universe, relying upon the faculties he possesses to work out his own salvation, albeit he professes to believe that the good God made both! In nothing is my contention more manifest than in the treatment which Spiritualism has received at the hands of many Christians. The edict seems to have gone forth years ago: "Destroy the pestilential thing root and branch ;

misrepresent and malign it, if that will kill it, or, you who think that the best course is to ignore it, unite in that conspiracy of silence which has many times defeated the enemies of our faith." When the conscientious, church-going Christian will concede that men are justified in staying away from church by the plea that there are hypocrites amongst its members, when the pupil is exhorted to close his eyes and ears for fear that he may accept error for truth, when the farmer is gravely told to throw away his grain because there is chaff mixed with it, and when the miner is laughed to scorn because he handles tons of worthless earth and rock to extract a few ounces of gold, then, and not till then, will I grant that the Christian, with the admonition, "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good," ringing in his ears, is justified in ignoring Spiritualism because frauds have been perpetrated within its domain! Away with such cowardice! You are not so unsophisticated as to assert that truth is given to man in chemically pure chunks, or so stupid as to reject everything not so labelled. "Put away childish things," cast off the yoke laid upon your shoulders by the traditions of the elders by affirming your freedom, and have the manhood to face the problem presented to the world by Spiritualism. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

Were it not for the ignorance, prejudice, and selfishness which still possess what is *called* Christianity, keeping out the Christ spirit, and for the religious machines, *called* denominations, which reward conformity and punish a larger vision of truth, Christians would recognize the close affiliation or actual identity of the wonders of the New Testament and modern psychical phenomena, *and they would move heaven and earth but they would know what their relation is to Christianity, and what they portend for the welfare of humanity.* But, being altogether too busy maintaining their social and business respectability, and in looking after the loaves and fishes, why, of course, it is unreasonable to expect any such thing. It is surprising that anyone should suggest such an idea!

Let us return now to the problem of inspiration, already mentioned. Trying to account for the existence of great men who have always played such an important part in the evolution of humanity, Prof. C. H. Toy, of Harvard University, says:¹

We may demonstrate the man's relation to his past, exhibit the circle of ideas in which he grows up, and perceive the connection between his thought and that of his times; but in the last analysis, when we reach the creative moment, it is impossible to give the history of the process. There is a mystery in his mental experiences, in the way in which he seizes on the problem, combines its elements, and reaches his result. He himself can commonly give no logical account of his procedure, he can only say that he sees and knows the solution; out of many possible ways of dealing with the questions of life, he has chosen one which proves to be the right one, inasmuch as it commends itself to men and introduces harmony and peace in place of dis-

¹ "Judaism and Christianity," p. 28.

cord and unrest. The larger the problem, the more numerous do the possible solutions seem to men to be, the greater the difficulty of seizing on the one simple thought which shall convert the chaos into a cosmos, and the harder to represent the mental spiritual process by which the transforming discovery is made. It is a mystery that meets us in every department of human life; when we have called it genius, intuition, or inspiration, so far from defining it, we have only labelled it with a name which defies definition. Great artists, statesmen, discoverers of natural law, social and religious reformers, move in a sphere beyond the reach of other men; they are linked with the world by all natural ties, but their thought seems to be born in a sphere above the world. Their fellow-men have naturally thought of them as seized on by a higher power, especially when they had to do with the religious life; the word "inspiration" has been almost exclusively set apart to denote the deep spiritual knowledge and the transforming religious energy which, it has seemed to men, could issue only from a superhuman source. It is the word which expresses for our ordinary conception the mysteriousness of the human soul in contrast with its orderly obedience to law. These two elements of human thought are harmonized when we conceive of it as the creation of the divine spirit working according to natural law.

This is an admirable statement, as clear and adequate as could be expected from the author's standpoint; but Spiritualism reveals to the world what is a mystery to Prof. Toy. The judgment of any intelligent spiritualist of wide experience will sanction, I believe, the following explanation of inspiration: The laws whose operation have made it possible for investigators to establish the identity of many spirits, and thereby to demonstrate immortality, have also made it possible for spiritualists to receive the truths that the worlds of spirits and mortals are in constant communion, and that there are, in the former, beings superior in intellect and good will to humanity to the majority of people, or to all, living upon our earth. Such having, then, in some respects at least, a clearer perception of the needs of humanity, or of individuals, than our fellow-mortals, see fit to discipline certain faculties in selected men and women — thus making active in some what is latent in all — so that they become more or less perfect instruments through which they ("guides" or "controls," as they are frequently called) can transmit thought or *in* which they can stimulate activity of will or emotion. "When we reach the creative moment," then, the spirit has succeeded in transmitting his thought clearly to or through an instrument. It is not the latter who "seizes on the problem, combines the elements, and reaches" the result, but the *in-forming* spirit, whose knowledge, so difficult of explanation to Prof. Toy and others, is as normal to his experience, conditions, and plane of development as the acquisitions of a college professor in Greek, chemistry, or mathematics. Thus conceived, it is not a matter of surprise that the *inspiration*, the result of the voluntary effort of a superior intelligence, does "introduce harmony" and "convert the chaos into a cosmos," for these are the purposes of the spirit, and just what the conditions have made it possible to achieve. The term inspiration no longer "defies defini-

tion," and the thought of great artists, statesmen, and others is "born in a sphere above the world," for they *are* "seized on by a higher power."

To prevent misconception, it is necessary to supplement what has been said by touching briefly upon several points. 1. There are in the spirit world beings of all grades of development, from the lowest to the highest, some of them inferior to many mortals. 2. All who take the trouble to acquire the necessary knowledge of the laws and control of their own powers can communicate with mortals. 3. Christians may point to the cases of demoniacal possession cited in the New Testament and say: "If there *is* any truth in Spiritualism, there it is; you are welcome to it; I don't want it"; but if you choose to state the case in such terms, when you open the gates of hell you at the same time and under the same law open those of heaven. 4. While it is true that certain phases of mediumship are exercised with a minimum coöperation of moral and intellectual power, other phases, and the same ones as exercised by the real leaders of humanity — as a rule, with no adequate knowledge of the process, or of their own relation to an inspiring intelligence — are not such as constitute them, in any true sense, puppets, or as detract from their greatness; but, on the contrary, they are such as call for the highest consecration and cultivation of all of the leader's own powers. This is a case of economy in a high realm; like attracts like, and the intelligent and unselfish in both worlds work together in a common cause. 5. Spirit infallibility is a delusion. Those who cherish the belief will have their eyes opened, though it may be through much suffering. 6. Nothing was ever yet written in Bible or sacred book that might not have emanated from a finite intelligence. For, if a mortal can understand it, it follows that a finite spirit has the necessary intelligence to inspire it; and if he cannot, it is not a revelation at all, has no power to help him, and lies, indeed, outside of the pale of possible judgment. 7. In the light of what is generally believed by educated men, it can be asserted with entire confidence, that no man can prove that any revelation has come to man *immediately* from God. On the other hand, if Spiritualism be true, there is proof that some revelations have come from finite spirits, and a strong presumption that all have. These claims, however, by no means dismiss God from the universe. Many people are very solicitous lest He should be dismissed from the commanding position assigned Him in Christian philosophy. Instead of degrading God, such views ennoble man by acknowledging the high function which human spirits have performed in the evolution of humanity for untold ages.

In dwelling upon the doctrine of immortality and the nature of inspiration, we have taken into account two of the chief claims of

Spiritualism upon Christianity — yea, upon *religion*. Lack of space forbids the discussion of a number of others. In conclusion, however, my conviction is that the growth of the scientific consciousness in general, and the spiritualistic and psychical research movements in particular, will, before many years, force Christianity to frankly acknowledge the claims of Spiritualism. For, when aspiring man sees a great object through a glass darkly, and suspects that there are means by which he may perceive it face to face, he refuses to be satisfied until the clearer vision is his. Not only, too, is Spiritualism an integral part of religion, but it is the demonstrator of important laws, an interpreter having many things of moment to say to us, an open doorway into an enlarged universe, and the revealer to consciousness of channels — whose mere existence is still denied by the majority — through which great blessings can be transmitted to humanity. In short, nowhere else can we look with the same confidence for the manifestation of the laws upon which the higher life of man depends, and for the proof of laws destined ere long to found a New Christianity upon a basis truly scientific because possessing that universality which we attach to the conception of law, as against the local and special elements associated with the old historical basis.

DEVELOPMENT OF NATURALIZATION LAWS.

BY CLIFFORD S. WALTON,

Of the Washington Bar.

RECENT international controversies, in which the United States has been more or less involved, have developed many interesting questions as to the exact status of persons, and the effects of naturalization at home and abroad.

International law prescribes no general formalities for use when a change of allegiance from one government to another is effected by a subject, but the law of each state lays down the conditions on which it will receive foreigners into the ranks of its citizens.

Thus in the United States the general rule, to which, however, there are several exceptions, is that the alien who wishes to become a citizen must have resided in the country for at least five years; must have made, before a proper court, at least two years before his application for naturalization, a declaration on oath of his intention to become a citizen; and must take an oath of allegiance to the United States and of renunciation of his former allegiance.

The legal effects of naturalization, in so far as they concern the person naturalized in relation to the state of his choice, are determined exclusively by its law.

In regard to a subject who has acquired a foreign nationality, we find that the old doctrine of inalienable allegiance, set forth in the maxim, *Nemo potest exuere patriam*, is in force in Switzerland, and is still acted upon in all its severity in Russia.

The law of Turkey, like that of Russia and some other countries, does not recognize unpermitted change of allegiance of a Turkish subject; but a United States passport, held by a naturalized subject, is recognized by Turkish authorities as evidence of the fact of naturalization and citizenship. The recognition, however, does not prejudice the exercise of the sovereign right of exclusion or expulsion of persons so naturalized since 1869 without the imperial consent.

The contention of Spain before the last Spanish and American commission in regard to claims of naturalized Cubans was to the same effect — that a Spanish subject could not expatriate himself without the consent of his sovereign.

This doctrine, at one time, was also upheld by the United States, based on the common-law doctrine that natural subjects owe an allegiance to the sovereign which they cannot absolve; that natural allegiance is primitive and intrinsic, perpetual and indelible, and cannot be divested without the consent of the prince to whom it was first due. — *Talbot v. Janson*, 3 Dall (Pa.), 133; *Murray v. Betsey*, 2 Cranch (U. S.), 64; *Shanks v. Dupont*, 3 Pet. (U. S.), 242; *et al.*

This doctrine, however true it still may be, the United States Congress has overridden by expressly giving general consent to expatriation in enacting "that expatriation is a natural and inherent right of all persons." U. S. Rev. Stat., secs. 1999, 2000, and 2001.

Similar legislation has been effected in Great Britain (33 Vic. c. 14, sec. 6), which lays down that British subjects lose their citizenship by voluntarily assuming citizenship in another state; and, with regard to naturalized citizens of Great Britain, it declares that they will be protected wheresoever they may be except in the country of their original allegiance. They will not be entitled to the privileges of British citizens within its borders, unless by acquiring their new nationality they cease to be its subjects according to its laws or the stipulations of a treaty made with it. Between the extremes mentioned, the law of the great majority of states hovers, imposing conditions upon expatriation, and declaring that the subject naturalized abroad loses by naturalization his quality of citizen for most purposes.

Some states, like Italy, still regard him as subject to military service, and several consider him to be punishable with death if he bears arms against his native country.

In the converse case of a citizen of a foreign country who has become a naturalized subject, some states regard him as entirely and for all purposes on an equality as to rights and protection with their born subjects, while others recognize that the country of his birth still has rights against him, which it may enforce if he goes within its territory. The former contentions of Spain are now set aside by its new constitution (promulgated in Cuba in 1881), and by their civil code, adopted in 1889, which have the same provisions in both; article 1 of the former embracing the subject matter of articles 17 and 20 of the latter, which, first, recognize the right of foreigners to expatriate themselves and become naturalized citizens of Spain; and, secondly, provide "that a Spaniard may lose his quality as a citizen by becoming naturalized in a foreign country, or by accepting employment of another government, or by entering the military or naval service of a foreign power without the permission of his king."

The legislative department of the United States government seems to be in advance of its executive in its doctrine of "a natural and inherent

right of expatriation." To arrive at an intelligent understanding of the subject it will be necessary to go back some time.

Mr. Wheaton, when minister at Berlin in 1840, refused to take up the case of J. P. Knacke, a Prussian who had been naturalized in the United States and had returned to Prussia. He was therefore compelled to serve in the Prussian army, and Mr. Wheaton held that the United States could not interfere to protect him in the country of his birth.

Mr. Webster, when Secretary of State in 1852, took similar grounds in the cases of Ignacio Tolen, a Spaniard, and Victor Depierre, a Frenchman. But General Cass, who held the same office in 1859, drew a distinction in the case of Hofer, a Prussian, between inchoate and perfect obligation, and claimed a right to protect naturalized citizens in the countries of their birth unless the offence alleged was complete before expatriation. The Prussian government declined to admit the contention, but gave a discharge from the army as a favor, what it refused as a right.

The year 1868 witnessed considerable activity of negotiation on the subject of naturalization, and conventions were negotiated with Austria, the North German Confederation (which in 1870 grew into the German Empire), and Baden.

These have since been followed by others, and nearly all of them expressly provide that a naturalized citizen of one country, who is by birth a subject of another, may be tried on his return to his fatherland for offences against its laws committed before emigration.

In some, special mention is made of military service, and it is stipulated that the obligation must have actually accrued before emigration in order to render the offender liable to military duty on his return, or to trial and punishment for the neglect of it. The possibility of a future call to service is not enough. The call must have actually been made.

It is impossible to lay down any general rule in regard to the protection this government will extend to a citizen, whether native-born or naturalized, living in a foreign country. Each case must stand upon its own merits.

When a citizen of the United States places himself within the jurisdiction of a foreign government and subjects himself and his property to its laws, and when such a citizen afterward seeks the interference of the United States to redress some personal wrong and to recover compensation for losses suffered at the hands of such foreign government, this government reserves the right to determine, at its own discretion, what action it will take not only on the merits of the particular claim, but also in regard to the claimant's right to protection.

It is for this government to say whether the claim shall be presented or not to the foreign government.

In regard to what weight and effect shall be given to a certificate of naturalization by a foreign government or international tribunal, while it may be argued that this government has never permitted its certificate of naturalization to be questioned and gone behind by any such foreign authority, still the conditional right and protection secured by such a certificate must not be confused with its unassailable character, which is separable from the former.

A naturalized subject may, by abandonment and neglect to observe and perform the duties which are incumbent upon him as such, forfeit all right of protection from this country, even if he has not clearly become expatriated.

There are cases where this country will recognize citizenship, but will hesitate about extending protection to a person who does not show a clear intention to return to this country, evidenced by a failure to continue the fulfilment of the duties of a citizen in support of this government, such as the payment of taxes, to bear arms, etc.

A case in point is that of Bagur, who resided in the United States from 1852 to 1865, and in 1860 became a naturalized citizen. In 1865 he returned to Spain, taking his wife with him; his children were born there, and for twenty years he continued to reside in that country. The fact that he never had voted or held office in Spain or taken part in any political demonstration there might show that he was not a zealous Spaniard, but did not prove him to have been a loyal citizen of the United States.

It was held "that, while there was no allegation that he intended to return to the United States, the inference to the contrary is rendered very strong by his settlement in Spain, as the place of his children's birth and education, and by his failure even now to make any effort to return. Moreover, there is no evidence that he ever contributed by payment of taxes or otherwise to the support of this government. The facts furnish a presumption, not rebutted, that he has abandoned his nationality, involving his minor children in the same abandonment."

There can be no doubt that a naturalized citizen can denaturalize himself and get rid of his acquired character, just as he got rid of the character given him by birth. If he returns to his fatherland and shows an intention to remain there indefinitely, his original nationality readily reverts to him.

A state, as an independent political unit, has a right to accept as citizens on its own conditions all who may come into its territory and desire to attach themselves to it. But it can hardly claim a right to

dictate to another state the conditions on which that state shall give up all claim to the allegiance of its born subjects. To do so would be to intrude into the sphere of its legislation and trench upon its independence.

No surer method of producing international complications could well be found; whereas the rule of leaving to the state of birth to determine whether it will recognize the new citizenship or not, when the individual who has acquired it returns within its territory, precludes all possibility of controversy, while recognizing both the right of the naturalizing state to acquire citizens in its own way, and the right of the mother state to deal as it thinks fit with all persons in its dominions who are its subjects according to the provision of the local law. The United States and some other countries have endeavored to settle these questions by treaty.

Neither opinion nor practice is yet sufficiently uniform to create a rule of international law on the subject, but the tendency seems to be in favor of the provisions of the later United States treaties, or the law laid down in the recent Mexican and British naturalization acts, all of which involve similar principles.

Under the existing practice, while it may be generally admitted that a state has a full right to admit a foreigner to membership and to extend protection to him as such, still it is hardly consistent with the comity which ought to exist between nations, to render the acquisition of a national character so cheap and unconditional that the right may invite abuse by aliens against the mother country by them making use of the naturalizing state as a tool, and possibly rendering it *particeps criminis* in the disregard and perhaps premeditated avoidance of the obligations due to their native state.

THE MAN IN HISTORY.

BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH.

GREAT has been the contention of thinkers as to the true place of Man in History. By man we do not mean the race or tribe, but the individual human being; by history we do not mean the puny record of events made by scribe or chronicler, but the events themselves in their majestic progress across the landscape of the world.

Historians and philosophers have divided on this question. They have divided according to their biases and culture. Some have contended that man, the individual, is the maker of events; others with equal cogency have contended that events and the general causes on which they depend are the makers of men. To one class of thinkers, the man appears as the cause of whatever is; to the other class he appears as the cause of nothing, but only as the result of causes.

The opinion of the ancient world was that the individual is the fountain-head of historical causation. The opinion of the modern world inclines the other way, and looks upon general causation as the source of all things, and man as one of the issues from that source.

This division of opinion continues to the present day, insomuch that there is now no indisputable historical teaching in the world. There is no instruction in the science of history which proceeds from a postulate at once undisputed and philosophical. Out of the most reputable universities in the world comes only an uncertain sound. One class of thinkers begin with the assumption that man, the individual, is the creator of the whole; these end in the mists of hero-worship. The other class begin with the assumption that men are nothing, and that general causation is everything; these end in the far, cold clouds of historical fatalism.

Thomas Carlyle and Henry Thomas Buckle may be regarded as two of the foremost intellects of the nineteenth century. Both were historians of the first rank, and both must be classed among the greatest thinkers of the age. Both were equally sincere. The writings of each are equally exempt from that poisonous ulterior purpose which is the bane of so large a part of the historical literature of our times. Nor may we with undue haste award the palm to the one or the other of these distinguished Englishmen.

Yet how unlike in opinion and contradictory in method are these two historians! Carlyle is perhaps the greatest example of a hero-

worshipper among the high-up intellects of the English-speaking race. Buckle, on the other hand, knows no hero at all, but is rather the finest example of that scientific rationalism which has affected, if it has not conquered, nearly all the historians of the last half of the present century.

To Carlyle, man — the individual — verily appears as the origin of causation. Behind the man, Carlyle recognizes only one force — God. From this view he never veers. He finds the man, and fixes on *him* as the source and beginning of historical events. He is never satisfied until he can discover what appear to him to be the individual origins of history. To Buckle, on the other hand, the man appears as the mere result of historical forces. His view contemplates only the lines of an infinite and unalterable causation encompassing the world and bringing to pass whatever is done by the agency of men *en masse*. To his understanding even the great communities and nations of the world are not so much the moving forces of history as they are moved upon and propelled by forces greater than themselves.

The contrariety of these two views relative to man and history is distinct and sharp. The difference between the fundamental concepts, however, is not hard to apprehend when that difference has once been clearly stated. Men in general are disposed by their natures and education to take the one or the other view of the relation of the individual to the general course of events. Some naturally and enthusiastically follow the hero, or genius, supposing *him* to be the cause of the great act in which he appears; while others, with equal decision but less emotional fervor, follow the general movements of mankind, neglecting the individual atoms that are driven along in the dust-clouds of progress.

At first glance it appears paradoxical and impossible that history should proceed from any source other than from the man himself. *Primâ facie*, it is self-evident that he is the maker of the whole. Whoever merely glances at the problem must conclude that all events — all movements and phenomena of the world-drama — are but products and results of the energies, intelligence, and purposes of men. Who but they, the inquirer may well demand, *could* be the origin of human events, the cause of whatever is? It seems so plain to the eye of sense that man does plan and purpose, that he does make and determine, that the fact does fall from his hand as the sword or the ploughshare falls from the blacksmith's anvil, — that to doubt his agency, his origination, his creation of the event seems absurdly to question the evidence of all the senses and perceptions of the mind.

Opposed to this view, however, is the other to which we have referred. This changes completely the point of observation and makes

man to be but the result of historical antecedence — the product of his age. That he is so seems to be established by many indubitable facts. The proposition that man is born and lives by the compulsion of historical forces becomes with little study a truth as palpable as any. Look at the individual at any time and in any country. Select the man from any situation whatsoever, and see whether he has determined even himself, to say nothing of the events of his epoch. Did he before his coming mark the time of his birth? Did he determine and choose his country? Did he reckon the conditions of climate and scene into which he should be thrown, and the consequent limitations of his powers? Did he fix his birthplace in river valley, on mountain slope, in populous city, on solitary steppe, in moaning forest, or by the beach of the infinite sea?

Did any man ever choose his race and blood? Did any ever select his own paternity — his father, his mother, the physical and moral union of their lives in him? Did any ever make himself a Hindu, a Persian, a Greek, a fire-worshipper, a pagan, a Christian? Did any ever prepare beforehand to be a soldier, a poet, a priest? Could any fix himself by preference and will in Babylon, in Rome, in Peking, in London? Could any by prearrangement adjust the historical conditions into which he would be born, and of which he must avail himself or perish? Could any make for himself a scene of action among the Athenian democracy, the Roman patricians, the Gallic warriors? Could any be a Hun or a missionary, a Crusader or an Infidel, a prince or a boor, a fool or a philosopher, man or woman, slave or general, black, brown, or white, strong or weak, blind or seeing, dwarf or herculean, capable or incapable of action and accomplishment? Has *any* man in *any* age or country to *any* degree whatever influenced, not to say determined, the antecedent conditions of his own life and activities? If he have not done so, then how can he be said to be the maker of history?

All questions implying the power of man to fix his own place and manner in the world must be met with a general negation. It must be agreed that man does *not* determine his place in history; that he does not choose his country, his age, or his race; that he does not make the elements of his own life and activity; that he does not originate or greatly influence the laws and conditions of his environment.

Nevertheless, he who holds the opposite view returns unvanquished to the battle and appeals vehemently to the truisms of his contention. He cites the manifest originating power and controlling hand of man over the incidents and events of history. He goes forward from material facts and conditions to abstract and moral considerations, charging the adverse opinion with absurd predestinarianism, with materialism, with every species of fatalistic philosophism invented by a blind and

absolute science. Your history, says he, dethrones man and makes him of no reputation. It reduces him from an *agent* to a *thing*. It takes all will and purpose out of history and makes it to be but the aggregate result of physical forces, leaving it on the plane of a mere natural philosophy. Such a view is against the evidence of the perceptions of the mind and the common testimony of the human race.

What — continues the debater — is the witness of all observation and recorded annals? — what but that men themselves, individuals, persons either singular or many, have originated, caused, produced the facts and events of the historical drama? Who but man has reclaimed and peopled and civilized the domains of the world? Did any city ever found itself? Did ever a state begin of its own accord? Did ever any institution or event rise anywhere but by the uplifting hands of men? Did not Cecrops found Athens, and the Twin Robbers draw the ramparts around primitive Rome? Did not the legionaries of Claudius on the Thames bank build a fort to command the river and make the first huts in the metropolis of the world? Did not Moses and Solon and Numa make laws for the Jew, the Greek, the Roman? Did not the son of Philip conquer Asia? and did not Hannibal shake his fist at Rome? Was Charlemagne nothing but a name? Were Luther and Cromwell only the open and unconscious mouths of religious and democratic insurrections? Was Richelieu only a puppet, wired and pulled by fate? Was Napoleon only a barren ideality? Did not Omar the Great take Jerusalem, and Godfrey recover it? Do not *men* rear palaces and temples, and adorn them with immortal arts? Did not Michael Angelo fling up a vision of angels and cherubim to the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel? and did not the Man of Genoa — even against the conspiracy of the age, the contempt of kings and sages, and the anger of the sea — bring his triumphant *Santa Maria* from the far-off, bright Azores to

— Bahama, and the dashing
Silver-flashing
Surges of San Salvador?

Did blind fate or a living man discover the New World?

Thus triumphantly cries out the advocate of man-agency and man-purpose as the originating forces of history. But the antagonist is not silenced. The believer in the predominance of the laws of universal causation merely smiles at the declamation of his adversary. He takes up the unexhausted debate, and drives home thrust on thrust. Your argument, says he, is mere phantasm and stoneblindness. Men produce nothing — nothing! They control nothing — nothing! They contribute not a single feather-weight to the world. They give no atom to the aggregate of things material or things eternal. On the contrary, they

are themselves like bubbles thrown up with the heavings of an infinite sea. There on the surface they flash for a moment, and are gone forever. Men do *not*, as you say, create the elements or direct the course of history. The builders of that sublime fabric are invisible to mortal sight. They live forever, and have power over all the phenomena of man-life, shaping and constructing all. The man lives for a day and constructs nothing. Cecrops did not, as you say, found Athens. Minerva had been there before him and had planted the olive tree on the Acropolis. She had contended with Neptune and driven him away! Cecrops did not make the site, but only discovered it. He did not discover it, for he was sent thither to find it! Greece had already been prepared in an alembic older than the Hellenic race. There was the broken shore. There were the hills and the mountains. There were the oak woods and Olympus; the grottoes and the whispering groves of myrtle; the cerulean sky and the hexametric pulse of the soft seas falling on the shore. There had been prepared the antecedent conditions, not only for Athens and Sparta, but for Cecrops and Theseus as well; for Agamemnon and Homer; for Lycurgus and Solon; for the Delphic shrine and the Parthenon; for the Olympic games and Salamis.

Into this region — as into all regions — history sent her lawmakers and her poets. She despatched thither her warriors and her orators, her philosophy and her arts. It was History who heaped up the tumulus of Marathon, and still sends there her spectral Greeks to fight in the clouds by night. She it was who urged Hannibal with his elephants across the Alps, and who held back Cæsar for a moment on the banks of the dividing river. She it was who whirled the battle-axe of the Lion Heart on the hills above Jerusalem, and who put the reluctant hand of John to the parchment of the Charter. In that trembling scrawl were the English Constitution, the freedom of the Netherlands, and the Declaration of Independence!

The advocate still continues: Did Alexander make himself? If so, he did *not* make Philip and Aristotle! The one as his father and the other as his teacher are accredited with making *him*! It might therefore better be said that Aristotle was the conqueror of Asia. But he also was the product of a certain paternity, and in a larger and truer sense the product of a certain age. Were the Draconian Laws the work of him whose name they bear? Or were they only the bloody remnants of ancient savagery and night? Were the Ten Tables made, or compiled? Were they anything but the reduced and simplified expression of immemorial usage? Is there any such thing as *making* a law in any age or country? What is a lawmaker if not one whom history appoints to ascertain the thought and habit and purpose of some of her peoples? Neither Moses nor Zoroaster nor the camel-driver of

Mecca was the maker of the code of Israel, of the Fire Bible of Persia, of the Arabian Islam. The Hebrew law may be found in broken fragments among the lore and usage of peoples older than Moses, older than the flight from Ur. How are constitutions made?—how but in the forge and fire of time and toil, by heat of war and rain and shine of peace?

Nations go to battle as the clouds enter a storm. Are there not unseen forces behind the one as well as impelling the other? Do clouds really fight, or are they not rather driven into concussion? Are there not unseen forces behind both the nations and the clouds? Are not battle-rack and cloud-rack alike in this, that the one is the result of the contending forces of history, and the other the shock of electric currents and fight of viewless winds? The visible clash is nothing. The armies and the leaders, whether on the earth or in the heavens, are but the visible *signs* of battle; and victory goes to him, whether man or cloud, that is flung with greater force and momentum against the other.

What was Rome but a catapult, and Cæsar but a stone? He was flung from it beyond the Alps to fall upon the barbarians of Gaul and Britain. What was Martel? The very name of him was *Hammer*! He was the hammer of Europe beating Africa. What was Alfred but the bared right arm of Saxon England? What was Dante but a wail of the Middle Ages? and what was Luther but a tocsin? What was Columbus but the homing pigeon of an epoch of darkness and despair? What was William of Orange but the doubled fist of Holland? and Holland but the doubled fist of Protestantism? What was Washington but the unsheathed sword of our New-World democracy? and what was Napoleon but a thunderbolt rattling among the thrones of Europe? He did not fling himself, but *was flung*!

Such is the cause in court. Such are the arguments with which each of the great pleas is supported. Here on the one side is the Man set forth as the Author of History; and here on the counter side is History set forth as the maker of the Man. The contention is as far-reaching as the origin of the human race, as strenuous as the cords that bind our destinies, and as profound as the seabed of life.

The whole tendency of this momentous inquiry respecting the place of the man in history has been to reduce the agency of the individual, and to show the prevalence of the laws of general causation over the human race and its activities. Just in proportion to the illumination of the understanding and the widening of our field of vision has the acknowledgment come of a reign of law, not only in the domain of the material world, but among all the facts and phenomena of history. Every advance in our scientific knowledge, every correction of our rea-

son, has confirmed what was aforesaid only a suspicion, but has now become a belief, namely, that the influence of man, as man, on the course of events in the world is insignificant. Though the event itself is human, the evolution rises above the agency of man and fixes itself into the general laws and sequences which bind all things together.

As for the individual, he works at the event, labors upon it, imagines even that he shapes it with his hand; but he does not really determine its character or its place in the general movement of the world. He is conscious of his own endeavor, knows his plan and purpose, perceives the changes that are going on around him in which he participates, takes this place or that place in the drama according to his will and the will of his fellows; but for the rest, the act goes on independently of his powers and plans, and the event comes out at length by its own laws of development, and is above and beyond the designs and understandings of men.

But the objector says, What does this mean? Is History an Entity? Is History a thing alive? — having organs and parts and substance and spiritual essence? To say so is a mere impersonation; a fiction; a poem; a phantasm put for a fact. I answer that history is an entity — in the sense that the mind of man is an entity within his visible form and substance. Civilization is the body of events and institutions — a body of facts and parts and functions. Within these there is a controlling Force and Tendency, without which all events and facts and institutions are nothing; nothing but chaos. History may be defined as the aggregate of human forces acting under law, moving invisibly — but with visible phenomena — from ancient savagery as a beginning to the ultimate perfection of mankind as an end. It is an aggregate, I say, of human forces; but the individuals who contribute to the vast volume do not understand their contributions thereto, or the general scheme of which they are little more than the atomic parts.

Over this aggregate of human forces there presides somehow and somewhere a Will, a Purpose, a Principle, the nature of which no man knoweth to this day. To this Will and Purpose, to this universal Plan, which we are able to see dimly manifested in the general results and course of things, men give various names according to their age and race; according to their biases of nature and education. Some call it — or did aforesaid call it — Fate; some, the First Cause; some, the Logos; some, Providence; some of the greatest races have called it God.

It is clear that history in its larger and truer sense is an evolution, more far-reaching and important than all the local and incidental aspects of human life. The man operates in it and is of it, but does not direct its course or final result. In the natural world every organic body is built up of cells by forces which relate to *the whole*

structure. The cell is put into this part or that part according to the necessities and plan of the general organism. Each cell is seized and perfected by the agency of laws which have respect, not to itself, but to the larger life to which it is subservient. The cells are placed according to the fitness of things, and are made to conduce to an interest other than their own. Their life is swallowed up in the grander life that feeds upon them. They are subordinated to a plan so much vaster and more important than themselves that the disproportion of each to the organic whole is inconceivable.

In like relation stands man to history. He is a conscious cell built into the body of the world-drama according to the exigency of the tremendous structure. True it is that he goes to his place without *feeling* the compulsion that is upon him. His own will, being a part of the general scheme, coöperates with the plan and purpose of mankind considered as a whole. He takes his station here or there by preference; but the preference itself is a part of the universal plan. He perceives, within a narrow limit, the work that is going on around him, and his own part therein. He is able to discover the nature and probable design of that small section of the general structure in which he stands and upon which he exerts his feeble agency. If the event in his part of the field conforms to his purpose and expectation he imagines that he has been the determining force therein; and his fellows, if he be great, ascribe to *him* the agency which he claims.

It is here that the delusion begins which makes man — the individual — to be the author of history. In many cases he seems to himself to be so. The records of his age are made up accordingly and transmitted to after times. So the tradition arises here and there that this man or that man determined the history of his epoch. In fact, each man, as the scientific history declares, is but the product of his age — a local force which the general laws of causation demand and find; or, to return to the analogy, the man is but the living, conscious cell which historical causation seizes and assigns to its place in the general structure of the world.

It is difficult for us to apprehend with clearness the subordinate place which history assigns to the individual. We are the individual; and it is hard for us to go to our own place and stand among the small. We are recusant against the law that governs our lives and destinies. There is a natural residue of resentment in the human mind against the principle which makes man to be no more than a local circumstance in the general plan which he is not even able to apprehend. The man, being proud — vain of his achievement in the sphere of his activity — would fain regard himself as the creator of greater things. He cajoles himself into the belief that he is so, and

does not willingly agree to that plan which makes him to be but a conscious cell in the walls of history. Before he will assent, he must be reasoned with and convinced. He must be shown that his agency extends to so limited a sphere, and is so brief in its operation, as to be necessarily disregarded in that general plan which is as long as time and as profound as space. No estimate of history, and of the place of man therein, can be adequate or satisfying which does not recognize the complete subordination and immersion of the individual in the world-drama of which he is but an incident. The man must be brought to see the disproportion between his agency — whatever it is — and the tremendous organic whole in which his destiny is laid — a disproportion as striking and incommensurable as that of the finite to the infinite.

Consider for a moment the limitations which are inexorably fixed around all the boundaries of human life. Note the limitation of *time*. The average duration of the life of man is almost infinitesimal. It is a handbreadth. It is naught as compared with the stretch of the ages. According to our world-time the event is thousands of years old, and is still young. History in making her facts and preparing her results demands multiplied centuries. She pays little attention to the brief generations of men who rise and flourish under her extended dynasty. To the man she assigns one decade of activity, or two, or three; and then he goes. He goes to return not. But the event does not go. It accomplishes itself in its own way. Like the millennial oak, it regards not the vicissitudes of season or the puny tribes of living creatures that vociferate and play for a day beneath its tremendous branches.

A like limitation is that of *place*. Man is bound to a single locality; but the event has the world for its country. Until the present century man was narrowly circumscribed to the little arena of his origin. He is still circumscribed; and whatever he accomplishes is, in the nature of the case, as local as himself. What he builds stands there, a brief monument of the small sphere of his action. Man flies not, but only walks. If he swim, it is in the shoal waters of the surf. The birds and the fishes outgo him, and the four-footed creatures have greater speed. If we consider his mind, his faculties, his aspirations, even they are limited to places and conditions. In saying this we do not forget the flight of thought, the excursion of intellectual force, the outreaching of human purposes; but all these are, in comparison with the greater schemes of history, no more than the circumference of leaves or the flight of insects. The man is obliged to recognize not only the brevity of his day, but also the limitation of his activity to a certain spot of earth little affected by his presence and totally indifferent to his destiny.

A third limitation laid by nature on man is the *weakness* of all his

powers. He weighs not as much as the St. Bernard that trots by his side. The ox easily outdraws him. The horse — even when bitted and reined — dashes away with him and his carriage. The smallest of nature's forces round about him tosses him hither and yon. He cannot see in the night, or survive without shelter and fire. Shall we call such a creature as this the maker of history? — history that is stronger than the winds, mightier than the sea? In her hands all forms of life that inhabit the globe are but as the microscopic creatures on the slides of the naturalist! To her all seasons and years, all climates and places, all continents and dominions, are but the materials of a purpose which she cherishes and pursues on unbent lines from the beginning to the end.

We thus accept the subordination of man to history. We recognize the fact that the individual has small place in the general movement of the world-drama — small influence in affecting the results of the present or final action. It is not meant that man is naught, but only that he is weak and transient. It is not meant that the structure of history is built up of materials other than human; but the individual parts are only the molecules of the organic whole. The individual has his sphere of activity and his local force; but these are only the cell-life, — the corpuscle and tissue in the universal organism.

Every man in the world is a miniature battery. He has his small cup of force the size of a gun-cap! In it are the acid, the carbon, and the zinc. Out of it reaches a gossamer thread which attaches itself to the tremendous lines of universal causation girdling the earth and binding nature. The little gun-cap battery discharges its modicum of electrical force into the general circuit, and to that extent contributes to the motive power of the world! Here, however, the agency of the individual ceases, and the reign of law begins. Here the work of man, as man, in the drama of history ends, and he himself is absorbed in an action the nature of which he does not understand, and the final results of which he may not foresee or imagine.

To this general scheme — involving the universality of history and the subordination of the individual — all men and all events inevitably conform. Each has its place and its purpose — a place and a purpose little discoverable by human faculties, but tending ever, as we are able dimly to discern, *to the betterment and perfection of the human race*. It is in the light of this view of history and of man that every fact and event is to be weighed and understood. In the radiance of this brief candle of knowledge the man himself is to be estimated and considered. He takes his place under the dominion of universal forces, and contributes his little part to the destiny of the race.

Thus is history to be known; and thus are all men to be meas-

ured and interpreted. Certainly we shall not take away from the conspicuous actors of past or present ages their well-earned title of great. To be great is to answer the call of an epoch. It is to respond to the conditions of one's age, and to fulfil them. It is to take the rank and office which history has assigned beforehand, and to make strong that part of the eternal ramparts in which the living agent may be builded. It was thus that the sages and warriors of the ancient world answered in their lives to demands which went before them and to conditions which determined their activities and fame.

We do not say that there has not been human spontaneity in the world. We do not say that the Hindu poets who sang the songs of the Vedas were no more than the sounds of reeds filled with the natural wind—no more than the rustle of leaves or the whirl of wings through the thickets by the banks of the Indus; they were more than that, for they had thought and hope and love, and whoever has thought and hope and love is immortal. We do not say that Zoroaster or Gautama had in himself nothing of plan and purpose worthy to abide in the soul of the race and survive forever. But these primitive reformers of great races were none the less the products of conditions that preceded them, and were none the less born in answer to the imperative call of an age.

Time would fail to take up and follow the illustrations which rise on full wing from every land and clime. An age came when the world was full of mythological follies and spurious forms of thought. It was necessary that these should be whipped back into the primeval darkness out of which they had risen. Socrates was invented by history for this work. He was her whip; and the sting of it falls yet with sharpness on the back of all sophistries and lies. He came not of his own accord, but coming he found his office, and must fulfil it. His destiny led the way even to the dungeon and the hemlock. Socrates was not so much the son of Sophroniscus and Phænarate as he was the son of Athens, the son of Greece, the son of the Hellenic race, the son of reason and of the ages! Were not Phidias and Praxiteles the art-blossoms of centuries of time? Were they not born out of Egypt as well as Hellas? Would either have been possible at an earlier or a later age? The marvels of the Acropolis rose under the hands of these masters; but the masters themselves rose under the hands of migration and war, of poetry and patriotism, of triumph and pride of race, of Attic enthusiasm and intercourse with the gods!

Civil and political order was one of the necessities of mankind. It was demanded for the further evolution and progress of the race. The antecedent conditions of Rome were prepared through ages of time. Her situation was prepared. A division of mankind suitable for

so great a work was prepared and imported from distant lands. The old Kingdom was prepared, then the Republic, and then the Empire. The world itself was prepared for conquest and centralization under the sway of the Cæsars. A condition was prepared for the planting of a new religion, destined to conquer all Europe and to become a prevailing force in the New World.

What shall we say of the subordinate parts of that immense fact called Rome, issuing as if by birth from the paternity of the ages? What shall we say of its individual actors — of them to whom the making of Rome and so large a section of civilization has been attributed? What shall we say of Cincinnatus and Regulus, of Scipio and Marius, of Pompey and the bald-headed Julius who beat him down, of all the Cæsars, of the poets, historians, lawmakers, and orators, who, from Augustus to Constantine and from Constantine to the Palæologi, rose and passed across the stage of that tremendous drama? What were they all but the fruits of time, the progeny of old paternities, the products of forces and conditions which were older than the first appearance of the Aryan race in Europe, older than Egypt, Chaldæa, and India? These were but the transient actors in a scene which, extending through twenty-one centuries of time, was itself but a single act in that world-drama which absorbs the energies and enfolds the destinies of all men and nations from the beginning to the end of time.

Mark also the incidents of the Middle Ages. Peter of Picardy, little old monk in woollen mantle, preaches a holy war against the Infidels. He rouses barbarian Europe, and leads a crusading host in wild array of fight, to fall upon the defilers of the Holy City. For two centuries the world is in turmoil, and Peter is its master. Such has been the story of our book-history, and to that the opinion of mankind has long conformed. But who was Peter? And how should he be a force among the nations? Ignorant, superstitious, angry, mounted on a mule, how should he make history? Does history proceed from a fool on muleback? Nay, nay. Consider for a moment the far-off antecedents. Yonder the Arabian Prophet arises. He has been preparing since the flight of Abraham! He comes and converts his people from idolatry. He and his generals conquer the East. A race of iron-forging Turcomans out of the Altaï make their way westward, and smite Persia. Assyria and Asia Minor fall before their prowess. They accept the doctrines of Islam from the conquered, but cannot be stayed till they possess themselves of the City of David, and sit cross-legged on the holy tomb.

Until then Christian pilgrims had been well treated by the polite Arabians in the East; but to the Turcomans all Christians were *giaours*

and dogs. Meanwhile the barbarians of Western Europe had become converts to Christianity. Through more than four centuries they had been wrought up to the stage of fiery zeal and warfare. All of these conditions had been prepared in the vast laboratory of history; and no man had been consulted! When the news came of the outrages done to pilgrims in Palestine, what should barbaric Christendom do but explode with volcanic glare and smoke, scoria and cataclysm of both nature and man, until the rage should appease itself with blood and destruction? Then came Peter and Urban; then Godfrey and the Lion Heart; Barbarossa and Saint Louis. What were these?—what but the products of agencies working through three continents and compelling men to battle as the clouds are compelled by the winds? There along all roadsides from the Alps to Antioch three millions of the Crusaders piled their bones. It was the wreck of European fanaticism—a wreck of feudal elements thrown in bleaching lines, not by the hands of man, but by a historical storm. Was not the Hermit born in Asia as much as in Europe? Did he lead the Crusade? Or was he not rather himself with all the rest—Baldwin, Raymond, Godfrey, Plantagenet, Red Beard, peasant, Pope, king—borne along on the turbulent flood rolling through the centuries, pursuing its own course and swallowing men like bubbles?

Or, mark the intellectual progress of the world. This also is accomplished by human agency; but the men in whose brains the dawn-torches of the new centuries are carried are prepared for their places by the same laws which make them necessary. In no other light can the intellectual leaders of mankind be understood and interpreted. The time came when the human mind demanded a new concept of the heavens and the earth. The old concept no longer sufficed. The Ptolemaic system of the planets and stars became a mock in the high courts of reason. Such a notion of the universe must be cast forth and thrown on the refuse-heaps, with all mythologies and lies, with all false notions of nature and goblins of the mind, there to decay with the offal of the ages.

Order must be found and instituted in the skies. The epoch of discovery was first prepared; and then the discoverers. They were necessary in their season to fill the expectation of the world. It was thus that history found Copernicus and Galileo. Afterward she devised Newton and Laplace. These she commissioned to speak to men of new facts in the starry spheres, new worlds and suns, and new laws for the government of all. True it is that the great astronomers were the organs of intelligence, the teachers of order, the evangelists of sublimity for all men and nations; but they were themselves born into the world of an infinite paternity, and were developed by the compulsion

of forces that had been working among mankind since the dawn of the civilized life.

In like manner the old concepts of animated nature passed away. The intellect was no longer satisfied with those notions of irregularity, accident, lawlessness, and chance which had prevailed respecting all living beings and the modes of their creation. The mind demanded that the natural history of life be rewritten in intelligible language, and for this work she chose not only her age and her race, but also her man. A still small voice was heard above the roar and confusion of the nineteenth century. It was the voice of Darwin, proclaiming a new law for man and nature. It was a voice that stirred the topmost branches of the tree of knowledge. It moved like a viewless sound through all the courts and corridors of civilization. It caught like an electric spark in the understandings of men, and the prevailing crude opinions of the race respecting the phenomena of life were transformed into sublime and beautiful order. But Darwin himself was the product of his age. He was the son of England and Humanity. He was demanded and found and developed by antecedents and conditions as old as the revival of learning, as old as the curious speculations of the Greeks, as old as the spirit of inquiry in the bosom of mankind.

The same exemplification of the laws of the individual life of man in his relations to the general movement of the race may be seen in every form of human activity. Everywhere the man is produced. If he in turn produce, his product comes of the age and race to which he belongs. The product is always accordant with the special conditions that surround his life and determine its course. It is in his conditions and special circumstances that man has the largest freedom; but even this freedom is limited by the nature of his faculties and dispositions, and these in their turn are the results of heredity and other antecedents as old as the beginning of man-life in the earth.

It is a sublime concept to view the emergence of art and letters under the action of a law more potent and far-reaching than the artist himself, more wonderful in its results than the limited consciousness in the bosom of any man. Verdi and Liszt and Wagner came in a certain age of the world, bringing their celestial harmonies with them. They did not create these harmonies, but expressed them. They were found worthy by the age to utter forth its music and to transmit it to the centuries to come. Is it not clear that these sons of genius issued from a sphere more capacious than that in which their own small lives revolved? The *Trovatore* came through Verdi's organs. He wrote it in symbols on a paper score. He heard it and repeated it. The Tower song rises like the voice of an angel, clear and triumphant above the funereal sorrows of the *Miserere*. It is the cry of an age swelling bird-

like over the sorrowful symphonies of the past. What are the Hungarian *Rhapsodies* of Liszt or the *Parsifal* of Wagner but harmonized expressions of the struggling wings of thought, clashing in the midair of our century of doubt and longing, touched with the silvery tones of occasional hope, darkened with a thousand griefs, and intermingled with the growlings and discords of despair? What are the highest forms of all our art but the blossoms and fruits of an epoch deep-rooted in the past, drawing its nutriment out of darkness and light, out of intrigue and heroism, out of war and victory, out of the anticipated heaven to come and the hollows of the receding hell? Statues of marble and bronze, glorious creations of the canvas flashing on the vision of the beholder like the revelations of another world, immortal poems fluttering in lyric verse about the hedgerows and orchards or rising on epic wing eaglewise over the thunderstruck oaks and lifted mountains, are the expressions of something larger and sublimer than the individual life of man! True, they are the works of man; but he, their producer, is only the organ of the age, the conscious agent of the transmission of forces stronger and nobler than himself and of their expression in forms of imperishable beauty. Monuments rise, memorial arches bend over our heads, temples thrust up their marble spires, glorious windows transmit their mellow light to nave and chancel; but these magnificent works of art are not the expressions of local and individual thought only, but rather the embodiment and tangible outline of the dreams of the race.

The theme becomes an echo of itself. The illustrations of its truth spring from every age and from every phase of human progress. The old standards of statesmanship vanish from the human mind, and even the ancient view of philanthropy is changed for a more rational concept of the good deeds and holy characters of men. Peace and war are no longer determined by the personal wills and puny arms of the actors in the conflict. Nations and peoples, in all the forms of their activity and accomplishment, are seen to be but the effects of causes — the off-spring of the past. The heroic figures who impersonate their epochs, who express in their lives the highest thought and purpose of their century, are *made* by historical forces, are borne aloft for the brief day of their activity on the billows of the eternal seas.

Thus came Cromwell out of the stormy bosom and motherhood of Anglo-Saxon England. The field of his activity had been long preparing, by armies and parliaments and kings, by religious insurrections, by battling opinions and the onset of races. His paternity extended through a millennium of time, and fixed itself with a thousand roots among the institutions, tyrannies, and turbulence of the Dark Ages. William the Silent was also born out of the loins of a mighty and

unknown fatherhood. He came with the blood of the Teutonic races, by the heroic struggles of their tribes, by the compulsion of instincts and trials which made freedom by sword and shield the war-cry of the primitive Germans and the inheritance of their descendants.

Washington, the serene Father of his Country, was himself the son of a larger country — the country of human liberty. He was the gift of destiny and Providence to an age whose hinder parts, like Milton's half-created lion, were held in the hillside of a decayed feudalism. He was commissioned by a power above himself to cut his country free from a tyrannous and despairing past. He was the sword, as well as the counselling voice, of an epoch which nurtured him for his great office and gave him to mankind. Napoleon truly called himself the child of the Republic, the son of destiny. Phillips and Garrison, Lincoln and Grant, were the agents of a great age. They were sent to break the Black Man's fetters, to crush the oppressor in his wrong, to decorate with some new glories the temple of freedom which history by our fathers' hands had reared as the shrine of patriotism and equality.

Thus came also the Man of Genoa. The discovery of these continents was the greatest secular event in the history of mankind. Time had prepared for it through centuries of longing and doubt. *Ne plus ultra* had been written on the Pillars of Hercules; but the human soul still said, *Plus ultra!* At the close of the fifteenth century there was a faint vision of hope on the waters. The pressure of the ages bore hard on the scarred shoulders of man; but the dream of Atlantis was still in his brain and spirit! The poor adventurer went like a despised prophet from capital to capital. He was the Man of Genoa; but in a larger sense he was the man of Italy, the man of the Mediterranean, the man of all seas and shores. Destiny set him on her hand and said to him, Fly! — and he flew. He went and came again. He returned — as all the great return — with gyves on his wrists and a New World for his trophy. He gave it to Castile and Leon. But in a larger sense he gave it to mankind as an arena of reviving progress, of freedom, and eternal hope.

THE URGENT NEED OF OUR PACIFIC COAST STATES.

BY EDWARD BERWICK.

FIFTY years ago two or three hide-droghers sufficed to carry round the Horn the whole annual export of California,—a few hides and a little tallow. Thirty years ago two successive seasons of drought put an abrupt end to the pastoral period, and the reign of the wheat-farmer was ushered in. The making of California dates from 1866, when towns and hamlets sprang up all over the State, and whether a man labored as lawyer or doctor, merchant or mechanic, teacher or preacher, his pay came out of the boundless wheat field. This era of prosperity based on grain reached its climax in 1882, when California's wheat export footed up \$43,000,000. Such tangible success spurred our rivals to emulation. Australia learned the lesson to such effect that her wheat soon outranked in price the product of California. As early as 1881, in reply to a description of our "header" which I furnished to the *London Times*, I was requested to send detailed information to Southern Africa. So the Afrikander benefited by Californian ingenuity at an early date. The following year Argentina entered the race, with a feeble export of 68,000 bushels. This has grown to an accredited 40,000,000 bushels exported in the half of 1894. Meanwhile, in that year, California's output to Liverpool had fallen to a value of \$8,424,000, or one-fifth the amount shipped in 1882. In 1895 it rose a little, to \$10,026,102.

What is the meaning of this terrible decline? Simply that California has been worsted with her own weapons. For a while inventive ingenuity applied to grain-farming kept California ahead of the world. The gang-plough, improved harrows and cultivators, headers, and, lastly, the combined harvester, with its thirty-mule team, cutting, threshing, and sacking the wheat at a stroke, had enabled the Californian to compete easily with cheap-labor countries. For many years this faculty of invention acted as a counterpoise to Argentina's propinquity to the world's wheat market. Of course this could not last. The fame of California's harvesting machinery was noised abroad, and in a single year Argentina imported over \$3,000,000 worth of reapers, steam-threshers, ploughs, etc. The transactions of our State Agricultural Society chronicle the result briefly: "Argentine wheat broke the market." The Californian farmer, handicapped by 8,000 miles of perilous ocean navigation around Cape Horn, found himself unable to compete with the Argentine.

Some would insist that this apparent injury was a blessing in disguise, in that it would compel a recourse to intense culture, thus becoming a positive benefit to the State. This, no doubt, is a very pretty and plausible theory, and eminently desirable to be put in practice if possible; although it is just as well to realize that \$43,000,000 is a very large fraction of the total exports of the United States, and a fraction we can ill afford to dispense with, for in 1894 our whole export was but \$869,204,937. In certain events it might be possible for California to replace this immense value of wheat by other products, the results of this desired intense culture. Those products might consist of dried fruits, nuts, wines, hops, honey, meats, and dairy produce; to which could be added such by-products as perfumes, essential oils, citric and tartaric acid, etc. I say advisedly, "In certain events it *might* be possible"; because anyone who knows the present state of things in California as intimately as I do (for I have farmed here over thirty years), knows that already this intense culture is overdone on the Pacific Coast. Already the supply outruns the present demand. In 1895 almost every raw product enumerated above was selling at less than the cost of production. Raisins were to be had at one cent per pound in the sweat-box in Fresno, and almost every other article named was quoted at a similarly ridiculously low price. One prune-growing district alone, the Santa Clara Valley, is prepared to turn out in a favorable season 50,000,000 pounds of dried prunes, while the whole annual consumption of prunes in the United States is only some 70,000,000 pounds. Our trade in fresh fruits has been so overdone that hundreds of carloads shipped have resulted in a dead loss to the grower. Quite recently in the senate chamber of our State capitol, at the annual Horticulturists' Convention, a grower summed up his season's experience in shipping East peaches and pears. He reckoned that peaches, all ready boxed and packed in the cars, cost him 30 cents per box, and pears 45 cents. They brought him when sold, and expenses all paid, peaches 22½ cents, and pears 27½ cents, — a dead loss of 5½ cents per box on peaches, and 18½ cents on pears. Of the gross receipts the freight charge consumed 50½ per cent; the ice company, for refrigeration in transit, 15½ per cent; 3 per cent went to the shipping company, 7 per cent to the auction house that sold them. This was no isolated case; it was the common lot of the bulk of the growers at the Convention.

To cap the climax, and render the case for intense culture yet more discouraging, our horticulturists are well aware that Australia, South Africa, and Argentina are becoming our rivals in horticulture as they have been in agriculture. Both Australia and South Africa recently sent special envoys to California to spy out the land, and learn our methods of cultivation and packing; while Argentina, with a recent

immigration of a million and a quarter of born horticulturists from southern Europe, offers a bounty on every two-year-old fruit tree on the lands of new colonists. With cheap transportation the Pacific Coast may hold its own against these rivals, but it never can while handicapped as at present by 8,000 miles of extra distance. Our case may be described as one of arrested development caused by commercial isolation; in parts of the State gradual decline has already set in. The cure is indicated by a fragmentary plank in the platform of the Republican party. That fragmentary plank is to the Californian as big as a house. This is it: "The Nicaragua Canal should be built, owned, and operated by the United States."

Let me explain more fully what those words, "commercial isolation," import, to the wheat farmer, for example.

Commercial isolation means, in the first place, that his crop must be sold on a purely speculative market; for the place where the wheat is consumed is five months' sail from San Francisco; and no one can forecast prices five months ahead, especially now that his rivals in the Southern Hemisphere have made wheat-harvesting a *semi-annual* affair, their harvest occurring in our midwinter.

Then, tonnage to convey his crop must be brought from afar, and when wheat is abundant it usually happens that ships are scarce, and in such demand that freights rule high. Taking an average of twenty-five years, about \$12.50 a ton has been the ruling rate. Argentina has tonnage always within easy call, and ships her produce at less than half the above figure. This 8,000-mile handicap also implies five months' interest on the cargoes shipped, against thirty days' interest on Argentine cargoes. Lastly, it involves navigation through the proverbial perils of the Cape Horn route, where prevail Antarctic storms and cold, and, in winter, eternal night; insurance is charged accordingly, at two per cent, against five-eighths of one paid by Argentine shippers.

Obviously, in seasons of normal harvests, California is unable to compete under these adverse conditions. Were the Nicaragua Canal constructed every one of these would be removed. As Lieutenant Maury many years ago pointed out, this route is *not* in the region of equatorial calms, and would be accessible to sailing vessels almost every day in the year; it is therefore exempt from the difficulties in this and many other respects that attach to the Panama route. With this canal the area devoted to intense culture might be widened indefinitely, for not only our wheat would then compete on even terms with that produced by our rivals, but, by the use of steamships with cold-storage appliances, almost every one of the products of such culture, green fruits included, would find a profitable market among the teeming millions of Europe. Butter from Argentina, Australia, and New Zealand

already figures on London lists of prices current; why not from California, where butter from first-class creameries, fitted with every modern appliance, was a drug in the market last year at 9 cents per pound?

It is surely to the interest of all this great nation that so glorious a Western addition as the Pacific Coast States of the Union should not languish in this condition of arrested development. In an interview recently with Speaker Reed, in which I urged the immense importance of the canal to this Coast, the chief obstacle in his view seemed the financial. This is not insuperable. The estimated cost of construction in 1872 was, roughly, \$65,000,000. Since then notable improvements have been made in excavating machinery, and, in the experience of the Chicago Drainage Canal, the expense of such work has been very materially lessened. Menocal's schedule in 1872 priced various classes of work per cubic yard as follows: dredging twenty to thirty cents; earth excavation forty to fifty cents; rock excavation \$1.25 to \$1.50; rock, subaqueous, \$5. Chicago did the same work at the following much reduced rates: dredging five and one-half to eight cents; earth excavation nineteen cents; rock fifty-nine to seventy-four cents; rock, subaqueous, \$1.75. There is therefore at least no need to assume that the cost of construction now would exceed the careful estimates of 1872. This cost could be readily covered by a bond issue, to be met by a sinking fund of one-half of one per cent set aside out of the canal tolls. This fund in 83 years would pay off the bond issue, and leave the nation possessed of such a property as should be not only a national pride and glory, but an actual cash profit. Anyone disposed to sneer at such a result as visionary may with propriety be referred to the dividends, of fifteen to nineteen per cent, annually paid by the Suez Canal, whose shares it comports with the dignity of the British government to hold, and whose dividends serve to lighten the burden of British taxation. Similar results from the Nicaragua Canal might be not unwelcome to the American taxpayer.

Finally, though I have written the above from a local standpoint, let it not be even momentarily supposed that the interests of the Pacific Coast alone are involved. The advantages accruing to the entire Union would be so great as to be absolutely incalculable. The dictum of Macaulay yet holds good, that, barring the alphabet and the printing-press, those inventions which abridge distance most influence and further the progress of humanity. Construct this canal and you eliminate 10,000 miles of distance in your routes of commerce; the demands of your coastwise trade will rehabilitate your commercial marine; your unfrequented seas will become gay with steam and beautiful with sails; "your ships shall cover the ocean as a cloud, they shall fly to your harbors as doves to their windows."

THE EDITOR'S EVENING.

Byron and Boone.

IT is late, I confess, to note anything new in Byron; but the new is there, if one have the purpose to find it. For example, we may consider the relative space given in his lordship's poems to his various contemporaries. As we should expect, Napoleon has, in the Byronic writings, a greater amount of space than any other historical personage. "The Ode to Napoleon Bonaparte" contains one hundred and forty-four verses; the "Additional Stanzas" contain twenty-seven verses. Besides this aggregate of one hundred and seventy-one verses, many additional lines on the "Man of Destiny" may be found, and one whole poem, of doubtful authenticity, containing twenty-four verses. This is the poem from the French, beginning:

Farewell to the Land where the Gloom of my Glory
Arose and o'ershadowed the earth with her name —

But *after* Napoleon, whom did his lordship honor with greatest poetical space? Strange as the reader may think it, that personage was Daniel Boone! Why this fact has been overlooked, I do not know. In the longest poem of Byron, seven stanzas of eight verses each are devoted to our backwoods hero. These stanzas (LXI to LXVII inclusive, Canto Eighth) were written in Venice, the next year after Boone's death. Byron, at that time, was burning his sublime soul to the socket. How he should ever hear of Daniel Boone is a wonder. How he should seize the situation so as to write of him intelligently, is marvellous. How he should succeed in divining Boone's character and the conditions in which he lived, depicting these with a fidelity never surpassed, is one of the incredibilities of genius. The stanzas referred to begin thus:

Of all men, saving Sylla the man-slayer,
Who passes for in life and death most lucky;
Of the great names which in our faces stare,
The General Boone, backwoodsman of Kentucky,
Was happiest amongst mortals anywhere;
For, killing nothing but a bear or buck, he
Enjoy'd the lonely, vigorous, harmless days
Of his old age in wilds of deepest maze.

The curious reader will doubtless turn to his Byron and read with surprise and delight what the most remarkable Englishman of the first

quarter of our century has said of the queer old bear-killer of Kentucky.

Jus Gentium Among the Grubers.

On the shore of Harrington Sound, in the Bermudas, one day in May of 1894, we came to Neptune's Grotto. The place is famous in the tradition of the Bermudians. The common folk of the islands call it "The Devil's Den." Harrington Sound is a broad, shallow bay in Long Island, the principal member of the group. The sea enters the Sound through a narrow race, flowing swiftly in and out, as the tide rises and falls on the surrounding reefs of coral.

Neptune's Grotto is fed with water from the Sound through undiscovered subterranean channels. The place is under private ownership. You pay a fee of a shilling to enter. Stooping through the arch of coral rock you go in, and there, before you, is a broad area of dark, deep water—a sort of underground, secluded lake; it is a fish keep. Near by is a little bakery where you get bread to feed to the fishes. Strong planks are laid from ledge to ledge around the sides of the cavern. As soon as you enter, a great shoal of huge grubers come up, big-mouthed and hungry as wolves, to snatch your contribution of bread. They are a coarse, savage species, strong and violent of manner, weighing on the average from twenty to sixty pounds each.

Besides the shoal of sprawling grubers one sees on the rocks and floating in the water, here and there, perhaps a dozen other fishes of different species. Two or three are rock-fish, lying on the ledges; as many more are of the kind called hamlet; a few are porgies, and a like number, angel-fish—the latter a kind more beautiful in fin (or, I should say, plumage) than may be seen in any other water of the world. The goldfish of our preserves are not to be compared with them in variegation of color and elegance of form.

I asked our Ferguson why there were not other fish belonging to the colony besides the grubers. "Why," said he, "the grubers would eat them up." "They do not seem to eat up the porgies and hamlets," I said. "Whenever we put in a new fish," he replied, "the grubers instantly snatch him up; he is gone in a twinkling; but they never touch the other kinds that were there before them." "How is that?" said I. He replied: "The grubers that were caught and put in there by the owners of the place have never attacked the fishes that were already in the pool. They will tolerate a new member of their own tribe, but will instantly attack and swallow any other newcomer of whatever species. They will not allow any alien to live in their waters except the few that were there when the gruber colony was established."

By this time we had bowled along the coral road for a mile or two and had arrived at the old colonial residence of Tom Moore, the poet, who was secretary of the Bermudian government for six months in 1804.

The new scene took the place of Neptune's Grotto, but I did not fail to make a note of the fact that the grubbers understand international law; that is, they understand it to this extent—they clearly recognize the right of prior occupation.

We living creatures seem to be all of one kind.

The Keynotes of Nature.

It is said that Nature has her keynotes from which, in rendering her sublime operas, she never departs. The sea's dirge is distinct enough, but the fundamental tone is not easily caught. Has anyone attempted, in a scientific manner, to test the bottom notes in the ocean symphony? The pine woods of our great Northwest moan evermore. The effect of the weird music on the hearer, wandering far in the shadowed solitudes, is magical.

In the illimitable pineries of Wisconsin I have listened attentively for hours to the solemn chant, and once I attempted to discover the primary note. If I did not mistake, the key or tonic of the anthem of that sighing realm of semi-darkness and mystery is *F minor*.

Will not someone who has patience and acuteness of musical perception attempt to determine, in a scientific way, in what keynotes Nature begins her magic melodies?

Escape by the Subway.

The struggle of municipal life to make itself comfortable extends into many avenues. The tendency of our people to accumulate in cities has been remarked by many writers and recently emphasized in an able treatise by Dr. Albert Shaw. But suppose this cumulative tendency goes on; the result will be that human beings will be heaped up literally at certain points—condensed, so to speak—beyond endurance and beyond the possibility of survival.

How this municipal life shall get itself out of the heap and escape to places where eating and sleeping or even business may be practicable, is the question. The notion of doing it by subterranean passage recently shows itself, and this idea has already become, in Boston, what Bacon would call a forthshowing instance; that is, the Subway as a means of escape and retrogression from the intolerable heap has been undertaken in the metropolis of New England with the prospect of success.

The visitor to Boston notes one point at which the human mass has especially overdone itself. This focus is about the confluence of Tremont and Beacon Streets. There the passer-by is obstructed to absolute stoppage for a good part of the day. The engorgement must be relieved, and the great Subway system, extending with ramifications under the Common, has become a fact. In a short time the electrical-car lines will be turned into the subterranean passages, and Boston may then hope to see the man-tide relieve itself.

Strange that the human cony should build himself a place and gather his folks to such a degree that his normal actions above ground become impossible, making it necessary for him to burrow in order to escape from the pressure of his own kind!

A Numerical Possibility.

It can hardly be doubted that our method of counting by *tens* is attributable to the fact that human beings have ten fingers. The pre-historic man learned to count on his fingers. At first he used the digits on one hand only; afterward, as his intellect improved, he was able to use the members on both hands; he thus learned to think *ten*. The civilized races have proceeded no further than this in the subjective numerical evolution. There has been a vague effort to reach twelve, but it has not been successful. The chapter on duodecimals has, I believe, disappeared from the arithmetics.

Suppose, however, that men had been endowed with fourteen fingers each? In that event would there have been a higher numerical evolution? That is, would the basis of arithmetical computation have been raised to *fourteen*?

The answer to such a question involves the larger inquiry as to whether the decimal system of computation is absolute, or only relative to a concept in ourselves. It certainly seems to us that the decimal is an absolute fact, and that no other system could be substituted for that which begins with a basis of ten. On the whole, we think that the matter is relative. If, however, the question should involve *space relations*, it would be an absolute and fixed fact, whatever might be our race experience and education.

For example, the geometrical proposition that the square constructed on the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle is equal to the sum of the squares described on the other two sides, is true in the nature of things. It would be true if there were neither man nor God in the universe; but in those cases in which space measurement is not involved — where only numerical computation is concerned — then we

think that a basis other than ten would do just as well, provided always that the mind had been evolved in different relations with those facts from which the primary ideas of counting are derived.

If the prehistoric man had been a 14-fingered animal, — then? Well, the system of logarithms would have been different; a dime would have contained fourteen cents, and a dollar one hundred and ninety-six cents. Albeit, everything would have been as easy and natural on a 14-fingered system as it is on a basis of ten.

Let Us Say "Telepheme."

A new word is needed to express a new fact in our daily life. Science brings many things, and new relations arise that must be defined in language. Thus came the telegraph. In that case Greek gave the name for both the instrument and its product. We say "*telegraph*" for the instrument, and "*telegram*" for the message.

More recently the far-talker has been put into our hands. The word "telephone" was readily invented, and as readily adopted. No word, however, has been suggested as a suitable term to express the telephonic message. Business and society will never speak of sending "a telephonic message"; that circumlocution will be left for the Professor and the members of the Junior class.

The word required in this case is *telepheme*. The first two syllables are derived from the Greek "*telos*," meaning a distance. The third syllable, *pheme* (pronounced *feem*), is from "*phemi*," meaning, I *speak*, or *say*. The sense of "telepheme" is, therefore, *speech-message at a distance*. This expresses precisely the new fact of our daily experience. Besides, the word telepheme is musical to a degree. I suggest its general adoption. Henceforth let us say, "Send me a *telepheme*, and I will let you know."

Victor Hugo.

One man has stirred me more than other men,
And that is Hugo! In his luminous soul
The fire of love burns as a living coal;
The radiance shining from his heart and pen
Lights every height and pierces every den!
Les Misérables! The book once made me whole;
I rose in tears and toward the far-off goal
Pressed eagerly and bravely through the rain!

Lo, now the cruel are victorious!
Lo, power has made the humble man a slave,
Bowing and sweating on the road to death!
Lo, all the weak are crying unto us,
And no new Victor, shouting, comes to save
The poor who cry, the serf who pants for breath!

A Sense of Proportion.

I sometimes wonder if the lack of a due sense of proportion or perspective, on the part of many reformers, is not the chief obstacle in the way of the success of the really meritorious movements they may strive to advance. The tendency to link together, to give equal prominence to, matters of vital importance, which are of basic interest to the race, and other questions which are of a secondary character, or are mere matters of difference of opinion in policy, in my opinion, weakens all the greater causes for which the reformer may be striving.

My attention was called anew to this subject a short time ago by a leaflet from a large organization which is striving for the betterment of conditions. The friends of all progress were urged to sign the petition therein set forth asking our Legislature to do four things. The necessity of each was duly presented, one as strongly as the other—all in glowing language not too temperate; and all were asked for upon religious grounds. This fact impressed me as a mistake. Our laws are not made for nor based upon religious reasons, and that argument repels the legal mind at once. But aside from that fact the four reforms asked for with equal urgency were of wholly unequal consequence. One was a really basic or foundational principle. It dealt with the primary physical welfare and health of the people. Another was of kindred nature, but was susceptible of wide difference of opinion as to desirability. The other two were matters of taste and opinion merely, and were quite outside of the legitimate province of the lawmakers.

This fact so amused (and annoyed) the committee before which appeared the representative of the philanthropic organization that all four cases were promptly laid on the table. The utter lack of perspective, of a sense of proportion, of the real relations of things, resulted in total defeat for the valuable and important measures because of the trivial or questionable company in which they were presented. Is not this often the weakness of reformers and the proposed reforms which they present for consideration?

H. H. G.

As Others See Us.

I learned one of the simplest lessons of life only the other day, which should have been a part of my early education, yet it came to me in mature life with the shock of revelation. A man sat opposite to me in a street-car. He had not invaded my consciousness at all until I heard him say brusquely to a companion: "The only way you *can* judge him is by yourself. What would *you* have done in his place? He had the chance, and he took it, of course, just as I would."

I began to study the man, with the result that it came to me for the first time in my life with absolute force and conviction that it is

impossible to understand one another in this world. The man's face was gross. His ethical nature was embryonic. He would have been entirely incapable of comprehending a lofty or unselfish act; behind such a deed he would have seen always an ulterior motive; and yet he *must*, as he said, judge you and me by himself always. What else is possible to him? Yet what is our philosophy worth which assumes and asserts that we are to others what we prove ourselves to be? The fact is, we are to another person exactly what he is to himself when he has translated himself into our conditions and clothes, *as he sees both*.

You are an undeveloped or an undetected thief, my friend, to those members of the light-fingered fraternity who "judge others by themselves." You are inside the pale of the law only because you would fear to be outside lest you be punished, and not at all because of the fact that you have neither the desire nor the qualities of heart or mind which of themselves prevent you from even casting with favor your mental eyes upon injustice toward your fellows. In brief, your motives and acts are all colored by the quality and trend of your neighbor's soul! In the vision of Grossness the daintiest maiden with crystalline mind and eyes is merely a clever actress! Translating him into his own language, the philanthropist becomes the partner of the schemer.

Some of us gain, some lose, but none of us are at par value upon this basis of judging others by ourselves.

H. H. G.

Public Policy.

My attention has been directed of late to the apparent fact that no man of considerable wealth seems to be able to make a will which will hold. Given sufficient financial motive, shrewd lawyers and pliant courts may be relied upon to break any man's will. I fell to wondering the other day, if this is not a sign of decadence in our institutions — if it can be sound public policy to "construe" wills other than in their plain intent. Have we or have we not the right to devise our property according to our own desires? Have we a right to the certainty that the courts will sustain our wishes after we are dead?

Of course I am aware that the theory of the law is that a sane man absolutely owns and can absolutely devise as he deems wise his own property, and that the courts must "construe" and sustain the "plain intent" of the will; but the cases have been so numerous, since great fortunes have accumulated in this country, where the theory and the practice of the law are at variance, that it is growing to be almost a truism that "no man can make a will that will hold;" which brings us up squarely against the basic questions which were supposed to have been settled long ago: Does a man own his own property? Has he a right to bequeath it?

H. H. G.

BOOK REVIEWS.

[In this Department of THE ARENA no book will be reviewed which is not regarded as a real addition to literature.]

Once More "The Alhambra."¹

MACMILLAN & COMPANY have favored the public with a new and elegant edition of one of Irving's unconscious masterpieces. This may very well be called the "Pennell Edition." The introduction by Elizabeth Robins Pennell is a fine bit of writing in which the author sets forth the leading charms of the Alhambra as depicted by Irving.

The illustrations of this work are by Joseph Pennell. They are sketches from pen-and-ink drawings by the artist, and as elegant as the narrative which they adorn. The distribution of cuts is so plentiful as to illumine almost every page. We should not be surprised if this little edition should prove to be one of the most popular that has been issued. The book is neatly done in every particular, and we may say, in a word, that English literature hardly presents a more charming little volume than this, containing, as it does, an American classic that may well compete for the very first place in our literary treasure.

We shall not at this date, sixty-five years from that at which Irving sent his immortal work to the public, enter upon a review of "The Alhambra." To use the language of the French critics, this book has been already crowned. It has challenged the respect and admiration of every civilized people in the world. It has been presented, we believe, in at least eight languages. It has extended its gentle spell to the old and to the young. It is a book for the schoolboy and the sage, for the lover and the soldier, for the peasant girl and the princess.

It is the peculiar merit of all of Irving's writings that they belong to the human race rather than to any one kindred or country or epoch. The classicism of these works is of that simple and beautiful order which combines in itself the serene majesty of the Doric with the efflorescence of the Ionic architecture.

The reader of this Pennell edition of "The Alhambra" will find himself again under the magic wand. Once more he will be transported to a distant age and country, to the old Moorish capital of Spain; once more he will live in the past; once more he will see the wonderful palace rising in the distance; once more he will enter through the Arabesque ruins and stand with busy memory and beating heart on the marbles of the Lions' Court.

A New Book on Darwin.²

It rarely happens in this world that an author publishes a modest volume against which *four hundred* other volumes, many of them immodest, are launched in contro-

¹ "The Alhambra." By Washington Irving; with an Introduction by Elizabeth Robins Pennell. Illustrated with Drawings of Places mentioned, by Joseph Pennell. One vol. 12mo, pp. 428. Macmillan & Co., London and New York.

² "Charles Darwin and the Theory of Natural Selection." By Edward B. Poulton, M.A., F.R.S., etc. One vol. 8vo, pp. 324. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1896.

versy. In the history of the products of the human mind we find no other such phenomenon. To Charles Robert Darwin it was reserved to revolutionize the philosophical views of a great century and to start the mind of man on a new career of discovery and hope. Darwin reached from the valley to the mountain heights of knowledge. His cry was a still, small voice, but it has been heard from the rivers to the ends of the earth. The "Origin of Species" stands; the waves have beaten against it; storms have roared and the deluge has poured in vain, for it is founded on a rock.

To the Macmillan Company we are indebted for a newcomer in the Darwinian library. Prof. Edward B. Poulton, Hope Professor of Zoölogy at the University of Oxford, has produced one of the most readable treatises that we have yet had on Darwin and his work. In his Introduction the author says:

In the following pages I have tried to express a sense of the greatness of my subject by simplicity and directness of statement. The limits of the work necessarily prevented any detailed treatment, the subject of the work prevented originality. We have had the great "Life and Letters" with us for nine years, and this I have used as a mine, extracting what I believed to be the statements of chief importance for the work in hand, and grouping them so as to present what I hope is a connected account of Darwin's life, when considered in relation to his marvellous work, and especially to the great central discovery of Natural Selection and its exposition in the "Origin of Species."

The author thus fully acknowledges his indebtedness to the skill and taste of Francis Darwin and to other sources of information regarding the great naturalist. "The greater part of the volume," says he, "formed the subject of two short courses of lectures delivered in the Hope Department of the Oxford University Museum in Michaelmas Term, 1894, and Lent Term, 1895."

Prof. Poulton proceeds to consider his subject in twenty-six chapters, beginning with "The Secret of Darwin's Greatness," and ending with "His Last Illness (1882)."

The book is well written and should be considered somewhat apart from the vast controversial literature to which Darwin's masterpiece has given rise. Prof. Poulton's treatise is expository; in many parts it brings us near to the life of the great original. There are many interesting extracts from Darwin's writings and from the writings of others in controversy with him. Though the line of biography is not followed, the philosophical thread furnishes a logical clew for the coherency of these chapters as well as for the guidance of the reader.

The most interesting chapters, we think, are those entitled "Darwin and Wallace," "Preparation of the 'Origin of Species,'" "Influence of Darwin on Huxley," and "Letters from Darwin to Meldora." All readers of the Darwinian literature will be interested, entertained, and instructed by a perusal of Prof. Poulton's work.

Mr. Bryan's Book.¹

The mental strength and moral purpose of William Jennings Bryan cannot be doubted. In the intellectual activities of this man there is no uncertain sound. He is a powerful type of his age, his race, and his country. In many respects he has not had an equal in our history. Certain it is that no other popular leader has ever endured

¹"The First Battle. A Story of the Campaign of 1896." By William J. Bryan; together with a Collection of his Speeches and a Biographical Sketch by his Wife. Illustrated. One vol., large 8vo, pp. 680. W. B. Conkey Company, Chicago.

the strain to which he was subjected during the presidential campaign of 1896, and we are doubtful if any other American, of all our millions, could have borne it. Mr. Bryan bore it, and came through without the smell of fire on his garments.

Whoever saw this man and conversed with him, in the last days of the campaign, must have been surprised to admiration to observe the unflagging strength, the exuberant spirits, the clear, masterful face, the generous expression, and the flashing light of this great and undaunted soul. He was ambitious to be the youngest President of the United States. The prize was such as has rarely or never been suspended within the reach of man; the event showed that it was just beyond his reach; but if any, after the crisis, were able to discover decline upon his brow or mortification in his manner, such have not yet borne witness to their discovery.

The fact is, that Mr. Bryan has remained unhurt; neither did his hold upon his following break with the event of the election. On the contrary, millions of his admirers and friends have rallied still more closely to his standard. The man is beloved by the masses. The writer has seen the poor, the weak, the humble, the aged, the infirm, rush forward by hundreds, at the close of Mr. Bryan's speeches, and hold up hard and wrinkled hands with crooked fingers and cracked knuckles to the young, great orator, as if he were in very truth their promised redeemer from bondage. The people of the West and of the Central Union and in large parts of the East have believed in Mr. Bryan and trusted him as no man has been trusted in public leadership since the days of Henry Clay. This trust has not been betrayed or forfeited. The hold of the brilliant young statesman on his following is unbroken.

The supreme quality in William J. Bryan is, we think, his faith. It is difficult to say what faith is. The theologians have never been able to inform us. Certainly it is *belief*, in its more energetic manifestations. It is belief that the thing will be; that it will come to pass. It reaches out to the things contemplated and tends strongly to make them real. Mr. Bryan has this reaching out; he takes hold of conditions. He considers these conditions as if he were viewing an empire. He finds the empire to be disordered. Within the empire he sees *another* empire which he would substitute for the existing state. This vision he makes a reality; it becomes to him a visible *imperium in imperio*. He battles, as many of us do, to institute the new empire. The whole significance of Mr. Bryan's life and policy lies in this direction. That he is a patriot, let no man doubt; that he is an American to the marrow and soul of him, let no man question; that he has abilities amounting to genius, let none question either; that he is capable of herculean exertion, that he is willing to expend himself in a cause, that his will and spirit are such as to know no exhaustion or abatement of vigilance, let no man disbelieve.

These remarks might be indefinitely extended; but it is our purpose rather to mention Mr. Bryan's "First Battle" and to commend it to all readers as a book replete with interest, with information, and with inspiration to American democracy.

Perhaps there is always an element in works of this kind tending to make them more temporary than they deserve to be. We cannot know precisely to what extent Mr. Bryan, in this book, has aimed to produce and promulgate the permanent record of his life and work. No doubt he believes, as his friends believe, that the best part of him is in the future. Perhaps he has yielded a little to temporary conditions in casting this work at the present time. But it is produced with more care and in better literary spirit than is any transient biographical and political study that we can recall. If we look at the biography proper, which includes the first sixty-six

pages of the work, that is particularly well done. We think it will not be much improved hereafter by any hand whatsoever. Even should Mr. Bryan reach the goal of his ambition, the essential merits of this biography, by his talented and accomplished wife, can hardly be amended by any future writer. Mary Baird Bryan is, we think, unusually happy in producing the sketch of her husband's career. There are many things in her part of the work which commend it in the highest degree to the thoughtful. Mrs. Bryan is a conspicuous part of the good fortune which William J. Bryan has inherited. Whoever has had the honor to know this lady and to converse with her and to note her unequalled bearing in the great ordeal through which she passed with her husband in the summer and fall of 1896, will recall with admiration the example which she then gave to American womanhood.

As an introduction to the life of her husband Mrs. Bryan says briefly:

The impelling cause which is responsible for this article needs no elaboration. During the last few months, so many conflicting statements have been made by writers, friendly and unfriendly, concerning Mr. Bryan's ancestry, habits, education, etc., that a short biography based upon fact seems a necessary part of this book.

Writing from the standpoint of a wife, eulogy and criticism are equally out of place. My only purpose, therefore, is to present in a simple story those incidents which may be of interest to the general reader.

We may not make any extended extracts from Mrs. Bryan's part in her husband's book, but cannot forbear a word of comment on the witty, womanly good sense and good taste of the paragraph in which she describes her husband's method of procuring her hand. Speaking of that event she says:

The time came when it seemed proper to have a little conversation with my father, and this was something of an ordeal, as father is rather a reserved man. In his dilemma, William sought refuge in the Scriptures, and began: "Mr. Baird, I have been reading Proverbs a good deal lately, and find that Solomon says: 'Whoso findeth a wife, findeth a good thing, and obtaineth favor of the Lord.'" Father, being something of a Bible scholar himself, replied: "Yes, I believe Solomon did say that, but Paul suggests that, while he that marrieth doeth well, he that marrieth not doeth better." This was disheartening, but the young man saw his way through. "Solomon would be the best authority upon this point," he rejoined, "because Paul was *never married*, while Solomon had a *number of wives*." After this friendly tilt the matter was satisfactorily arranged.

Mr. Bryan begins the subject-matter of "The First Battle" with a chapter on his "Connection with the Silver Question." The narrative dates from the last of July, 1890, when he was first nominated for Congress. This chapter is succeeded with another, under the caption of "Unconditional Repeal," which occupies forty-six pages. In this he discusses with great cogency that ill-starred piece of legislation which began in the House of Representatives on the 9th of February, 1893, and was completed with the unconditional repeal of the so-called Purchase clause of the Sherman Bill.

The next chapter is devoted to the question of "Bolting," and the next to "Seigniorage, Currency, and Gold Bonds." The author, in the following chapter turns to his own State and discusses "Pioneer Work in Nebraska;" and in the sixth, he notes the "Development of the Silver Sentiment," particularly in the Western parts of the Union.

This brings the author to the year 1896, and to "The Republican National Convention" of that year. To say that in the presentation of the matter involved in the great contest of 1896, Mr. Bryan shows unusual power of analysis, a magnificent grasp

of the subject as a whole, an admirable good temper and forbearance, is to say no more than is known and read of all men. In dealing with personages prominent in that contest, he is just and discriminating. In the parts relating to himself, he is modest and yet strong. In a general way we may say that Mr. Bryan has strong self-consciousness, but this is held in admirable restraint by a predominant sense and sentiment of modesty and truthfulness which keep him in equipoise—a thing most essential in statesmanship.

The author next gives an account of the various conventions of his critical year; of his own nomination by at least three of those conventions, and of his acceptances. The book, in this particular, is necessarily documentary; platforms, speeches, acceptances, etc., make up a large part of the text through about two hundred pages. Then follows an account of the great Presidential contest and of the author's own part therein. Mr. Bryan gives, in an admirable way, a sketch of his unparalleled travels and speechmaking in the autumn of 1896. This narrative covers an event with an analogue but without a likeness in the political history of our country. We have already remarked upon the extraordinary physical, mental, and moral endurance which William J. Bryan displayed in those trying days.

"The First Battle" is copiously illustrated with portraits, tabular statements, sketches of important scenes, historical buildings, and the like, including certain political maps explanatory of the contest of 1896 and its results.

On the whole, we cordially recommend Mr. Bryan's book to the American public. Little it matters whether the reader be of Mr. Bryan's way of thinking or of the opposite political faith. "The First Battle" is indeed an admirable book, thoroughly American in its sentiments and expression, replete with choice matter relative to the political and economic agitations and progress of our age.

We do not prophesy; we have not the gift of tongues; we lay no claim to insight into the mysteries of the hereafter. History is not yet a science, though it is, we are glad to say, becoming a science. For these reasons we forbear to express our expectations and faith in the future of William Jennings Bryan. Thus much, however, we will say: that his genius and character are of the most admirable and patriotic stamp; the spirit of the man is such as the American people will not willingly permit to expire or to be illumined with less than the greatest light. For the rest, his future is with those master forces of civilization, in whose clutch all men and all events, like the helpless seaweed of the Gulf stream, go drifting, drifting,

From each cave and rocky fastness
In the vastness,—

some to find a lodgment on hidden reefs, some in the sunny bays of the Hesperides.

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Hon. John Boyd Thacher.

IN the series of articles by the Mayors of large municipalities, Hon. John Boyd Thacher, Mayor of Albany, N. Y., will follow those of Mayor Quincy of Boston and Mayor Pingree of Detroit. Mayor Pingree is also Governor of Michigan, and is too well known because of his sturdy battles in the interest of the people, to need introduction to the readers of THE ARENA. It was this that made him Governor. The people of Michigan, irrespective of party prejudice and newspaper abuse, last fall elected Detroit's reform mayor to the highest office in their gift.

Hon. John Boyd Thacher took the office of Mayor of Albany, also, as a reform mayor. His aim and his first efforts were to benefit his municipality educationally. He sought to secure for Albany a college. The professional politician asked him derisively, "How is that going to benefit us? What you want to do is to make your party solid." And it came about that even his own party friends deserted him when it came to what they considered so unpractical and useless a matter of municipal endeavor and improvement as would be the establishment of a leading educational institution in their city. It will be of great interest to read of Mayor Thacher's farther aims and hopes as a reform mayor.

In this connection it is fitting to call attention to the fact that already these articles by reform mayors have attracted very wide attention, and are being made the basis of practical action. All the leading papers in Boston copied in full the article by Mayor Quincy in the March ARENA. In over two hundred towns and cities it was read, in part or in full, on Washington's birthday, by the mayor

or some public officer, as a part of the public exercises, and was used as the basis of discussion of the needs and desires of their own cities.

Professor William I. Hull, Ph.D., of Swarthmore College.

Since everyone read "How the Other Half Lives" that "Other Half," in its various phases and conditions, has been an object of deep interest and often of deeper anxiety. In the May ARENA, Professor Hull will tell our readers much that is interesting, and more that is saddening, under the title of "The Children of the Other Half." Professor Hull's article will attract wide attention and be productive, we hope, of action that shall be in direct line with the most gravely needed municipal reforms.

Susan B. Anthony.

In the May issue will appear a characteristic article from the pen of Susan B. Anthony, President of the National Woman's Suffrage Association, that sturdy pioneer in the cause of woman who has borne the brunt of the battle, and has, happily, lived to see the "beginning of the end" for which she has so bravely struggled. In her article she gives a brief history of the long contest for the enfranchisement of woman, and points out the partial victories, showing what is yet to be achieved. Miss Anthony's paper is the third in the famous woman series, she having been preceded by Mary Lowe Dickinson, President of the National Council of Women, and May Wright Sewall, Ex-President of the National Council of Women, Vice-President at large of the International Council of Women, and Principal of the Indianapolis Classical School for Girls, each having written

upon a topic on which she is able to speak with peculiar authority. Following Miss Anthony there will appear each month in THE ARENA a paper by some woman who is justly famous, who will write on some subject on which she has become best fitted to instruct or entertain.

Sarah B. Cooper.

Madame Gertrude de Aguirre will in the May ARENA pay a well deserved tribute to the memory of that sweet, strong philanthropist and educator, Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper. The Pacific Coast proudly claimed Mrs. Cooper as its own while she lived, but it reverently yields her name and fame and glorious work to the whole country now that her gentle, spiritual face is to be seen no more. She was often called "the mother of kindergartens," and to deserve this title would be much; but Sarah Cooper was far more than this. She was the mother of the motherless. It was she who took 20,000 waifs from the streets of San Francisco and had them made clean and warm and ready to be taught, and then saw that they were instructed and their lives brightened in schools. Such a woman belongs to no State or country; she belongs to no age or clime. Her spirit is universal, and the reverence and admiration for her and her work prove that she (that of her which we all admired) is not dead, but only sleepeth.

The National Congress of Mothers.

No social event of our time has brought with itself a profounder interest than has the recent Congress of Mothers at Washington city. This meeting was, perhaps, the first large and orderly expression of a purpose on the part of American women to do something for the human race. The particular thing aimed at was the inculcation and dissemination of certain profound sentiments and principles relative to the improvement of our kind, beginning with motherhood. Strange

that the centuries should have waited so long for so natural and humane an enterprise! Strange that we should have dragged on through such weary years and epochs of time without one single rational, systematic effort to improve—what shall we say?—the quality of man!

In THE ARENA for May we shall be able to present an account of this great Convention, fitly told by two distinguished personages, one of whom was a member of the body; the other, Dr. Frank Cushing, Professor of Ethnology in the Smithsonian Institution, who took a lively interest in the proceedings. For to his practised mind the movement was indicative in the highest sense of a progressive stage in that great subject to which he has given so much time and attention. He will contribute to THE ARENA for May his views of the Congress and its work. Mrs. Ellen A. Richardson also will write an article on the Congress, and give an *inside* view of its spirit and achievement.

Besides these announcements, in which the readers of THE ARENA will, we think, find as much interest as we find pleasure in making them, we will here refer to a few of the leading personages to whose genius and philanthropy the success of the Congress is mostly due. Among such should be mentioned the distinguished President, Mrs. Theodore W. Birney, whose duties were performed in a manner to elicit the praise and admiration of thousands. Mrs. Phebe Hearst, first Vice-President of the Congress, was an energizing spirit. The second Vice-President, Mrs. Adlai E. Stevenson, also lent her name and generous influence to the Convention; and many other most eminent women participated and gave a helping hand.

Hon. John George Bourinot, D. C. L.

It is a sincere pleasure to announce that THE ARENA for May will contain an article by Hon. John George Bourinot, Clerk

of the Canadian Parliament, and one of the foremost literary men of the Dominion. As a writer, he is preëminent. He is a leading contributor to the Canadian journals of public opinion and also to the English reviews, including the *Quarterly*. Dr. Bourinot writes on "Canada: Its Political Development and Destiny," a theme of lively interest to American readers. THE ARENA is glad to introduce this distinguished writer and publicist to an audience as broad as the continent. We trust and believe that his appearance in our pages will mark the beginning of a more intimate connection of Dr. Bourinot with the intellectual republic of our country.

C. Osborne Ward.

"Trades-Unions Under the Solonic Law" will be the title of a contribution in THE ARENA for May, by C. Osborne Ward, Interpreter of the Department of Labor. Mr. Ward has been in Eastern Europe as the representative of that Department, and has obtained there a number of important facts, now for the first time made known to the people of our country, relative to Trades-Unionism at the remote epoch of the Hellenic ascendancy.

Mr. Ward and his work are highly endorsed by Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Chief of the Department of Labor, a recom-

mendation which the American public will quickly and gladly accept.

Prof. Wilder's Article: Explanation and Correction.

Partly through misapprehension and partly through a change in our office, the article, "Brains for the Young," in our March number, was printed without the knowledge of Professor Wilder. It represents approximately the report of an address delivered before the Home Congress in Boston last October. Hence the somewhat colloquial style of the article, and hence some errors in the same, the more important of which are here corrected:

P. 578, lines 13-16, the artist referred to was Philip Gilbert Hamerton, and his complete aphorism was: "Personal familiarity alone makes knowledge alive."

P. 579, lines 9 and 10 should read: 'The child should be taught to sing before learning to talk.

P. 579, fourteenth line from the bottom, the region referred to was first mentioned near the top of p. 579.

P. 579, second line from the bottom, there should be a *not* before *homogeneous*.

P. 581, line 3, the first word should be *essential*.

P. 583, line 1, the *for* should be *and*.

To Our Patrons and Friends.

If you find, on examination, that **THE ARENA** is battling for the cause of truth and worthily promoting the interests of the American people, please to contribute **YOUR** effort by helping to extend the influence and circulation of this magazine—to the end that it may still better fulfil its mission.

Respectfully,

ARENA COMPANY,

Copley Square, Boston.



yours truly,
Jno. Geo. Bowring

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THE CITIZEN AND HIS CITY : THE CITY AND ITS CITIZEN.

BY HON. JOHN BOYD THACHER,
Mayor of Albany, N. Y.

ON several occasions, when discussing the subject of the trend of population toward cities, I have asserted that this tendency could be traced to five causes :

First, the protection to the inhabitants and to their property afforded by municipal government ;

Second, the inclination of the individual to be relieved of care and responsibility, and the willingness of the municipality to relieve him ;

Third, the commercial activities of cities, the result of accessible labor and immediate markets ;

Fourth, the sociability, diversion, and sympathy man finds in society ;

Fifth, the educational facilities supplied by and found in cities.

It is in the second of these causes, the inclination of the individual to be relieved of care and responsibility, and the willingness of the municipality to relieve him, that I find the root of municipal evils and a possible danger to republican institutions. The citizen cannot escape the responsibility of his citizenship. There is a popular fiction that our government is a government of the people, by the people, for the people. It is a government of the people and for the people, but it is not a government by the people. The latter is only possible in a pure democracy, and a pure democracy is only possible in a small community where the people exercise directly the power vested in themselves. The New England town-meeting was perhaps the nearest approach to this form of government in our country, and had for its prototype the gathering of the Athenians in the Agora. In our form of government the people govern by representatives. If a pure democracy were in operation, the citizen would have to leave his shop, his desk, his office, at stated but frequent intervals, and pronounce his vote on matters of daily government. By the introduction of a representative agency he

is relieved of this arduous duty. At certain intervals he has an opportunity to choose a representative, and, theoretically, he is supposed to be in frequent, if not constant, communication with that representative, acquainting him with his own views and guiding him in his conduct. That was the old-fashioned notion of their relationship. In these days the citizen seldom sees his representative, and the representative no longer regards himself as the servant of the citizen. In the olden days the citizen valued the privilege of choosing his representative and discussed his selection for weeks and months. In these days the citizen scarcely can spare the time to go to the polls on the day set apart for election. He never can spare the time to attend the primaries when the candidate is placed in nomination. Political responsibility is too grievous a burden for him to bear. His ears are much troubled with complaints of bad government, and at times his conscience is uneasy. He waits until his indifference and carelessness result in a bad government becoming an unbearable government, and then, joining with a few other good and angry but equally careless citizens, he rises in protest and shifts the bad government from the shoulder of one political party to the shoulder of another political party.

The indifferent citizen is not a good citizen. The man we call a good citizen is a good man, an upright man, honored and respected in the community, but a perfect cipher in the state. He contributes nothing, unless it be money in taxes, and this the law forces from him. His voice is never heard in council. He lifts up neither his left hand in admonition nor his right in approbation. It is not long since an eminent citizen came into my office to inquire why his taxes were so high. I asked him if I had not satisfied him on that point in my annual message. "Never in my life," he answered, "have I read the message of a President, of a Governor, of a Mayor." Yet this man is one of our best citizens. When the world speaks of his calling, his name comes easily to its lips. He is simply indifferent, and the full performance of the duties of his citizenship is a burden beyond his bearing. The constitution of the United States directs the President to inform Congress from time to time of the state of the Union, and this is done in the form of messages; the constitution of the State of New York makes it the duty of the Governor to communicate an annual message; the charter of the city instructs the Mayor to write an annual message; but neither constitution nor charter can make a citizen acquaint himself with public matters or interest himself in public affairs. Perhaps, after all, habitual indifference on the part of the good citizen is better than spasmodic and unintelligent participation in government. When our foot stumbles and we are forced to remove a rock *from the path*, we generalize, and hate all bowlders. When the citizen

is compelled by private conscience or public complaint to interrupt a comfortable ease with the necessity of pushing the machine of government along the road, he says hard words of the incompetent or scampish hands which have been dragging it. Repeated experiences of this kind enrage him, and he transfers his anger from the unworthy hands to the machine of government itself. Then, if you whisper to him that there are certain hands so strong that they can be safely intrusted to drag the machine, and so constant in labor that he may never again be called from his ease to worry over accidents or stoppages, the citizen will be ready to vote for another form of government and to inscribe as his last laborious public work the word Republic upon his shell.

Most things in this world worth having come to us at the price of toil and trouble, and only coin of the realm of labor will obtain them and retain them. If our liberties are to be preserved it must be through a retention of the governing power, not merely in the hands of those who want to govern, not necessarily in the hands of those who are best fitted to govern, but in the hands of those who ought to govern—the people themselves, all the people. The citizen not only owes the public a portion of his property as tithes and taxes, but he owes a portion of his own personal service, if it be exacted of him. He should make this sacrifice, and make it in the spirit of a volunteer, not with the forced consent of the conscript. But if he falls short of this measure of patriotism, then let him at least interest himself intelligently in public affairs, and by attending on the primaries of his party, by constant consultations with his fellows, his neighbors, his business associates, influence both the selection of candidates and their election at the polls. The moral influence of a handful of such citizens as the discerning reader will understand me to indicate, would reach beyond their numbers, beyond their election districts, beyond their wards, in any municipality and in any political party. The so-called ward politician has the greatest possible regard for the good citizen who is sincere and earnest and diligent, who joins with him in legitimate and necessary committee work, who helps with the books and records of enrolled voters, who stands shoulder to shoulder with him near the polling-place on election day in storm or heat, and who marches with him in long, weary processions under dripping torches and in ill-smelling oilcloth, arousing a slow enthusiasm for candidates and principles. There seems to be an impression that such service is not respectable, and that a party leader will require of a novice as a test of his fidelity that he shall stuff one ballot-box with party votes and open another with an axe, while a confederate extinguishes the light in the polling-place. No such degree is conferred on the incipient politician in any temple in Boston or New York.

or in any other American city. Respectability is strength, and any intelligent party leader will welcome both.

The infrequency with which the good citizen employs his right of suffrage disqualifies him for the most intelligent exercise of that right. He does not differentiate issues. He does not distinguish between candidates and the different offices they are to fill. There is generally one supreme issue which has drawn him to the polls, and all other issues are accepted, if associated by party adoption, with the supreme issue. There is one candidate whose election he is pleased to believe will alone save the country, and the good citizen eagerly accepts every other name on the ticket. In New York State, in the fall of 1894, the people had before them for adoption a new constitution. This constitution contained a few improvements over the old instrument, but there was incorporated into it the most unfair division of legislative districts ever known. This gerrymandering scheme made it practically impossible for the political party opposing the supporters of the new constitution to secure control of the legislature for at least twenty years. It was so openly unfair that, under ordinary circumstances, an appeal to fair-minded citizens would have been successful. However, the people had been minded for some time to punish the said opposition party, and the good citizen not only voted to deprive that party of executive office, but deliberately expelled it for twenty years from legislative control of public affairs. This was an unintelligent disposition of the two questions. The executive control could have been taken from the one party without establishing for the other party, by the adoption of the constitution with its unjust geographical voting districts, a twenty-years' lease of legislative power. A party long in power is liable to become corrupt, and it is good public policy to keep an opposition party in readiness to accept its place and its responsibility when the corrupt party shall be driven from power. But here the people deprived themselves of this safeguard. The only explanation the good citizen has given of his conduct on that occasion is that he was exceedingly angry and that he did not stop to consider.

In the same State of New York last year, another exhibition of the inability of the good citizen to differentiate issues was given with a slightly different excuse, but which more pointedly shows the danger to the good citizen in his infrequent exercise of the suffrage and in his ignorance of the method of exercising that suffrage. The party in power in the State and in full control of every department of the State government, if not absolutely corrupt, had at least conducted public affairs with such extravagance and for such purely partisan ends that public condemnation was expected and promised. Then suddenly the country became involved in a national issue which became supreme.

There was but one ballot, reaching to the moon. It included the several candidates for all offices, from members of the electoral college to coroner. A single slip of a clumsy lead pencil, an unintentional mark anywhere upon its length or breath, and it was void. The good citizen could not trust himself to distinguish between national and state issues or to assent to Smith and to scratch Brown. Therefore, placing his mark in the circle to indicate his acceptance of the entire list, he voted a straight but unintelligent ballot.

This indifference of the individual, this disinclination of the good citizen to perform his part in government, are taken into account by the lawmakers in constructing a municipal charter. It is assumed, first, that he will not accept office himself, and, therefore, that an inferior order of being will hold official position; and, second, that he will not interest himself in such a manner that the inferior being will stand in perpetual awe of him and thus conduct his office properly. Acting on this assumption, the first care has been to build a charter on the principle of restraint and hindrance. The Mayor is the chief executive officer of the city. The charter places impediments and obstacles constantly before him. He is like one expected to run a race, yet about his limbs are shackles, and to his feet are fastened leaden shoes. He has not even the poor satisfaction of wholly resembling Justice, for his eyes are open to behold the shackles, and his lips move in bemoaning his heavy weights. On taking office the Mayor is told that the municipality is a huge business corporation, that he is to be its general manager, and is to be held responsible for its management. He enters hopefully upon his duties, entertaining large ideas of reforms and improvements. He finds himself hampered at every step by charter restrictions and is told that they are necessary guards against the exercise of arbitrary power by a bad Mayor; that if there were no restrictions the good citizen would have to be constantly watching the conduct of the Mayor, which the bonds and gyves of the charter restrictions now make unnecessary. Probably no municipal instrument has ever been framed with such care and study as the proposed charter for Greater New York. Yet it is apparent that its aim has been to relieve the citizen of care and responsibility in the city government, except by inviting his attention once in four years when a Mayor is to be chosen. It proposes to restrict executive powers by the employment of an impersonal police commission and of individual heads of departments who are deprived of control over subordinates. A single-headed commission appointed by a Mayor (himself elected every one or two years) and removable at any time by the Mayor means unusual watchfulness on the part of the citizen. Unremitting watchfulness on the part of the citizen means constant agitation and frequent annoyance.

Thus far and somewhat at length I have dwelt upon the duty of the citizen toward his city. Upon his active interest in municipal affairs depends a good popular government. It is quite possible to have a good government which will secure to the citizen all and perhaps more than he ought to have, without its operating as a popular government. There are good municipal governments in some places in England and on the continent, but in which all the people do not participate in the administration as they do in this country. I have assumed that the problem requires a good municipal government within our present system of free and practically universal suffrage.

* * * * *

When we approach a discussion of the duty of the city to the citizen we are on wider waters. For myself I have adopted one principle which seems to afford safe anchorage, and which may hold the reader to something stable:

"The state, that is, the city, shall do nothing for the individual which the individual can do for himself."

The citizen has come to the city because there are certain necessary things which, if he does for himself, he does ill and at too great an expenditure of labor. The city can guard his life better than he can himself. It can guard his property better than he can. It can guard his health better than he can. These are things which are practically impossible for him to do for himself. He cannot employ a policeman at his own expense. He cannot hire the services of a trained fireman who shall be constantly ready to extinguish any flames which may break out in his house. He cannot dig a sewer from his home to the river or to the harbor. He cannot continually travel to and from the mountain-side, bringing water for his own use. These things the city must do for him. His share of the common expense for police and fire protection and for the sewer work and the water he uses, is a comparatively small sum. When the citizen lived in the country, on grounds affording plenty of room for cesspools, he had no need of an elaborate sewer system. In the city, with a narrow house and scarcely any adjacent ground, he is obliged to join with other citizens in carrying the sewage to a distance. Public health demands this, and as the citizen manifestly cannot have an independent sewer, and as a uniformity of character and construction is required, the city builds it for him. Paving and public lighting are not to be done by the individual, although if we considered only the benefit to certain localities, they might very well be done by him. They rest as a public charge upon the broad ground that the streets and public places belong not to the individual, but to the people at large; not even to the municipality, but to the great mass public who have a right to thoroughfares as to the king's high-

way. It is true that in many cities the first charge for paving is upon the property adjoining, but the principle of public use is generally recognized in providing that repairs and repaving shall be a public charge. The city furnishes light to the public, not to the individual. A thoroughfare is lighted not merely or primarily for the benefit of the people who live on the thoroughfare, but as a salutary police regulation and for the benefit of the public who must pass through it by night. Public parks and squares are likewise works of public necessity, for they are the lungs through which the city breathes. An education is necessary for good citizenship. The citizen has to work, and cannot teach his child even if he has the knowledge and the facility to impart that knowledge. The child cannot well educate itself by private effort. The city establishes and maintains at public expense schools and academies, libraries of rare and costly books, and art galleries with original examples of the old masters, which are free and accessible to all.

At this point our vessel rocks and the cable strains. How far may the state go in providing higher education and the luxury of cultivation at public cost? Is there any limit? If I interpret the present public sentiment correctly, it practically declares that there is no limit. And yet I feel sure public sentiment is not enlightened on this question. It does not comprehend the true functions of a government like ours. When the state gives a citizen that sort of education which enables him to earn a living by its use alone, it performs a work for him which it denies to another. It is apparent that all men in a community cannot be chemists. Some must be cutters of stone and hewers of wood. Why should the state equip a man to be a chemist and refuse to teach another to be a mason and still another to be a carpenter? That knowledge of chemistry which is elementary should be taught free in the public schools. That knowledge of chemistry which lifts a man from the bench of the disciple to the chair of the master, is not a proper public charge. It is not a proper charge, because, with the elementary tools given him free, the man can equip himself for his work. This is a vastly unpopular view, and I am aware that a man metaphorically takes his life in his hands when he goes abroad into Boston to preach this doctrine.

I want the individual to be highly educated, even to be, so to speak, elaborately educated. I am willing that he should be educated free, rather than at his own expense; but let the charges for his superior, and consequently his special, education be at the cost of private and not of public liberality. And just here is a difficulty which the state meets when it undertakes to perform for the individual his duties. The obligation of great private fortunes to serve public purposes is no longer recognized. Let the man of enormous riches behold the state

filling with its own money those channels through which he had hoped to dispense his wealth, and he will divert his fortune to building stables for his horses and a mausoleum for his body. The state has preëmpted that field of generosity on which he had contemplated the erection of a monument to his soul. This sense of public obligation has been very strong in this country, and it has reconciled the unambitious man to the grasping hands of his accumulating brother. In other lands, where the state does everything for the individual, the public dedication of private fortunes is not common. Now and then in a European city an Althorp library or a Borghese Gallery is given to the public, but the instances attract attention from the unexpected diversion of the fortunes to public service. In America the gathering of a fortune has been largely with a view to the establishment for the public of beneficent charitable and higher educational institutions. As these things are not necessary to a free state, so they do not of themselves indicate a free state. The first public library ever erected in Europe is said to have been founded by Pisistratus, and we call him to this day "the Tyrant."

If the city may do those things for the individual which he cannot do for himself, may it do for him those things which he finds it inconvenient to do for himself? If it may care for his safety and his health, may it care also for his morals and his comforts? If it may build him an academy to educate a sound mind, may it build him a gymnasium to develop a sound body? If it build him a gymnasium to train his muscles, may it erect an arena to test his prowess? If it publish police rules and regulations for his conduct, may it establish an ethical college to teach him the foundation of obligation? If it may teach him ethics, may it teach him religion? And may all these things be done at public expense? Here our vessel breaks from its moorings and drifts toward the beautiful but dangerous coast of paternal government. In Glasgow the municipality is a landlord. It not only enters into competition with other landlords, but like any giant of monopolistic tendencies, it drives other landlords out of business. Some of the cheap lodging-houses were immoral. There was a large population of men without families who had to be provided with cheap accommodations. To purify the character of the immoral lodging-houses—a police duty, by the by—and to preserve cheap homes for its poorer bachelor citizens, the city of Glasgow erected comfortable houses where a good room and bed, light, heat, and the privilege of a cooking-stove were furnished at a cost per night of from seven to nine cents in our money, according to accommodations. In that same city and in other cities on the continent, the municipality is engaged in the laundry business. The city owns tubs, steam machinery, mangles, and ironers,

and conducts in several districts a general laundry trade, not merely competing, but actually establishing by its municipal wash lists the price and charges of that particular business enterprise. The thoughtless philanthropist cries, "Splendid!" Yes, splendid, but not the proper employment for government. The same philanthropist applauds the municipal lodging-house plan. He does not consider that these cheap, comfortable, convenient rooms are keeping men in an unmarried and, therefore, in an unnatural state, and, further, that where thousands of men are maintained happily on fifteen or twenty cents per day,—this sum includes lodging and breakfast and supper,—one of two things must come to pass: either this vast army of bachelor laborers will compete with and drive out of the labor market another vast army of married laborers who enjoy none of these cheap comforts, or else this vast army of bachelor laborers will work but one day in the week at the sustained and regular rate of pay, thus earning enough to keep themselves in idleness and at possible mischief the remaining six days. The philanthropist is a blessed being, and we owe to him most of the amelioration of the race, but his mission is to soften and leaven government and not to fashion it.

I realize that we are living at the end of the nineteenth century. I know that the spirit of progress and change is bearing us onward. I behold my fellow beings crowding into cities, leaving behind them the duller life of the hill-side and the plain. Man made the cities, and he has pronounced upon them the commendation, "All very well." But I read history, and it tells me that the woes of the nation have their breeding-place in its great cities. Conveniences lead to comforts, comforts grow to refinements, refinements expand to luxury, and luxury brings decay. The law seems inexorable. It is written not on stone tables, but in the nature of man. The exotic cannot contend with the wind, like the pine. The one is delicate and beautiful, the other is plain but of long life. They will not stand the same conditions. If we turn our cities into hothouses, the sturdy tree will lose its vitality. The common comforts and the free luxuries which have already invited to our cities so large a population of the people of this country, will lure in the coming years and with increased comforts a still larger proportion. One hundred years ago the urban population of this country was only three and one-third per cent of the entire population; to-day it is more than thirty per cent; and in New York State it is over sixty per cent. There are those who admit the tendencies of municipal government to the possession of these luxuries and toward a paternal form of government, but they console themselves with the belief that such a form may be tolerated in the cities and excluded from the greater commonwealth and the nation. What is the nation?

What is the state? Are they not where the people are? And if the majority of the people who live in cities become reconciled to a paternal municipal government, will they decline its temptations and seductions for the government of the state? A man brought up in the city and by the city, nourished by the city, fondled by the city, finding his wants supplied without effort of his own, beholding pleasures and enjoyments provided for his eyes in constant procession, cannot develop the best that is in him. The city says to him, "Keep thy face from sweat; here is bread." I do not care if his mind is full and his body strong. He will not produce men after his former kind. You may breed gladiators at public expense for several generations, but all the science of fist and foot will not avail against the loss of individual freedom and of self-reliance. The history of the turf tells us that it was the rule to infuse into the English racehorse once in three generations the blood, free and pure, of the Arab courser, fresh from his struggle with the sand of the desert and the spaceless wind. It is the law of nature. Struggle, contention, despair, and hope, not against the easy and pleasant things of life, but against the hard things, will make men strong and keep them strong.

I regret that the line of my argument has commanded a somewhat querulous tone. I would not be misunderstood. I believe that the people the most highly educated will be the foremost among the nations of the world, first in the arts, first in the sciences, first in the industries. But I also believe that to maintain that supremacy the nation must require of its citizens individual struggle, individual effort, individual sacrifice.

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF MOTHERS:

I. AN INSIDE VIEW.

BY ELLEN A. RICHARDSON.

EVERY day letters are coming from different sections of our country asking about the National Congress of Mothers. What about its success? If there is to be another held? When? Where? How can local work become affiliated? How can the isolated neighborhoods benefit by the wisdom which must emanate from such conferences as that which was held in Washington Feb. 17, 18, 19, 1897. Such questions and others continue to pour in, albeit a month and more has passed since this first congress became a thing of history. But it is a part of a living history, which can know no ending until the office of motherhood is banished from off the face of the earth. Though classed among the many movements inaugurated by women, it occupies a unique position, and is in essence the expression of a reaction from many other movements of more radical tendencies.

If it be true that anyone has dared to place motherhood and its duties low down in the scale of values, while every day evolving plans for reconstructing outer conditions, in the natural order of things let such pay respectful attention and give chivalrous esteem to the movement which has at heart the purpose of awakening renewed interest in the responsibilities of motherhood and the duty of parent to offspring.

A year ago, when this Congress was first suggested, the superficial thinker questioned its advisability. The thoughtless could see nothing in the proposition, but thousands of mothers caught a gleam of hope from the prospect of the sympathy and help which could result to them in such a meeting; and when the doors of the Arlington, with its spacious banquet hall for an audience room, swung open to them, it was all too small to accommodate the mothers and the sprinkling of fathers who had believed in the conference and had come from great distances to participate in this movement for a better childhood, a grander manhood and womanhood, — a greater nation! It was soon seen that the aim of the convention was not for regulating the duties of the parents, but for new inspiration to higher ideals, in keeping with the progressive conditions of our advanced civilization, an inspiration which should cherish the highest conception of motherhood and its duties, and help mothers to ponder, in the seclusion of their homes, facts and truths which *must be known to be understood and used as signals and guides.*

It was well said in the New York *Sun* :

Liquor-dealers organize. Why? Because they can sell more whiskey. Doctors organize. Why? Because they can fight disease and ignorance when united better than they can single-handed. Manufacturers organize and get assailed from all sides because it results in their invincibility.

Women have organized and organized for all sorts of *reform* and *informing* work. But until this movement, notwithstanding they have held mothers' meetings, there has been no definite step on their part *to organize* for becoming better mothers and to shed a new glory on motherhood.

As for men's organizations, the New York *Sun* asks :

Do any of them organize because it will make them better fit to be fathers to the next generation? . . . We see reams of good advice from editors and preachers about what it is to be a good mother, but where, from the university to the business world, does a man learn how to be a good father? And yet it is the basic purpose, the *raison d'être*, of his existence.

It is but just to say that the movement has had a most chivalrous indorsement from many fathers, and was countenanced by the interested presence of many of them during the meetings. The editors of the press throughout the country have given space freely, and most respectful prophecies have been made as to the influence for good which must result to the people as a nation, in this awakening at the hearth of the home of the responsibilities of parenthood.

Among the many inquiries being received, a frequent one is, why limit this conference to the *mother* side of parentage? We as fathers feel an active interest in all these questions, and want to ask if we are welcome to the conclaves. In answer to this we would repeat the words of Mrs. Theodore Birney, the president: "This is not a sex movement, but one in which sons and daughters, fathers and mothers, alike are invited to become interested." The movement *began* as a woman's movement, because she is the priestess of the hearth and holds close in her influence the lives of the children during their most plastic period, the first ten years of life.

Homes are focusing-points for individual efforts. They have also their radiating lines of influence, extending into the ever-widening circles of duties. If the mothers are the priestesses at the hearth, the fathers are the gatekeepers to the extending influences. Mutual understandings should exist between the mothers and fathers, as to both the inner developments and the outer conditions which must be met by the lives growing up around them. The gateways from the hearths out into the life arena of action should be open to both parents, so that a perfect knowledge of the great needs for *characters* should guide those who mould the children to meet the duties of life. Such preparation can

only be gained by individual experience meeting personally the inner and the outer conditions.

Heretofore the "loaf-winner" and the "bread-distributer" have had their lines too definitely *separated*. The promoters of the National Congress of Mothers welcome heartily the call from the few fathers to enter the movement, and the welcome is unbounded, whether they enter as spectators or as participants. There is plenty of room for parents to do all the good they can *in* their homes, and plenty of time from which three days may be spared once a year to exchange views, arouse ambition, inspire new energies, and revivify such exhausted and despairing workers as *do* exist in every community.

No great upliftment of social conditions can be accomplished except by leavening the whole lump; and there need be no fear that any home will be neglected by the interest called forth once a year by these gatherings, to which one or more delegates will be sent from every community, delegates who can be best spared to attend and bring back a report of the sayings and doings there.

Besides these personal reports, the National Congress intend to publish yearly the addresses and doings of the Convention, which may be had upon application to the National Headquarters 1425, 20th Street, Washington, D. C., at a minimum sum, just enough to cover the cost of publication.

This gathering is not in the least actuated by a love of notoriety. It has no impracticable ideas that constitute the base of so many assemblages. As one writer has said: "There is a great deal more sense in it than in an international monetary conference, for it will result in giving us better men and women." The Congress does not expect to be flawless in its endeavors. What Congress is? It only asks for a suspension of attention to its defects, so long as its motives are unselfish and aspiring.

Fortunately for the projectors of this movement there have been found those whose faith in it is firm. Foremost among these is the first Vice-President, Mrs. Phebe Hearst, who is one of the broadest, most liberal-minded, and generous of women. She has given the movement from the first not only the sanction of her name, but a substantial backing which has made possible all the preliminary work, and insures its unbroken usefulness. Where so many have kindly aided in distinctive ways it seems hardly fair to single out individuals to mention here, but to the names of Mrs. Hearst, who is the godmother to the enterprise, and of Mrs. Theodore Birney, the President, who has conceived and inaugurated in all humility and sincerity its high purpose, this brief allusion may be pardoned.

I believe the varying questions may be further answered best by

presenting the set of resolutions adopted at the close of the three days' session :

Whereas : This is the first great National Congress of Women ever gathered about the single idea of maternity and the improvement of the relation of Mother and Child ; and *whereas* we desire that the influence of this meeting shall be as far-reaching as possible, wherefore,

Resolved : That we indorse the work of the Universal Peace Union, and second the suggestion to the Mothers, instructors, and citizens of America that lessons of peace must first be taught by harmony at the hearth, as embodied in the following

SEVEN RULES OF HARMONY.

First, Hereby I promise to make the sacred spirit of peace a living power in my life, and to contribute all the time, thought, and money which I can to its diffusion.

Second, I promise never to listen without a protest to insinuations, vituperations, or unjust accusations against the members of my family and my fellow citizens.

Third, I promise to seek to understand the spirit of the national laws, and to obey those which exist ; to interest myself fervently for the modification of all those which uselessly tyrannize upon any class of fellow citizens.

Fourth, I promise to dedicate all my thought and influence to the development of the national and patriotic spirit, and not to criticise without purpose the administration of the family and of the nation.

Fifth, I promise to treat all birds and beasts and all existences of the animal and vegetable world with justness and gentleness, and not to destroy, save for self-preservation and for the protection of the weak. Instead, my object shall be to plant, nourish, and to propagate all that will lead to the moral and physical amelioration of my family, my home, and my nation.

Sixth, I promise to teach to my children and my dependents everything with regard to justice and peace which I shall learn, and to seek to develop in them the sentiments to which I am hereby dedicating myself.

Seventh, I promise to seek each day to utter some word or to perform some little action which may promote the cause of peace, whether at home or abroad.

Resolved : That the National Congress of Mothers heartily approve the founding of a National Training School for Mothers, that the women of America may be taught the method for making hygienic homes and for becoming intelligent mothers, — in a word, that they may be taught the laws of health and heredity.

Resolved : That we use our influence to encourage legislation in our various States and Territories to secure a kindergarten department in our public schools.

Furthermore, it is recommended that every woman's organization in every State in our Union be invited to coöperate in the establishment of adequate training schools for kindergartners.

Resolved : That we will endeavor to exclude from our homes those papers which do not educate or inspire to noble thought and deed, and that our influence will be used to cultivate the public taste so that it will exact from the press and artists that which educates and refines.

We protest against all pictures and displays which tend to degrade men and women or corrupt or deprave the minds of the young, and all advertisements which offend decency.

Resolved : That we sympathize in the petition to both Houses of Congress to raise the age of protection for girls to eighteen years at least, in the District of Columbia and the Territories.

Resolved : That as we have a National Executive Board, we ask our officers to continue National Headquarters at Washington, D. C., from which a Press Committee shall send out each month to all newspapers agreeing to publish them regularly, articles germane to our objects, and information relative to the progress of the work ;

That circulars of information and leaflets setting forth the best methods of work be prepared and furnished at cost to those wishing to purchase them ;

That we deem State Organization at present inadvisable, but recommend that the members of this Congress carry home to the respective organizations which sent them, as full a report as possible of the sessions, and strive to make it the inspiration toward the formation of Mothers' or Home Sections in the local organizations already formed, and of Mothers' Clubs outside of already existing associations.

Resolved: That the Committee on Resolutions do hereby recommend:

1st, That the National Congress of Mothers hold annual meetings;

2d, That, in order to promote permanent organization and preserve the National character of this movement, the National Congress of Mothers meet *every other year* at the nation's capital, Washington, D. C., the alternate or intermediate Congress to be held at such place as may be hereinafter decided;

3d, That the next National Congress of Mothers be held in Washington, D. C., in the year 1898, the date of meeting to be decided upon by the National Executive Board.

Resolved: That the Mothers' Convention has made manifest the earnest desire and determination of the women of our land and elsewhere to give the children committed to their care the advantages of pure thought and high endeavor; therefore, believing that Law is Love, and Love is the highest expression of God, hence the ruling power of the Universe, and that its perversion and prostitution is the sole source of evil, we do, in conclusion, exhort all mothers to a closer walk with our Father and Mother, God, in whose nurture and admonition our children must be brought up if life is ever to be worth living.

Resolved: That the members and delegates of the National Congress of Mothers express their cordial appreciation of the hospitality which has been extended to the Congress by the residents of the city of Washington, and return their sincere thanks for the courtesies extended.

The National Congress especially appreciate the reception accorded them by Mrs. Cleveland, who stands before the country as a representative of beautiful Motherhood.

They feel that she in her life has exemplified the principles for which this Congress stands.

To the Lady to whose unbounded hospitality and far-sighted wisdom is due the abundant success of the First National Congress of Mothers, we recognize in her not only the home Mother but the world Mother.

To the Presiding Officer, Mrs. Birney, whose devotion for all mothers brought her across the continent in the continuance of her service to the cause;

To the Vice-Presidents and to the Secretary, Miss Butler, who has so faithfully performed the many duties which devolved upon her;

To the Speakers who have contributed from the wisdom of all science and research, philosophy and experience;

To the Press, which has so fully disseminated the deliberations of this body;

To the Associations which have sent Delegates, and have thus multiplied the influence and efficiency of the National Congress; and

To the great audiences which under the disadvantages entailed upon all by the unexpected numbers in attendance, have preserved the harmony of spirit and the graceful courtesy which has lightened and brightened the labors of all;—

To one and all, the Resolution Committee beg to express for the Congress their congratulations, that the first National Congress of Mothers adjourn to take into their homes the spirit of coöperation in the cause suggested in the call for Congress.

The writer begs to say from the inside of this new movement, that the whole question is intended to be so unbiassed, and free for future and local developments by individual conditions and needs, that its simplicity and breadth cause a seeming vagueness in contrast to the specific lines generally laid down in organization work.

The National Congress of Mothers at Washington holds itself open in a motherly way to each and every effort to carry on the study of life-development as intimately related to the family, recognizing the duties of parents to child. Those at the headquarters in Washington hope to be in communication with all the mothers' clubs, classes, or meetings held anywhere in the world, and to both receive and give advice on all questions germane to parental relations.

Mrs. Adlai Stevenson is quoted as saying in speaking of the project: "At the close of the revolution in France, Madame de Stael put to Napoleon the question: 'What more does France need?' The reply was returned: 'Our country needs mothers, madame; *mothers* to train future citizens.'"

A mother is a mother still,
The holiest thing alive.

Many noble women whose names are familiar in important work in many fields quickly responded to this call to serve in a Congress of Mothers, bearing strong testimony that they do not regard slightly the duties of motherhood, but hold them as the highest that a woman can perform for the race. Since mothers are held responsible for results, students of sociology of to-day must confess that there is ample and painful evidence that lots of them lack the "know how" to bring up children, except what they learn by experience; and experience is often an unsatisfactory as well as a hard teacher.

This is the opinion of the *Providence News*, commenting upon the conference and giving as nearly as it can grasp the purpose of the Congress in these words:

The National Congress of Mothers seeks to get at the mother direct, to strengthen her, to inspire, to instruct, to enlighten her, and to bring her into intimate associations with varied efforts for making up for what may be lacking in her, if not always impossible to her. Bless her heart! Hers is often a hard row to hoe. Perhaps, if good intentions were backed up by the kind of help the Congress hopes to give, we wouldn't cause her so much trouble as we do; she would find life easier and altogether more satisfactory, we should all be better men and women, and the earth would be made a greatly improved place of residence for well-disposed and enlightened human beings.

A very kind compliment was paid by the Daughters of the American Revolution, who followed the Mothers' Congress immediately with their Continental Congress. One of their number was heard to say: "This is as it should be; the Daughters should follow the Mothers. While we are proud of them, and our aim is to cherish a high regard for all our ancestors, we honor the Mothers for holding the thought that posterity has its claims on us."

The members holding the thought of National Congress acknowledge that, however intellectually science may deal with the duties of Mother-

hood, mother instinct must still be supreme. Instinct and intuition are psychic forces hard to harness into expression by words; therefore the simple and elastic conditions which the founders hope will prevail in the movement known as the National Congress of Mothers.

In adopting the Resolutions the first one is a key to the whole. Instead of indorsing or legislating upon any of the many excellent movements intended to correct conditions, the Mothers' Congress extends sympathy to such, and merely recommends individual influence *at the hearth* of home, on all lines which make for harmony, truth, and usefulness.

ADDENDUM BY HONORABLE JOHN W. HOYT.

MRS. ELLEN A. RICHARDSON,

Dear Madam, — By way of congratulating those who were responsible for its inauguration, I am moved to say a few words concerning the impression made upon me by the late National Congress of Mothers.

As a conception it was evidently the outgrowth of conscious needs, on the one hand, and of the encouragement afforded by the modern use of the convention for the advancement of all sorts of reforms, on the other. I say conscious needs, knowing well how deep on the part of thoughtful women has ever been the realization of the multiform hindrances which have encompassed and which still hamper and oppress even the best circumstanced of mothers everywhere. Until recently these have been the subject of private discussion, with very partial resort to any established educational agencies. But the public conference, the convention, and finally the congress have so become the fashion in recent years as at last to have gained for women the admitted right not only to convene for common ends, but to be publicly heard in their own behalf without challenge from any quarter.

The preëminence of the cause represented by this congress of mothers is beyond question. Important as they seem to be and are, the thousand and one other interests so zealously and vigorously championed on convention platforms, whether social or political, are chiefly limited to things which pertain to either locality, class, or period; but the cause of motherhood is as wide as the world, embracing the welfare, both temporal and spiritual, of the whole human race, in all generations. In other words, the material, intellectual, and moral interests of mankind, as referred to human agencies, are fundamentally dependent on the capability, opportunity, and supreme loyalty of mothers. It is therefore a cause in the highest sense sacred. And, accordingly, to give to mothers everywhere a just realization of these vital truths is a first and most

solemn duty of those who, being of them, are also able to represent them.

The conduct of this first congress ever convened with these high ends in view was admirable. There were two or three papers which might have been omitted without loss, and yet more attention could have been given to the profoundest of underlying principles. But it is hardly too much to say that the proceedings were in full keeping with the ends themselves. Indeed, after much observation of conventions of many kinds in this and other lands, I feel justified in awarding to it the palm on every count. Its distinguished personnel, including so large a number of the noblest and most eminent women of America; the exceeding dignity, solemnity, and orderly manner of its proceedings; the high character of the work done, day by day; the profound interest manifested therein by the general public; and the manner in which it was made to take hold upon the future — all these combined gave to it a preëminence which commanded the admiration and kindled the enthusiasm of all observers, while awakening highest hopes for the success of the great movement so auspiciously begun.

Respectfully,

JOHN W. HOYT.

II. AN OUTSIDE VIEW.

BY FREDERICK REED.

"O mater pulchra, pulchrior illa!" — *Horace*.

In this day of multitudinous clubs, unions, and guilds generally, wherein lies the justification for another organization, especially since this new union must be made up of women, nearly every one of whom is already a member of some association whose motives and aims would seem to cover all possible desiderata in the life of another? *A priori* there would seem to be no purpose which could not easily be subserved by organizations already in existence, or, at least, by a slight extension of the purposes already operative in such organizations.

Yet no thoughtful person could have been present at the sessions of the National Congress of Mothers, recently held in this city [Washington], without being impressed that a felt need was being met, a hunger fed, a longing satisfied, which had waited for the moment of fulfilment. One had but to look into the faces of that great assemblage to be convinced that then, for the first time in their lives, the mother hearts there beating had formed a sympathetic contact fulfilling the unspoken, often unspeakable, longings of a lifetime.

Although one of Washington's largest churches, with a seating capacity of about 1,500, proved inadequate to accommodate the women

who came to attend the various sessions ; notwithstanding the fact that overflow meetings were held, wherein the speakers on the regular programme in the church delivered the same address to a second audience patiently waiting in an auditorium near by ; in spite of the fact that even this extra provision did not meet the demands of all who would hear, so that the classrooms of the church were occupied by small groups eagerly discussing some topic under the guidance of a leader chosen impromptu, — in the face of all this, it was perfectly evident that the numbers attracted to this Congress were not its most striking feature.

No, there was a something lying far deeper than the phenomenal attendance, deeper even than the enthusiastic applause which greeted the speakers ; a somewhat by its unbounded power defying definition and refusing to be limited to the terms of human speech. What subtle power was it which, with irresistible magnetism, drew these women not only from all parts of our own country, but from foreign lands as well ? What interests or promises or hopes attracted these busy women over many miles to this union, — Jew and Gentile, Scythian, bond and free, all speaking in one tongue ? In the answer to this question lies the especial significance of this epoch-making Congress of Mothers.

What is the evident purpose of each society in the vast majority of combinations of individuals into societies ? Has it not been for mutual protection, disregarding the interests of all other individuals outside of the particular union ? Precisely the same motive, consciously, which underlies non-consciously — if we may coin the word — the combinations of animals, more or less complete, for the sole purpose of protection. A much smaller number of existing associations have for their real purpose, whether avowed or not, the crushing out of the weaker individual or association, and the consequent repletion of the stronger. Many religious and philanthropic organizations, even, long ago overstepped the bounds of emulation and entered the doubtful fields of competition, the character of many of whose methods, however, is in not the least doubt.

But, whatever may be said — must be said — of the objects and immediate results of such organizations, one fact is indisputable : men could not come together, even for the most unworthy purposes, without bearing witness thereby to a common somewhat, an omnipresent quality, which furnishes the cement, so to speak, to hold them together despite their many differences. We say “without bearing witness to an omnipresent quality.” By this we do not mean that the individual members of such a union consciously recognize the common quality. It is only the careful student who looks below the surface for the causes of surface effects. Every coming together, therefore, of individuals is another confession, mute though it be, of the inherent oneness of all humanity.

and not only of all humanity, but of all things in the universe. Heretofore the recognized community of interests in one society has been considered as inconsistent with, if not inimical to, the recognized community of interests in another society. This mistake—for mistake it surely is—arises, no doubt, from the superficial character of those interests to protect which, or to enlarge which, the association has been formed. Now for the first time a community of interest has been recognized as the basis of association, fundamental in its character. Now a principal of universal application has consciously been made the basis of a union which really, though not consciously and avowedly, embraces all living things.

In these closing years of a wonderful century, men's vision has cleared sufficiently to get a partial glimpse of the fountain-head, Motherhood!—a word whose very impotency scarcely better than obscures the profoundest truth ever dawned upon man's consciousness! When man has exhausted effort in his attempt to express in intelligible, communicable form his innate conception of that fecund force out of which all things are sprung, does he not end with that symbol which to him means "mother,"—"Earth, the Mother" of us all, as she upon whom the stumbling Greek at the Apollo's shrine bestowed the fatal kiss?

Yes, even in its present limited sense, and with its present shortened application, motherhood is the one fact recognized as the fundament of all society. As is the mother, so is the offspring, and so the society which they compose. No opposing interests here; no interests in one group inconsistent with those of another. No need of association for protecting motherhood against motherhood! Motherhood has no profit to wrench from the reign of motherhood! The interest of motherhood here is equally the interest of motherhood there. What advances her standards now must advance them hereafter. Now, at last, all men are agreed. "Let us know," they cry, "what will give us a higher, a better, a stronger, a purer motherhood. Let us know this, and we can put aside for the moment the minor matters for which we have a diversity. Let us set at rights the principal thing, and subordinates and corollaries will fall into line naturally and inevitably! Let us clear out the fountain, and the issuing stream must of necessity be pure!"

This, then, was the most striking feature of a gathering with no precedent in history. This it was which gave its deepest significance to a congress gravid with blessings for the future. This it is which compels the faith—it is almost knowledge—that men are at last awakening, slowly but very surely, to those duties upon whose faithful fulfilment rests the permanent betterment of the race, and with whose

neglect humanity must inevitably retrace her toilsome steps. But the existence of this National Congress of Mothers makes this latter impossible. It has come in order to insure the former. Consciousness once awake cannot sleep again! Its sacred office will never be laid down until it be fulfilled! The noble women of this Mothers' Congress have proclaimed throughout the broad earth the doom of accidental and enforced maternity! Lust and sense-gratification in the marriage relation have received the earnest of their mortal wound! The ransom of the defrauded right to be well born has been begun! These valiant mothers have heralded throughout the broad earth that those divinely bestowed powers shall be no longer prostituted.

He who, thoughtful, sat day after day and looked into the fervid countenances and glistening eyes of the choicest of our nation's women; he who listened unwearied hour by hour to those ringing tones sounding out of the depths of bitter experience; he who felt that which could not be seen or heard—that undefined and undefinable heart-purpose; such a one was hushed and awed as in the presence of a power irresistible, the presage of a worldwide conquest.

In that assemblage hundreds caught their first vision of a better way leading up to a holier maternity, and the vision, though faint perhaps, was treasured in the inner chamber of the life which its ever-crescent glory shall some day illumine as the temple of a God. "Can it be," the question sprang to the lip, "that this creative power is mine to bestow when, and where, and how I will? Is there within me that carsening power which can mould the fruit of my tree of life to its divinest ideal? Have I at my own command a force which, like a flaming two-edged sword, if I but wield it valiantly, will protect my offspring from all harm?" No voice was given to these outbursts of the heart! Their sound entered into no human ears! But he who was sensitively attuned vibrated sympathetically and caught the harmony which, in time of fulfilment, shall fill the earth.

Aye! a better, a holier day is dawning! With the assembling of this Congress the angels came to the tomb wherein lies their crucified Lord, and their continued efforts must roll away the stone, for the ascension of this Divine Creator, sleeping, not dead, within every human heart. The inspired women shall unloose the grave-clothes of ignorance and self-gratification which have so long bound the essential Christ of Creation. Their glad part it shall be first to "see their risen Lord." Theirs the joyful privilege to take their husbands and brothers by the hand and lead them to view the discarded and worthless ceremonies which theretofore had only served to hide the Infinite which all the while had slumbered, unfruitful, within them! Oh! shall not the angels in heaven sing when these blessed women shall at last reveal the Divine Self ascended in glory of his creative power?

WHY THE PEOPLE ARE "SHORT."¹

BY HON. H. S. PINGREE,
Governor of Michigan.

THE general situation reminds me of a keeper of a boarding-house who had a colored gentleman as a boarder who was afflicted with an empty pocket-book. He called him on the carpet one day and told him he couldn't board him any longer. The boarder asked him why, and the landlord replied that he couldn't afford it. "Well," said the dorky, "why the debbil don't you sell out to somebody that can?" I am sorry to say there are too many people in this position to-day. Wealth can be produced in but one way. It must come from the application of human labor to the bounties of nature. Wealth must come from the soil of the earth or from things valuable found in the earth. National wealth is so produced. In this respect this country has been fortunate. Nature, untouched by man's hands, had the bounteous stores for our increasing population. The soil was fertile, the mines of coal, iron, and minerals were as originally formed.

Our population was recruited from that class in Europe which was used to labor and eager, under the new conditions in which they found themselves, to work faithfully. For a long series of years this country gained immensely in wealth. In the thirty years from 1860 to 1890 the *per-capita* valuation increased, in round numbers, from three hundred dollars per person to over one thousand dollars per person.

Our manufactories increased yearly. But for manufacturers there is needed capital. We borrow from Europe a large proportion of the capital needed, upon which and for other purposes we pay annually for interest a sum of over five millions in gold. This sum is absolutely lost to us as a nation, and yet it should not be necessary for us to borrow from others than our own people.

Under the new conditions of commerce and manufactures coöperation is essential. No one man has sufficient capital to carry on the large enterprises of to-day. Therefore coöperation has become the order of the day, and we have corporations in which many contribute each a small amount. But the business methods of our corporations have been so dishonest that our own people do not feel safe to invest their earnings in them. Our laws are lax and encourage dishonesty. If people with small means felt safe to loan their money to or take stock in corporations, and were properly protected by law from those on

¹ An Argument before the Commercial Club of Boston, Mass., March 18, 1897.

the ground floor, we should not have to borrow in Europe, and this tremendous sum could be kept at home. It is interest that is eating up the wealth of this nation. We all know what interest can do. Had Columbus placed one hundred dollars at interest at four per cent compounded as in a savings bank, the year he discovered America, he would to-day have been able to draw his check for fifty-eight billion dollars, or almost the wealth of the United States. With one dollar loaned at six and one-half per cent, which per cent is not unusual here in Boston, he could to-day have paid each man, woman, and child in the United States about fourteen thousand dollars.

The opportunities to amass immense fortunes by methods not strictly moral have been so great in the past twenty years, that the possession of great wealth has become a mania with us. Our reputation for honesty as a nation has suffered severely in Europe, and as a consequence they charge us more for money, and the interest upon what money we borrow is greater than it should be. Yet as a nation we are not dishonest. A limited number have been permitted to play ducks and drakes with our credit and have become dangerously wealthy. For a wealthy man with no moral principle is a dangerous man in the state. We have a few of that kind in Detroit, — men who want valuable franchises for nothing, and whose entire time is occupied in bribing and corrupting aldermen and city officials to give them something which belongs to the people, and which gift may then be bonded for a few millions and sold again at a profit to some "innocent holder." I say let the States reform their corporation laws, as I am told you have done here in Massachusetts, so that the small holder is protected, and you need not send to Europe to borrow money, and this tremendous interest charge will stay at home.

It is said that what this country needs is confidence. I agree with this; the country needs confidence in the business methods of our large concerns, and money to carry them on will soon be forthcoming. The best place to begin to build up confidence in us as a nation, is to begin to reform our municipal governments. Honesty must be our motto, and confidence will come. I believe that all manufacturers in the West are thinking alike on the question of prices. Prices are at a standstill, and a rise or fall awaits the rise or fall of farm products. Manufacturers of the West are waiting. Large blocks of their customers are out of employment. They do not see clearly that employment will offer soon. But should it offer next summer, a great deal of it being discounted, it will be a year at least before these customers of ours can catch up. Even when we reach the expectancy of the turning-point there will still be something that must be removed to hasten it.

We have been having bad times, and they are still with us. Yet we pay as big salaries to public servants in bad times as in good times. The gentleman who has been serving in the capacity of president through the bad times drew fifty thousand dollars every year. And, by the way, that is said to be the identical amount of shortage which President Washington charged to profit and loss at the end of his two terms. Things, as you will perceive, are somewhat changed. It is the people and not the president who are short in modern times.

Perhaps this is a part of the so-called progress of a nation. But if the United States keep on in this line of evolution, or rather of retrogression, we may in time return to our original happy condition of indifference to boots and shoes. I say in all seriousness that public expenditure is severely felt. Our prices may fluctuate, but taxation is steadfast. The condition of the farmers of the West is not good. When I see the prices of farms fall I begin to think of working down the prices of boots and shoes. I wish that I had the power, at the same time, to work down public expenditure. But large bodies must move slowly. And of all large bodies the great body of tax-eaters is the slowest to respond to pressure and at the same time the quickest to respond to the dinner-horn. Were trade and taxation a double thermometer you would see trade — boots and shoes inclusive — at the zero point while taxation is still at ninety degrees in the shade. If you are not foolish, do not talk of economy to the friend of the wealthy man. And do not mention salaries in the presence of officials or of doctors of divinity, unless you mean to raise them.

I say to you men of Boston that trade's customers must be taxed only in due proportion to their earnings. You have a wise man here in the East who says that railroads should be taxed only upon gross earnings. This means that the railroad tax should take a sliding-scale in proportion to the volume of business. I accept it; but I would apply the method to all. His rule has been in force in Michigan for many years. There the railroads have been taxed and are still taxed upon gross earnings. And with this result: the farmers, the producers of Michigan, have paid four times their proportion of taxation compared with the railroads. The farmers have no sliding-scale. These farmers are the customers of the manufacturers, and the unequal tax restricts our market. I always like to see my customers in good financial condition.

I am obliged to throw one grave doubt upon the gross-earnings system of taxation. Under this system the railroads assess themselves. The assessor can find out what a farmer owns. But he cannot verify the reported gross earnings of a railroad. I do not know but what Charles Francis Adams is right. But Mr. Adams's conclusions differ from my own experience. They tell me that Mr. Adams is an advocate

of the taxation of the gross earnings of railroads as a system. And I am surprised that anybody in the East advocates an income tax, for a tax on gross earnings is an income tax. I suppose, however, that everybody would be satisfied with an income tax, as the railroads of Michigan are, providing that, like those railroads, they had no other tax to pay, and that the bulk of taxation was thus shifted upon others.

Railroads are not anxious to show their books. I tried one time to get the street railroads of Detroit to show up. I told them that, if they gave me free access to their books in order to ascertain the cost of construction, cost of rolling stock, cost of maintenance, and cost of operation, I would allow any rate of fare for a generous profit. They refused. I then asked the circuit court to oblige them to show up, and the court refused. I take the position that the public are partners in all systems of transportation, and as partners have a right to know all. Transportation is not a private business by any means.

If the gross-earnings system is right for railroads, it ought to be right for all classes. If the gross earnings of railroads are accepted without investigation, as they always have been, then whatever the farmer says his gross earnings may be must be accepted with like trustfulness. But this is not business, and we all know it. The only way is to assess all alike, and under some equitable method. All I want to do with transportation in Michigan in the way of taxation is to have it pay its share in due proportion to values. I want to see fair play for my customers — and, incidentally, for yours.

I dare say you have heard and read of the wild slashing of railroads by your humble servant in the way of rates of fare. Here are the facts in brief: In Michigan for many years some of the roads have been operating under what is called the general railroad act. Others under old special charters. Some, under the general railroad act, are confined to a fare of two cents per mile. Those under the old special charter are taking three cents per mile. This condition of affairs existed long before I expected to become Governor. You may inquire if these differences were caused by density of population through which the various railroads run? And I answer, not at all. The fact is, the Chicago & Grand Trunk, whose local fares are two cents per mile, runs through less population than the Michigan Central, whose local fares are three cents per mile. The president of the Michigan Central says that, if you compare the fares in the densely populated East with Michigan-Central fares, you will find that the Michigan Central is entitled to double the fare charged. If that is so there must be something wrong in the East. But it is over a fourth of a century ago since the Michigan-Central fare was established, with the consent of the company, when there was the population of the present time tributary to this rail-

road. Talk about the density of population is in the nature of rubbish. The business fact is, that any railroad which is only making expenses, or less, has only one recourse to make money, and that is to lower rates. And stockholders and bondholders ought to know it. Were this plain business principle put in force, there would be no such thing as a receiver if managers were honest. We do not run the boot-and-shoe business on the perpetual high-price system, because we do not sell watered stocks.

The fall in railroad passenger rates has not come down, however, with the fall in other prices. In 1865, when I left Boston for Detroit, it cost me \$19.25, first-class ticket. Yesterday it cost me \$17.65 to come here from Detroit, only about eight per cent cheaper. A pair of shoes which sold in 1865 for \$4.50 now sells for \$2.25, a cheapening of fifty per cent. The cheapening of material and labor which go into a pair of shoes has not been greater than the cheapening of material and labor which go into the construction or maintenance of a railroad. Railroad rates are indirect taxes levied upon commerce contributed by the many to enrich the few. Just so long as the foolish capitalists of the East persist in buying watered stock, just so long will your customer in the West remain too poor to buy your manufactured goods. And I sincerely trust that the time will soon arrive when the purchase of watered stock will be regarded in the same light as highway robbery.

So positive am I that plain business does not enter into the conduct of railroads that I would venture to guarantee the best returns on the stocks and bonds of our Michigan railroads, even to the present limit of watered stocks, if the railroads were operated on half the present rates. The earning capacity of the railroads of Michigan is not half developed in consequence of unbusinesslike charges and methods. Where the earning capacity of railroads is not fully developed it has an evil effect upon the earnings of the State. And as a consequence there are less boots and shoes worn. But all I am after in Michigan is to proceed upon the lines laid down by the action of my predecessors. I act upon the principle that no business shall get ahead of my business, if I can help it. I want all to have a fair share. But I see where shrewd corporations are getting more than their share. I do not want to see my customers taxed poor. I want to see them wear more boots and shoes — especially shoes. I know I have the sympathy of all manufacturers except some who are getting a bigger rake-off by connection with some unreasonably protected corporation.

Speaking about protection puts me in mind. We all want protection. But do we get it? Even when the tariff is raised? In order to get it we must watch transportation rates. Under a decision of the United States court we are partly at the mercy of transportation. A

case was brought at New Orleans some time ago, and the facts, as disclosed, showed that the railroads carried boots and shoes at different rates to San Francisco. For boots and shoes and other merchandise manufactured at New Orleans, or sold by jobbers there, the rate to San Francisco was \$3.07 per hundred. But for imported boots and shoes and other merchandise of similar class the rate was \$1.07. The Supreme Court sustained this method of transportation. I do not know the reasons for it. I do not care to know them. My care is to point out that the principle or expedient of national protection is defeated in part by the decision. But if there is to be international reciprocity of rates of transportation we ought to know something of it; and so should Congress to regulate it properly. We have abolished the lottery, and we are engaged in stamping out the common kind of gambling; but the higher forms of gambling are untouched.

Taxation must be placed on those who can bear it, or there is an end to successful business. Our customers are loaded down with taxation. From extortionate rates of fares, freights, and charges of all kinds, computed by the companies, down to the oleomargarine spread on bread, the evil descends, increasing as it goes in an enormous burden of excessive indirect taxation. And the far greater share of such taxation goes to the increased concentration of private wealth and not to the public benefit. The tariff operates to the manufacture of consumers. We have a land that can fully support at least ten times the present population. In the interest of manufacturers I say that sound business should not be silent in the face of gambling methods. Manufacturers should be active as against the imposition of unjust taxation either direct or indirect upon their customers. All of our higher political efforts have been along the line of the manufacture of consumers. But we have stood idly by when those consumers have been fleeced by stock and bond jobbing. We have stood idly by when transportation has levied blackmail, and when State legislatures have imposed excessive rates of fares and freights, and when common councils of cities have been parties to open robbery of the men and women who are our customers, and when wealth escaped taxation.

Western cities have suffered through reaction from speculative investments in suburban lands. Banks advanced money freely for this purpose, and some of them have been obliged to scale down stock in consequence. No small sum has thus been concentrated in the hands of a few of the speculators. Speculation also entered the industrial field, to the manifest injury of the industries themselves. I speak of speculation in the sense of the unsound or hazardous, not in the sense of legitimate prospective demand for necessary use. All that has ceased; but its effects are still apparent. It drew money into a few hands

which is slow of regaining circulation. Money is now willing to go into only legitimate business, but business is slow in gathering itself, because so many people cannot afford the actual necessities. Seemingly as if to adjust itself to current conditions opinion is prevalent that all will be well when weak branches are lopped off. There is a disposition to confide in the doctrine of the survival of the fittest. This carries the supposition that the fittest will have no opposition until they are making more money than they ought to make. That would be the natural course.

But we see that the natural course of business is obstructed by trusts. They have provided an artificial business. They stand in relation to free business as toll-gates to free travel, — with this difference: they hold the power to raise the tolls. They lower at competition. They raise in its absence. When profits introduce competition, they lower to wear it out. If, therefore, as opinion seems to claim, the current trend of slow liquidation is to proceed to the survival of the fittest, who can say that the survivors will not become allies of the trusts? I have no faith in the law that seeks to provide punishment for those engaged in monopolizing business, as a remedy for the wrong. If ordinary competition proves helpless, and statutory law must be the resort, that law can only be of avail which provides competition as against trusts. If trusts are superior to the State and national laws, which are of practical operation as against others, the authorities of the State or nation, representing a people injured by such trusts, will be finally forced into competitive business to compel monopolists to respect their representative powers. Control, like equity, is a good thing if you can get it, and no way should be left untried to secure it; but it is a very difficult thing to get into working order.

We only remember our customers in a vague way. Yet we have it in our hands to protect them. I mean the customers that consume the goods, those who make the final payment, the great body of people who wear boots and shoes. We are all borrowers more or less, and those from whom we borrow should have their proper recompense. But those from whom we borrow are in the same boat with ourselves.

Our customers, therefore, are our reliance for support and for credit, since if they fail us, we fail. Our credit must be maintained. The man without customers has no credit. We talk about markets in big words. But our customers are our markets. I think sometimes we are a little bit cowardly. But cowardice can take refuge either in conservatism or radicalism. Fair play is always brave. Let us try fair play. Our customers need it. For corporations and for manufacturers the cunningest thing is to be honest.

TRADE UNIONS UNDER THE SOLONIC LAW.

BY HON C. OSBORNE WARD,

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PARALLEL with events which occurred among the great Aryan and Semitic races of mankind, portrayed in history, which has choicely depicted the deeds of the rich and the great in power and influence, there is a dark side whose importance, little known or recognized, has always been felt and is now being considered worthy of record.

This new phase of history gained its germ of growth and popularity from Adam Smith, who proved that labor is the basis of the wealth of nations and the first economic factor of political economy. The world which was surprised at his announcement, finds itself again surprised at the growth of the claims of the laborer, who has been humbly carrying upon his unhonored shoulders the ponderous task which made the history of kings and queens, their wars and their conquests, a possibility. These have had their Polybius, their Thucydides, their Livy, and numberless other historians, while the creator of their means of glory and renown has remained without a recognition. Suddenly in our late century this discovery, that labor was all the time the basis of so much, is opening the minds of other thinkers and writers; and these are now busy researching into the life and values of the great laborer, referred to by Adam Smith, who was eschewed, and whose creations were appropriated by the happier ones, leaving him unwritten and unmentioned in the pages of those who sought favors belonging to power. The grounds upon which this new parallel in history is being built are the jottings that here and there protrude through the beetling cliffs and the miry lowlands of time.

It is my desire to present in this paper some of the authentic and most prominent historical elements of this contemporaneous unknown man, who has worked in the presence of his more fortunate neighbor, created the wealth of nations, and made the fame and the history of the great, but who too often received as his recompense, slavery, dishonor, and repudiation.

THE EGYPTIAN SIDE.

Amasis II of Egypt required, on pain of death, that all the people should give an account, in some sort of yearly census, of how they got their living; and Herodotus declares that Solon, who knew Amasis personally, established the same law at Athens. The law included the

right, and probably a command, to organize ; and census agents had but to go to the rolls of membership or the club meetings and obtain from the officers the material for their schedules.

Certain hieroglyphs recently deciphered also show that Egypt gave the right of organization for economic purposes to working people, and required of them that they should inscribe the doings of their unions on stone and wooden tablets. This method, originally serving for the census reports, explains the curious habit of the ancient inscriptions. Proof has been deciphered that the unions of the Egyptian working people existing at the time the monuments were constructed, had successful strikes for better wages and conditions. Scholars are now searching among the Egyptian writings for more evidence. When the fragments are all compiled and published it will be seen that these organizations were a social power in Egypt as early as the time of Moses, and that their members, though slaves, dared quarrel with the Pharaohs for better food and treatment. In Philo's time they were numerous, stretching up the Nile as far as the island of Philæ, and were not without a philosophy and a literature ; while their influence upon the new civilization budding in Palestine was felt not only on the Nile, but in Asia Minor.

THE GREEK SIDE.

Every evidence corroborates the belief that the great *jus coeundi* of Solon was the Egyptian law which Herodotus says Solon promulgated in Athens. It was conspicuously engraved upon a large tablet and placed in the Prytaneum, that celebrated democratic townhall where the officials had their common meals at public expense. Indeed, the old Prytaneum was the natural place for it ; for the Solonic organization had a common table and a communal code. Solon's law applied to all Greek-speaking people who depended upon physical and mental effort for a living. This great edict, or statute, gave the right of free combination to at least nine trades ; and in those simpler times nine occupations, with their ramifications, engrossed the industries of agriculture and of mechanics, the shipping and boating business, even the corsair traffic ; and it covered the great fields of pedagogy and of entertainment, including music, fortune-telling, sorcery, astrology, the races, and the theatre. Asia Minor, Palestine, and much of southeastern Europe were its fields, and there are evidences of its having thrived beyond the Euphrates.

One branch, having charge of entertainments, was a truly international federation of labor. It is distinctly known by its peculiar inscriptions, which are very numerous. Böckh was the archæologist who first characterized it as the "great society." After him, Lüders, the epigraphist for the academy of inscriptions of Vienna, and now consul-

general for Austria stationed at Athens, wrote an almost amazing description of them in his book on the artists of Dionysus. Foucart had preceded him in his Latin work on the Greek-speaking scenic tradesmen, while Mommsen's similar Latin work on the *collegia* explains the nature of its branches in Italy. Mauri, Oehler, Cagnat, and others have published descriptions of them. It was a vast union or federation of brotherhoods. Their principal centre was in the Doric Hexiod. They worshipped the god Dionysus, the martyr who gave up his life for the common people, and whose spirit was believed to be hovering in loving watchfulness, as protector of labor and the fruits of the earth. He was least of seven gods of this name mentioned in the ancient theogony. The members were not aristocratic enough to pass the rigid scrutiny of the *dokimasia*, and were excluded from membership in the state official religion. They could not swear, like Demosthenes or Hadrian, that for seven consecutive years they had not been obliged to perform manual toil. They were of the outcast family of mankind. They could perform labor and sell its products to those citizens and aristocrats, but could never become fully recognized citizens themselves. This is a distinctive feature of their history. So they manufactured, composed, taught, and managed entertainments for others, only for the recompense due their genius and skill, which were sometimes brilliant and powerful. It is now admitted by experts engaged in deciphering the inscriptions they have left, that they arrived at a high eminence in art.

Among the newly discovered monuments which are fixed by the professors of the academies of science to the credit of these Dionysan artists, are three inscriptions of written music. These completely overthrow the aged belief that the ancients did not write music. In a recent visit to the scenes of these discoveries, I received much new information through personal interviews with many of the savants, notably with MM. Foucart, Cagnat, and Théodore Reinach, members of the French Academy. The national school of inscriptions at the palace of the Institute detailed M. Reinach to work out the new musical finds from Tralles and Delphi. Tralles, in Lydia, was one of the seats or central abodes of what Böckh, managing archæologist of the Body of Greek Inscriptions (*Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*) compiled by the Berlin Academy, called the "Great Dionysan Federation." The piece is inscribed on a tombstone. It is an epitaph in poetry on death, with the music set to the words. The deceased was a rich or well-to-do resident of Tralles; and as the artists held at that time—about B. C. 100—the almost supreme control of the labor market, it was doubtless composed for him and at his request by the Dionysan artists. M. Reinach, who published a key to the musical powers of certain hitherto incom-

prehensible characters not belonging to the Greek alphabet, has written a description of this so-called *seikilos*, found at Tralles.

Ancient Greek music was written in a straight line, and not in a scale by ascending and descending tones. There were many characters, each of a different power, and the tone was known by the shape rather than the position of the note.

Scientists of the Athenian School, who are conducting extensive excavations under the auspices and at the expense of the French government, a couple of years ago found at Delphi a hymn to Apollo, with both music and words. This strange literature is legibly engraved on a 23 by 28 inch marble tablet set in the pronaos of the great temple of Apollo, and may have been the hymn chanted by the Pythian priestess when in her mephitic trance. This inscription was published in 1894, and is called the first find. Some account of it was given in the newspapers at the time.

Last year another discovery was made at Delphi. It is that of a second hymn to Apollo, which is creating an extraordinary interest. It was not fully heliographed, analyzed, and given to the world until this year. The impressions, together with the analysis made by MM. Reinach and Weil, are given in heliograph. When I saw him, M. Reinach had finished his wonderful work of bringing out the types and tropes of the music, and I obtained from his hand some rare copies. He assured me that I could not get an original print of this curiosity even from the king of Greece, because the government of France holds a monopoly of its own excavations, where these results are obtained by it with great labor and expense. The instrumentation is not given, although there can be no doubt that the hands which elaborated the air here given were capable of inscribing the instrumental accompaniments.

The Dionysan federated artists chiselled many tablets showing that they possessed fine musical schools, in some of which competitive prizes were awarded. Terms applied by them to the various teachers, musical instruments, forms of poetry, and value of prizes are made familiar. Various prizes were striven for by the young musicians studying as amateurs, notably boys belonging to families of the wealthy, desiring this accomplishment to complete their education. Listed records of these prizes bring to our knowledge more than twenty, legibly detailed on a slab. No. 3,088 of the C. I. G. of the Berlin Academy contains a list of the prizes successfully competed for at the synod of Teos. The Delphic international federation of actors and musicians, organized under the Solonic law, also contested for prizes. According to MM. Weil, Reinach, and Crusius, the two Delphic hymns to Apollo referred to were produced by the Dionysan artists, after the

conquest of Greece by the Romans, or during the latter half of the second century before Christ.

These organizations also practised sorcery, and made a study of numerous arts of innocent deception common in those days. There were branches of them, members of which wandered about the country picking up a living by all sorts of fortune-telling, drolleries, and vagabondage. They were the original fakirs who mumbled and deceived under the cloak of religion. Lucian, who could not bear deception, declared that their members deserved a sound whipping. These practices of people organized to obtain a living, and evidently profiting out of the right granted by the law of Solon, found religion an excellent shield behind which to ply their various arts of wonderworking. Numerous inscriptions, and frequent mention of this by writers of their times, are being looked up and noted. Before they became christianized they frequently imposed upon the credulous, and even resorted to debauchery and abuse of morals. There is now an abundant chain of evidence establishing a long suspected point, that these habits and customs were denounced by the apostles who early went among them, and that they were condemned by them as abominations. Such was the character of society at large in those days, however, that immoralities like those practised by the organizations were not considered to be of much importance until they came to be anathematized by the missionaries from Palestine, who planted the more refined culture among them. A study of this delicate subject reveals historical matter of great weight, showing the causes of Paul's troubles, so long known, yet so little understood. Advocating in theory almost the same principles — such as one God; equality of mankind; abolition of slavery; the principle of love instead of hatred; the socialism of the family as a microcosm of the state; an immovable belief in a Saviour; periodical choice of officers; marriage with one partner; schools and educational facilities; universal brotherhood; steadfast practice by the communities of a democratic ballot; piety, truthfulness, and goodness as sworn requisites of membership; the meals of the members partaken at the communal table, and the identical nomenclature for officers, establishments, and functions which are familiar to us in the congregations of to-day; — all these tend to simplify objections and clear away the mysteries which have puzzled Dr. Lightfoot and other learned commentators. Did this identity of their role on earth make them open their hearts and their temples to the good emissaries from Jerusalem? Yes.

But when they were bidden to reform from their long-time habits of making a living by their various arts, whether of image-making, as demonstrated in the story of Demetrius, and, later, in the great polemics with the iconoclasts, or professional, as shown in the quarrels at Corinth,

where, when required to abandon their hideous abominations in the worship of the Kotytto-Cybele, mother of the One God Dionysus, there was rebellion and trouble. It interfered with their getting a living! Still, when they saw Paul patiently dividing his time between tent-making by day and teaching by night, they loved him. He was a tent- and scene-maker — *scenopoios*. If we are to believe his own words, he would accept nothing he did not work and pay for.

At Corinth, Philippi, Puteoli, and Rome the mellow ground of many a trade union, then called *hetæra* and *collegium*, was dug up anew, and its fruits were recultivated and improved from temple to church. The letters of Pliny and Trajan are Roman history. These men were personal friends, and the latter had made Pliny governor of Bithynia. A rescript ordered persecution, even to death, of those who would not attend and bring money for the sacrifices for the official religion. Formerly the unions did this in order to be on good terms with the greater official temples, and consequently with the state religion, which was a part of the government of Rome. They received, on their own part, great numbers of orders for work, which their artificers performed at good living wages. To refuse attendance was rebellion against the Roman law, punishable with death.

This simple explanation, in fact, accounts for the great persecutions; and when better understood it will clear away the clouds of wonderment at the fact that many of the persecuting emperors were full of tender emotions toward the objects of their alleged rage. Such emotions are known to have broken at least one emperor's heart. But the law must be obeyed. Pliny, who was kind of heart, saw the deficit in the treasury; but on probing the members, found them so "pious, truthful, and good," that his feelings rebelled against carrying out the law, and he wrote down his sentiments to the emperor, openly calling them Christians four times in his letter, which accurately describes both the tenets and the men of those ancient brotherhoods. The answer is pitiful. The money must be forced into the treasury; and Trajan, seemingly in his tears, tells him so. So poor Pliny tortures and kills a number, forces the rest back to the old attendance and purchase of sacrifices, and tells us how much money was realized by such compulsory cruelty. But his heart was won by them; for we again find him begging the emperor, and this time for the paltry privilege of organizing a *hetæra*, or union, of smiths, promising that no more than one hundred and fifty should be initiated. The emperor, in refusing, bids Pliny remember the former troubles caused by their lawlessness. These celebrated letters from both parties are all extant.

Scintillations of this sort crop out all along the geographical lines where the great organizations under the Solonic law existed; but history

had well-nigh forgotten these organizations when the fresh light of the inscriptions began to illumine the field. Perhaps their greatest value and aid to permanent civilization was in their endless opposition to slavery. This their inscriptions now abundantly show. It is the archæologist rather than the historian who acknowledges it.

Visiting the great museum of Athens I wandered through many gilded rooms set in the most studious order; among others those containing Dr. Schliemann's new and wonderful *trouvailles* of gold plate, and chains, and crowns, and daggers of the great warriors, kings, and queens of antiquity, sung by Homer and chronicled by Thucydides and Pausanias, — things astonishing and beautiful; but nothing which I had come so far to see. Indeed I should have found nothing had I not remembered the words of our consul-general, Mr. Eben Alexander, and likewise followed my learned guide, and our dragoman, outside the vast building, where, tumbled about in the open air or in unsightly sheds, lay hundreds of quaint and dusty slabs of ancient workmanship, whose dim legends told of an *eranos* or a *koinon*, sometimes as an epitaph, and sometimes recording a convivial, a prominent event, a resolution, or a rule. I had at last invaded the homotaphs and found the relics of the men whose labor built up that power and splendor, and shaped the classic poniards that lay in the palatial edifice.

Thus I found the museum of Athens divided into two parts, one furnishing data for a history of the social life of nations among those who toiled in slavery, and who invented, constructed, submitted, suffered in want, and perished; the other recalling the great in influence, backed by military power, — rulers who established laws for self-aggrandizement. The men of letters made history, which belittles or never mentions the creative force, on whose mudsills and girders was based the old, evanescent edifice of religion and of government; and the moral and creative ethics of the poor man is nearly all that now remains except these classic keepsakes. His archaic civilization has slowly differentiated out of its abominations and crudities, and our far-off century sees it fledging into a brilliant enlightenment, with a purer and more democratical religion.

The feature distinguishing these organizations is, that they were almost purely economical. Their uppermost question was the problem of existence; and this is the great subject before trade unions to-day. It is true that in appearance they were religious, which very naturally caused the modern epigraphists engaged in collection and translation to suppose that they were themselves communicants of the established official religion. Closer study of the evidence now at hand corroborates the admissions of Mommsen, Oehler, and Cagnat, that this was a dissimulation, working as a bid to the great official state

temples, whose members did not perform labor, to secure not only protection, but also the favor of the priests, for the sake of the employment and the pay. That they followed a separate religion of their own, and in their own way, is shown by the fact that they were severely persecuted by the Athenians for introducing false divinities into Attica. For centuries these organizations worked for the Athenians, furnishing the entertainments, the music, the idols, the images, and the paraphernalia of their celebrated mysteries. It has been discovered that, while they in this manner worked harmoniously for the state, and paid in their sacrificial money, yet they themselves had a poor men's worship, with their own entertainments, convivia, symposiums, and thousands of little temples or home asylums. As our college is from the ancient Roman *collegium*, or trade union, with its original schoolhouse, where, by the aid and consent of Augustus and Livia, the wood-workers learned to read, so our church, name and all, is from *kurioikos*, the home-house and asylum of the unions of the ancient Greeks. This home-house, or primitive "church," was also an eating-house; and we know by inscriptions how much the members paid monthly as their common quota for their meals at its common table.

THE ROMAN SIDE.

About the time that Solon's law was enacted, a similar right was given to the laboring people of Italy, to an almost unlimited organization, by Numa Pompilius, king of Rome. It is known to have applied to the musicians, goldsmiths, masons, dyers, shoemakers, tanners, braziers, and potters. It worked so well that in course of time it was engraved on one of the Twelve Tables of Roman laws. Gaius, the jurist, who lived before these precious documents were destroyed, and who appears to have consulted them, declares that this was a translation of Solon's law, and his words are inscribed in the Digest. Under this well-known statute, the right of trade unionism went into common law, and became sacred to mechanics and laborers. From this are obtained our first historical clews regarding the laboring population of Italy.

The Solonic law, therefore, whether inspired by Amasis, Solon, or Numa, was, in Italy, the source of an enormous social and political organization and agitation. After the great conquests, when all nationalities became subject to Rome, it was practically one law, and to a large extent one organization. Thus the ancient *jus coeundi* spread over the world, so as to give it an appearance of legalizing one great federated brotherhood which extended over all countries. It is in this age and condition of the Solonic law that a list of its organizations may best be given. Their names for the various countries belonging to Rome are on record about as follows:

For Asia Minor, Greece, Macedonia, Rhodes and other Greek islands, they took the appellations, using the singular, of Eranos, Thiasos, Hetæra, Homotaphos or burial association, Orgiastic worshippers, Baptists, Koinon or cœnobium, Therapeut or healing association, etc. The latter also acted as a moral guardian.

For Italy, Spain, Gaul, and the westward islands, they had the name of Collegium or trade union, Sodalicium or companionship, Corpus or "body" of brothers, etc.; and these are divided into the thirty-five regular trade unions enumerated in the law of Constantine.

For Palestine there were the Essenes and the Ebionites or brotherhood of the poor.

With these various names the organization under the Solonic law was, at the time of the crucifixion, struggling against persecution, slavery, and poverty, and had become intensely secret on account of the Roman conspiracy laws.

With the Roman conquests, labor's side of the historic parallel begins; and it is a highly respectable fountain. By following its course along the stream of time we shall find what this right of combination has accomplished. Plutarch says that Numa reigned forty-three years, during which time he wisely discountenanced strife. So soon as he was dead, however, the doors of the war-god's temple, in which this peaceful monarch had so long kept him confined, were opened, and Mars sprang out. The unions of earth-workers and of metal- and wood-workers became ditchers and sling- and sword-makers. They set to work manufacturing war implements in vast quantities for the army, being employed and paid by the Roman government on a basis of time and recompense nearly the same as demanded by the most radical labor agitations at the present day. Yet this sweeping government employment, which for hundreds of years made their lives easy, did not elevate them permanently to any dignified position, because, under the ancient competitive system, the law forbade them the hope of rising above the social conditions in which they were born. They were accorded no recognition, and even if they wrote their history, like the works of Nymphodorus, it was lost. But for their inscriptions and an occasional word inadvertently dropped by writers who recorded the doings made possible on account of the military implements thus furnished, few would now know how Rome became the conqueror of the world. This reveals something of the strictly social side of the story of the working people.


It could no longer be said that organized labor took no part in politics. Labor gained a lively advantage in the debates enjoyed at the meetings of the branches and clubs. Then as now, advantages were best realized through law; but a powerful aristocracy opposed, and

a hundred and fifty years from the time of their friend Numa, their political power, as expressed in the tribunes, had grown to be so great that Livy, in his hitherto incomprehensible passage on the "*solitudo magistratum*," admits that the domination of the house of lords was broken by the lower stratum, in a clear measure of numbers, and that for five years there was no representative in the Roman senate, the commons having exclusive control. Mommsen read and understood this dark page in history, but had not the courage to restore it. The lords, seeing their downfall imminent, hit upon the cunning but desperate policy of the conquests, which turned the tide of the industries of Rome out of the peaceful into the warlike, and in time uprooted the political foothold of these voting proletarian organizations. By thus turning their powers into warlike channels they became instruments of death and destruction, which continued fully four hundred years. This policy reduced millions to slavery, and resulted in a havoc that threatened for a time to depopulate the world. A consequence of its murderous rage was the conspiracy laws and restrictions against the working people's right of combination. No one has properly written this bloody page in history.

It is supposed by some of the archæologists interested in their inscriptions, that these unions were guilds. Closer comparative study confirms the opinion that they were pure trade unions. Guilds were the product of the feudal ages long afterwards. The ancient unions did not enrich the few at the expense of the many. They took care of their members as well as their government. Even while engaged in furnishing military implements for those cruel wars, which, indeed, were to work their own destruction, they went on with the old work of making sewers and bridges as before.

About 450 B. C., the venerated law of Numa, known to have enjoyed for ages unlimited scope, and to have organized enormous masses of the breadwinning class, was attacked by the aristocratic gens Claudia, in the person of Appius, its powerful representative. The organization suffered, but it could not be destroyed. It actually grew inveterate in its secret forms, outliving the suppressions of the Cæsars, and continued to be an economic contingent didactically, socially, and politically, and was strong until suppressed by the council of Laodicea, thus maintaining itself against opposition for fully a thousand years. During the greater part of this time its tenacity of life caused it to writhe through many a dark vicissitude, while being fought by the lords because its political growth was feared and hated, as at this day.

Nor were its strifes without scenes of blood. Close analysis shows that Cicero, who fought the tribune Clodius with the double weapons of eloquence and power, because the latter took the part of the laborers



and restored their right of organization, which this renowned orator had suppressed, lost both his property and his life in that very struggle; that Julius Cæsar suppressed their organizations again; that Christianity was welcomed by them, and nestled and grew in the warm, loving brotherhoods; that Nero ignited the conflagration which consumed Rome, and boasted that he did it to destroy this rabble because their existence was a menace to the power and sacred supremacy of the house of Claudius, of which he imagined himself a lineal descendant.

But perhaps the most remarkable conclusion arrived at by this analysis of evidence is, that the organization of labor to-day was largely planted and cultivated in the mellow ground of these ancient brotherhoods, and that it lives and flourishes because it was nourished in secrecy by them until it could stand alone.

Such is the strange account, in outline, of labor under the Solonic law.

CANADA: ITS POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND DESTINY.

BY J. G. BOURINOT, C. M. G., LL. D., D. C. L.,

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THIRTY years have passed away since the Canadian Provinces entered upon a new era of political development, and whatever may be the defects of their federal system, it must be admitted that it has on the whole come up to the expectations of its founders. Already the Confederation, originally confined to four provinces, embraces all the territory between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Within a few years a new province has grown up in the vast Northwest, whose natural capabilities for the cultivation of cereals are now generally recognized; whence, in the course of a few decades of years, a considerable proportion of the world's supply of wheat must come. One great railway which had been long vainly desired by the people of British North America, was built soon after the consolidation of the provinces, and the western country connected with the provinces by the sea. A greater work, clearly of imperial as well as colonial interest, absolutely essential to the settlement of the Northwest and to the unity of the Dominion, has been completed between the Pacific Ocean and the old provinces. Short lines of railway have been built to connect with the three great roads of the Dominion, the Intercolonial, the Canadian Pacific, and the Grand Trunk. The canals have been enlarged so as to give greater facilities for Western traffic, and, if possible, to make the St. Lawrence the principal artery for the rich agricultural country which lies around and beyond the Lakes. Manufactures have sprung up through the artificial stimulus given to capital and industry by a fiscal policy which, whatever English economists may think of its soundness, and however much it may be antagonistic to those principles of free trade which prevail in Great Britain, seems to have originated in the aspirations of a large body of the people to possess a "national policy." The aggregate trade of the Dominion, that is of the imports and exports, has increased in twenty-five years from \$135,000,000 to \$255,000,000, and the revenue has doubled within the same period. The people have now on deposit at interest in the various banks, loan, building, and other companies probably \$120,000,000, or \$24 for every man, woman, and child in Canada.

In addition to its effect upon the material condition of the country, confederation has stimulated the intellectual development of the people. Educational facilities have been improved; the newspaper

press has largely increased in influence, and not a few works of historical and constitutional value have been produced by Canadian authors; while art, scientific, and literary associations — especially the Royal Society, founded by the Marquis of Lorne — have been stimulated under the inspiration of the more progressive ideas which have been the outcome of a political system which has given a wider scope to intellectual action.

But the most important result of confederation has undoubtedly been the more intimate political, social, and commercial relations that the provinces have with each other. Previous to 1867, while each province had a government and tariff of its own, little intercourse was possible, but now the Maritime and Western sections are brought necessarily into immediate contact with one another, and made to feel that they have a common interest in each other's prosperity. The different races that inhabit Canada have been harmonized to an extent that would hardly have been possible under any other system. The million and a half of people who speak the French language, and still form a distinct section of the population, are found working earnestly with the English-speaking majority in promoting the interests of the whole Dominion. Yet half a century ago the French Canadian people were in rebellion. If we find them now happy and contented, it is because they have at last attained that self-government for which they so long contended previous to 1840, and have special guarantees for the preservation of those institutions to which they are deeply attached. In the same way the Irish are seen working alongside the English and French for the advancement of those interests in which all are equally interested.

When framing the constitution of the Dominion, Canadian statesmen had before them the invaluable experience of the working of two great systems of government — the one in the parent state, the other in the United States. In considering the best method of consolidating the provinces under a federal system they were necessarily guided by the experiences of the great country on their borders. At the same time, while availing themselves of the best features of the American federation, they endeavored to preserve as far as possible those English institutions which are calculated to give stability to their government. The result of their efforts is a constitution which, in the words of the original resolutions of confederation, "follows the model of the British constitution, so far as our circumstances will permit."

The history of the circumstances under which the name "Dominion" came to be given to the united provinces shows the desire of the Canadians to give to the confederation, at the very outset, a monarchical likeness in contradistinction to the republican character of the American

federal union. We have it on the best authority that in 1866-7 the question arose during a conference between the Canadian delegates and the imperial authorities what name should be given to the confederation of the provinces, and it was first proposed that it should be called "the kingdom of Canada"; but it is said that the English ministry thought such a designation inadvisable, chiefly on the ground that it would be probably objectionable to the government of the United States, which had so recently expressed its disapprobation of the attempt of the Emperor Napoleon to establish an imperial European dynasty in Mexico. It is difficult to understand how any parallel could be fairly drawn between the two cases, and most persons, less sensitive than the English ministers, will probably consider that it was paying but a poor compliment to the common sense of the American people to suppose that they could take offence, on any reasonable grounds, at the Canadians, the subjects of the Queen, calling their confederation by a name which would simply illustrate their attachment to those monarchical institutions under which they have been living for a hundred and thirty-four years. However, the Canadian delegates made due allowance for the delicacy of the sentiment of the imperial government, and agreed as a compromise to the less ambitious title, Dominion of Canada, a designation recalling that old Dominion, named by Raleigh in honor of the virgin Queen.

The Dominion is governed by a central government in accordance with a written constitution known as the British North America Act, while each province still retains such an administrative and legislative machinery as is essential to its provincial existence. The executive government and authority over Canada are vested in the Queen, but as the sovereign cannot be present in the Dominion to perform those acts of state which the constitution requires at her hands, she is represented by a Governor-General, chosen every five years on the advice of her constitutional advisers. The permanency of the executive is a feature of their government which the Canadians have learned to value by comparison with the elective system of the United States. The Governor-General of Canada is appointed without the country being excited by a political contest, the issue of which at times is dangerous to the whole body politic. It is only necessary to consider the crisis through which the American republic has so recently passed, to understand the nature of the peril in which the nation finds itself every four years. From such dangers Canada is happily free under her constitution, which makes the sovereign the permanent head of the executive, and removes her representative from the turmoil of political controversy. In the administration of public affairs, the Governor-General is guided by the *advice of responsible advisers, representing the opinions of the majority of the legislature.* In Canada, for many years past, the policy of the

imperial government has been to refuse to interfere in any way with its domestic affairs, but to leave them entirely in the hands of the Governor and his advisers, who act in such matters in accordance with the well-known principles of the British constitutional system. It is only with respect to questions immediately affecting imperial interests, especially the relations of the empire with foreign nations, that the Governor can be said to be thrown to any extent on his own responsibility as an imperial officer. Even in such matters he will generally find it necessary to consult his colonial advisers, though he may not consider himself bound to adopt their advice. In these cases he can only follow the instructions of the government of which he is the accredited representative.

As in England, the Canadian ministry is practically a committee of the dominant party in parliament. Here again we have evidence how little the public men of Canada are influenced by their intercourse with the United States. A thorough study of the British system, which requires ministers to have seats, and receive the support of the majority, in parliament, has clearly shown to Canada its advantages over the American system. After an experience of over fifty years of the working of responsible government, Canadians have become thoroughly convinced that the presence in the legislature of a body of men responsible to the Commons and to the country for the administration of public affairs and the conduct of legislation, has decided advantages over a system which gives the whole executive government to the President, and does not allow his ministers to sit or speak in either branch of Congress. Whenever it is necessary to form a ministry in Canada, members are summoned by the Governor-General to the Privy Council of Canada; another illustration of the desire of the Canadians to imitate the old institutions of the parent state, and copy their time-honored names.

The Parliament of Canada consists of the Queen, the Senate, and a House of Commons. In the constitution of the upper chamber or Senate, there has been an attempt to give it a shade of resemblance to the distinguished body of the same name in the United States. In the formation of the Canadian Senate, each province has not the same number of Senators, as is the case with the States of the American republic; but three geographical groups were arranged in the first instance, consisting of Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces, and to each group was allotted a representation of twenty-four members. More recently new provinces have been admitted into the Dominion without reference to this arrangement, and now there are altogether *eighty-one Senators* in Parliament. Between the functions and responsibilities of the Canadian Senate and those of the American bo

there is no analogy whatever. The Senate of the United States has intrusted to it under the constitution much larger powers than are enjoyed by an upper chamber in the British parliamentary system. Though bills raising revenue can originate in the House of Representatives only, yet the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as in other bills; a privilege which the English or Canadian House of Commons will not concede to the Lords or Senate. The American Senate has the right to control the President in his nomination to public offices, and to review the treaties that he may make with foreign nations. The Canadian Senate, on the other hand, is simply the House of Lords without the prestige or influence that attaches to a body of hereditary legislators. Under such circumstances it is easy to understand that the Canadian Senate does not exercise any large influence on the conduct of public affairs, though it must be admitted it contains many men of great ability and experience. It appears to be paying the penalty of being modelled after a House which originated centuries ago when parliamentary institutions were in course of development, and the House of Commons had not the great power it now possesses.

The House of Commons, the great governing body of the Dominion, has been made, so far as circumstances will permit, a copy of the English House. Not only in the House of Commons at Ottawa, but in all the Assemblies of the large Provinces, a visitor sees the Speaker and Clerk dressed in silk robes, the gilt mace on the table, the sergeant-at-arms in his official costume, the members observing the time-honored rules of debate, and paying that respect to the Chair which has been always a characteristic of the English House of Commons. In a new country some of these forms may seem antiquated and out of place, but nevertheless they will be interesting evidences to an Englishman of the tenacity with which the people of a great colony adhere to British customs and traditions. The conservatism of the Canadians in this particular is the more remarkable when we consider that in the parliament of Canada and the legislature of Quebec there are so many members speaking the French language, who might be expected not to have the same traditional respect for the old forms of the British legislature. Out of the two hundred and thirteen members who compose the Canadian Commons, a few address the house from time to time in French; and in their knowledge of parliamentary rules and of the working of parliamentary institutions, these French Canadians are in no way behind the English majority.

Of the two hundred and thirteen members of the House of Commons, ninety-two come from the great Province of Ontario, *sixty-five from Quebec*, and the remainder from the maritime and smaller provinces. In rearranging the representation after each decennial

census, the Act of Union provides that "there shall be assigned to each of the other provinces such a number of members as will bear the same proportion to the number of its population (ascertained at such census) as the number sixty-five bears to the number of the population of Quebec." By this ingenious arrangement, originally contrived in the interest of the French Canadian section, the representation is kept within certain limits, liable to very slight modifications every decade of years.

We have in the foregoing paragraphs given a mere summary of the leading features of the government to which is intrusted the work of administration and legislation for the Dominion. This government has the control of all matters affecting trade and commerce, currency and coinage, banking and the issue of paper money, postal affairs, militia and defence, navigation and shipping, fisheries, Indians and Indian lands, the criminal law, patents of invention and discovery, copyrights, naturalization of aliens, railways of an international and interprovincial character; and, in short, of all matters of a Dominion or national import. It alone can impose and collect duties on imports and regulate the general trade of the Dominion. On the other hand, the provinces legislate separately on matters of a purely municipal and provincial nature, such as direct taxation for provincial purposes, local works and undertakings, incorporation of companies for provincial objects, property and civil rights, establishment, maintenance and management of hospitals, asylums, and charitable institutions generally, excepting marine hospitals.

In each province of the Dominion there is a legislature generally composed of a Lieutenant-Governor and an Assembly. It is noteworthy that in all the provinces except Nova Scotia and Quebec the upper house has been abolished, and so far apparently without any detriment to the public interests. In this respect there is a divergence from the constitutional practice of the United States, where the old British system of two houses has been rigidly preserved in all their legislative bodies; but there is, it must be remembered, a considerable difference between the functions and responsibilities of a Canadian Legislative Council, and those of even a State Senate. The latter is elected by the people, and has powers hardly inferior to those of the lower house, whereas the Legislative Councils are nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, while their legislative functions are a feeble reproduction — even more feeble than those of the Senate — of those of the House of Lords. It may be added here that the necessity for having an upper house to revise and control hasty legislation, and exercise a supervision over the acts of the administration, — the principal uses of an upper chamber under an English parliamentary system, — is superseded to a great extent in the provinces by the fact

to which I shall presently refer, that the Lieutenant-Governors can reserve, and the Governor-General disallow, any act of a provincial legislature which, after due consideration, has been shown to be unconstitutional or otherwise antagonistic to the interests of the Dominion.

The administration of affairs in each province, the legislatures of which meet once a year, is placed under a Lieutenant-Governor, appointed and removable by the Governor-General in Council. The principles of responsible government obtain in every province as in the Dominion. The executive council, which advises the Lieutenant-Governor, holds office only whilst it has the confidence and support of the majority in the Assembly, in which the members of the council must always have seats.

We come now to consider the division of powers between the central and provincial governments; the most important part of the constitution, involving, as it necessarily does, the unity and security of the Dominion. We have already shown that the general government has jurisdiction over all questions which affect the Dominion, while the provinces have jurisdiction over matters of a purely provincial, local, and municipal character. In dealing with this important question the Canadians have endeavored to profit by the experience of their American neighbors, and to frame their constitution so as to avoid any dangerous assertion of "State Rights." Happily for Canada there has been no question of slavery to divide one section from another. No climatic conditions exist in the Dominion, as in the United States, to create those differences of habit and temperament which make the Southerners practically a distinct people. What diversities of interest exist in the Dominion arise from the geographical situation of the Provinces. We see on the seaboard a maritime section, where the people are mainly engaged in mining or maritime pursuits; again, in the West, a great prosperous agricultural and manufacturing community. In the arrangements of tariffs the peculiar interests of the diverse sections — especially of the Maritime Provinces — have to be carefully considered, and are no doubt at times a cause of considerable perplexity to governments and parliaments; but this diversity of interests was not a source of embarrassment at the time of the formation of the constitution. Neither has any crucial difficulty arisen from the existence in one province of a large and growing population, closely united in all matters affecting their language and institutions. On the contrary, the federal constitution is to a large extent based on principles favorable to the existence of the French Canadians as a distinct section of the population of Canada.

In perfecting the provisions of the new constitution, the public men of the provinces were able to make such a division of powers between the general and provincial governments as was quite satisfac-

tory at the time to all the provinces. Availing themselves of the experience of the United States, they adopted at the outset a principle with respect to the balance of power the very reverse of that which obtains in the constitution of that country. In the Canadian constitution, the powers of the provincial governments are distinctly specified, while those of the general government cover the whole ground of legislation not so expressly reserved to the provincial authorities. The Dominion government is authorized in express terms "to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Canada in relation to all matters not coming within the classes by this Act [the Act of Union] assigned exclusively to the legislatures of the provinces;" and in addition to this general provision it is enacted that "any matter coming within any of the classes of subjects enumerated in this section [that is, the section defining the powers of the general parliament] shall not be deemed to come within the class of matters of a local or private nature comprised in the enumeration of the classes of subjects assigned exclusively to the legislatures of the provinces."

The object of the foregoing provision can be clearly understood from the language of the astute Premier of Canada, Sir John Macdonald, when he explained the details of confederation to the legislature. "We have thus avoided," he said, "that great source of weakness which has been the cause of the disruption of the United States; we have avoided all conflict of jurisdiction and authority." After an experience of thirty years, it must be acknowledged that the constitution has worked exceedingly well as a rule, but at the same time it is evident that the hopes of the Canadian Premier were somewhat too sanguine. In fact, it is obviously impossible, under a written constitution defining the respective powers of separate political authorities, to prevent questions of doubt arising as to where really rests the right of legislation in certain matters. The numerous cases that have already come before the courts of Canada and the Privy Council of England show how difficult it is by mere words to fix the legislative limits of the central and provincial governments. It already takes several volumes to comprise all the reports and pamphlets that have appeared up to this time on this troublesome question of jurisdiction.

Questions relating to education and separate schools — the Manitoba school difficulty, for instance — and to the religious and social interests of the two nationalities that possess Canada, necessarily crop up from time to time, but so far they have been generally settled by the judgments of the courts, to which great respect is paid as in all countries of British institutions, and by principles of compromise and conciliation on which a federal system must be more or less based.

The constitution of Canada provides a means of arriving at a solu-

tion of such difficulties as are likely to arise from time to time in the working of the federal system. Here again the authors of federation have availed themselves of the experience of their American neighbors, and have established a Supreme Court or general Court of Appeal for Canada, whose highest function is to decide these questions of jurisdiction. The decisions of this court are already doing much to solve difficulties that impede the successful operation of the constitution. As a rule, cases come before the Supreme Court on appeal from the lower courts, but the law regulating its powers provides that the Governor in Council may refer any matter to this court on which a question of constitutional jurisdiction has been raised. But the Supreme Court of Canada is not the court of last resort for Canada. The people have an inherent right, as subjects of the Queen, to appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of the United Kingdom. Several cases, involving constitutional issues of great moment, have already come before that learned body, and on more than one occasion the decisions of the Supreme Court have been reversed, though the general result so far has been to strengthen confidence in the Canadian tribunal.

But it is not only by means of the courts that a check is imposed upon hasty or unconstitutional legislation. The constitution provides that the Governor-General may veto or reserve any bill passed by the two houses of parliament when it conflicts with imperial interests or imperial legislation. The veto, however, has never been exercised in the history of Canada, but it was until recently the practice to reserve for Her Majesty's assent such bills as appeared to fall within certain classes of subjects expressly set forth in the royal instructions to the Governor-General. Since confederation, however, the imperial government has materially modified these instructions, because it has been deemed "inadvisable that they should contain anything which could be interpreted as limiting or defining the legislative powers conferred in 1867 on the Dominion Parliament."

It is now understood that the reserved power of disallowance which Her Majesty's government possesses under the law is sufficient to meet all possible cases. This sovereign power is never exercised except in the case of an act clearly in conflict with an imperial statute or in violation of a treaty affecting a foreign nation. In the provinces the Lieutenant-Governors may also veto bills of the legislature, or reserve them for the consideration of the Governor-General in Council. It is noteworthy that during the first years of union in the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, the Lieutenant-Governors sometimes withheld their assent,—a power not exercised by the Crown in England since the days of Queen Anne. In this

case these officials exercised a power greater than that of the President or Governors of States, since the legislatures cannot, under the Canadian constitution, pass the bill over the veto by a two-thirds majority. The power has never been exercised in the larger provinces, and though it is of course in conformity with the letter of the law, it is at variance with the spirit and principle of responsible government. The exercise of the power is in fact unnecessary, since the constitution gives to the general government the power of annulling such provincial acts as are considered unconstitutional. The Dominion government supervises all the provincial legislation, and has in a few cases disallowed certain provincial acts. This power is exercised very carefully, as it is regarded with intense jealousy by the provincial governments, which have more than once resented it and attempted to set it at defiance. This fact shows the delicate position in which the Dominion government is placed in exercising a power which gives it so wide a control over provincial legislation. Any injustice or abuse of authority would undoubtedly lead to grave complications.¹

The Canadian constitution, on the whole, appears to be a successful effort of statesmanship, and well adapted to promote the unity of the Dominion, if worked in a spirit of compromise and conciliation. Canada is now governed by a political system which from the village or town council up to the parliament of the Dominion, is intended to give to the people full control over their own affairs. At the base of the entire political organization lie those municipal institutions whose origin must be sought in the village communities of the Germanic tribes. Each province is divided into distinct municipal districts, whose purely local affairs are governed by elected bodies, in accordance with a well matured system of law. Still higher up in the body politic is the province, with a government whose functions and responsibilities are limited by the federal constitution. Then comes the general government to complete the structure — to give unity and harmony to the whole. With a federal system which gives due strength to the central authority, and at the same time every freedom to the provincial organizations; with a judiciary free from popular influences, and distinguished for character and learning; with a public service resting on the safe tenure of good behavior; with a people who respect the laws; — the Dominion of Canada must have a bright career before her, if her political development continues to be promoted on the same wise principles that have so far illustrated her constitutional history.

The inquiry now naturally suggests itself, What will be the outcome of the political development of Canada? what is the destiny in

¹ See Bourinot's "Parliamentary Procedure and Government," 2nd ed., pp. 81-87, for history of difficulties that have arisen from the exercise of this power.

store for a country showing so much energy and enterprise in all the pursuits of industry, and such admirable capacity for self-government? The five millions of people who now inhabit the Dominion must double in number within a decade or two, according as the agricultural and mineral wealth of her new territories is developed. When many millions of people inhabit a continuous chain of provinces from the Atlantic to the Pacific, will they be satisfied with their present position? This is a question that must ere long press itself more and more upon the attention of statesmen and publicists interested in the unity of the empire.

How slight are the ties that now bind Canada to the parent state is very clearly shown by the fact that she might to-morrow become an independent power without any immediate perceptible effect on the prosperity or greatness of Britain. For the moment it would simply mean that Her Majesty's government would have one governor less to appoint in her dominions, that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council — the supreme court of the empire — would have fewer cases of law to decide, and that the Colonial Office would have fewer despatches to write and receive in future. The regiment that now keeps up a semblance of British rule in Halifax would be removed, while the fleet would no longer be bound to make that port a headquarters in American waters. As far as the commercial relations of the two countries are concerned, — the important point, probably, in the opinion of many Englishmen, — these would not be affected to any marked degree by the separation of the colony from the parent state, since the Dominion has for years imposed duties on imports without much consideration for British manufacturing interests. Canada would then be able to make her own treaties with foreign nations without any reference to the imperial authorities. On the other hand, Canada would have to increase her expenditures for the purposes of national defence, and of keeping up a little staff of envoys and consuls, besides paying for other privileges inseparable from a national existence.

But national aspirations are the natural outcome of the growth and prosperity of a people. The great forces which are silently at work, developing a national character, may become more powerful as the years pass than the strong sentimental feeling which now binds Canada to the parent state. It is quite certain, however, that it would be with very great reluctance — probably from no fault of her own — that Canada would sever the connection to which she has faithfully adhered for a century and more. Should the time ever arrive for independence, the records of her history will probably show that she had far outgrown a position of mere colonial dependency, and that it was not possible to devise a plan which would enable her to remain in the empire on terms compatible with her dignity and security.

Of course if Canada should at any future time be dissatisfied on adequate grounds with the semi-independent position she now occupies, and begin seriously to consider the necessity for a change in her political position, there is always open to her the alternative of annexation to the great republican power that lies to her south. Some persons, like Mr. Dana of the *New York Sun* and his follower in Canada, Professor Goldwin Smith, think that the natural political and commercial tendency of a country situated like Canada must be toward connection with a people whose rapid development is the most remarkable event of the century. By the time a new century dawns there will be over eighty million people within the borders of the United States, and it would seem difficult—in the opinion of the two annexation leaders I have named—for the Canadian people to resist the powerful influences that would attract them toward the republic. But there is certainly no evidence whatever before us just now to lead us to such a conclusion. Indeed, we believe that every year which carries Canada further in her career of political and industrial development, renders annexation less probable. We have already shown that it was different sixty years ago, when Canada was relatively a poor and ill-governed country. Even under the unfavorable conditions of those unhappy days the great mass of the people did not respond to the rebellious appeals of Papineau, Nelson, and MacKenzie, but preferred to trust to the justice of the imperial government, which soon recognized the mistakes they had committed by being too indifferent to Canadian grievances.

The effect of the liberal colonial policy of England since 1840 has been to dispel entirely all feelings of discontent, and to strengthen the attachment of all classes of the people to their own country and its institutions, and to their connection with the parent state. The confederation of the provinces, by enlarging the arena of political action and increasing the facilities for trade and commerce, has created a national spirit among the people, a laudable desire, especially among the younger men, to build up a new nationality to the north of the American republic, if possible in close connection with Great Britain. Of course it would be very different if Canada were ill-governed, were her trade to diminish, and her great Northwest Territory to become a burthen instead of a source of wealth and population. If during the next twenty years Canadians should see the failure of all their great schemes of internal development, probably a strong annexation party would soon assert itself; but at present there is every evidence to prove that confederation is a success, and that the Canadians are capable of working out their political fortunes apart from the United States.

The national spirit that exists among the Canadian people—

sentiment which must increase with the growth of population and wealth — is naturally intensified by the history of the relations between them and the United States during this century.¹ The history of the War of 1812–15, a conflict remarkable for the patriotism exhibited by all classes of the Canadians; the raids of ruffians across the frontier after the rebellion of 1837–8; the “Ashburton capitulation,” which handed over so large a portion of British territory, which would be now invaluable to Canada, as a result of the indifference of Ashburton and the skilful manipulation of Webster; the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854–65, largely through the belief that it would hasten annexation to the United States, though it had the very contrary effect; the shameless Fenian raids which were at first winked at by the American authorities, and for which Canada to this hour has never been indemnified; the apparently fixed determination of certain dominant cliques of politicians to prevent anything like a fair measure of reciprocity; the unjust alien labor laws which forbid respectable Canadians from entering the Union and shut out even a superior class of female nurses from attendance on the ill and dying in hospitals and charitable institutions; the insults of men like Dana and Smith to Canada and its institutions; — all these are among the reasons which naturally tend to show Canadians how little generosity and fairness they can expect from dominant influences among their neighbors, and help to weld more closely together all classes of the Canadian people and strengthen their confederation.

Canadians believe, however, that the cultured and most enlightened class of the American people do not sympathize with such illiberality as is constantly shown by the words and acts of leading politicians in their dealings with the Dominion, but reciprocate the kindly sentiment which animates its people and leads them to desire the most friendly and the fullest commercial relations with their neighbors as long as they are compatible with their security as a separate national entity and as an integral portion of the British Empire. Unhappily for Canada the generous and just opinions of this intelligent and cultured class of citizens have not always prevailed in the past with the powers that dominate Congress and government at Washington.

Throughout Canada as well as Great Britain there is an influential, able body of men, — more conspicuous for their abilities than their number, so far, — who ardently desire “to secure by federation the permanent unity of the empire.” This scheme of federation is “not to interfere with the existing rights of local parliaments as regards local affairs,” but to combine “on an equitable basis the resources of the

¹ I have already treated these questions at length in the *Papers of the American Historical Association* (Washington, 1891), and the *Quarterly Review* (London, April, 1891).

empire for the maintenance of common interests and adequately provide for an organized defence of common rights."

The federation of the empire is a scheme certainly calculated by its imperial scope to strike the imagination of the political enthusiast. It is a scheme which has been dreamed of by statesmen and students since the days of Otis and Burke. Its realization, however, is surrounded with the gravest difficulties, which appear insuperable to some practical statesmen, to whom it is yet a novel question brought into prominence within a few years. A federation of the empire, in the broadest sense of the phrase, means the creation of an imperial parliament, which may legislate for the general purposes of the empire, and the establishment or continuance of legislatures in each country or dependency to legislate for local and minor objects. Before this can be realized, England must be convinced of the necessity of reconstructing her constitutional system in vital particulars, of granting legislatures to Scotland and Ireland, of establishing a Supreme Court to adjudicate on the questions which would inevitably arise in the legal construction of the written constitution which must bind together the federation. On the other hand, Canada would have to make radical changes in her federal system so as to adapt it to the new order of things.

It is quite evident that, while floating through the minds of the advocates of imperial federation there has been a vague idea of the desirability and necessity of imperial unity, no one has yet been able to outline a plan which has a practical basis of action. Sir John Macdonald, the ablest statesman who ever presided over the destinies of Canada, who was a thorough imperialist, frankly confessed that Canada could not in any way lessen or impair her present admirable system of home government. Whilst doubting the practicability of the idea of a federation of the empire, in the wide sense generally given it, he appeared to think that some scheme could be devised to give Canada a higher status in the world, and at the same time enable her to remain associated with the empire for certain common objects, and for defence particularly. This opinion is now generally entertained by many able and influential Englishmen and Canadians.

Most important results no doubt must be attained eventually by the frequent holding of such intercolonial conferences as have been already held in London and Ottawa, — notably that at Ottawa, where three years ago there were representatives of all the most important self-governing colonies of Great Britain, — conferences which it is now proposed to continue during the present year, when the empire will joyfully celebrate the diamond jubilee of the Queen, during whose reign the dependencies of the crown have made such remarkable progress in wealth and self-government. It will be a happy thing if a solution can

be reached by this means of the problems that now interest all British and Colonial statesmen and thinkers, who are anxious for the unity and security of the empire at large.

The success which has so far attended the efforts of the Canadian people to develop their material resources and place their system of government on a stable foundation, leads us to entertain the most sanguine hopes as to the future of their country. For a century they have successfully resisted all the influences which might be supposed to draw them closer to the United States, and, in the face of not a few obstacles, have steadily labored to strengthen their position to the north of the American republic. Step by step they are working their way over the prairies and mountains of the continent towards the Pacific Ocean; building railways and forming new provinces, ere long to be filled up by an industrious and sturdy population like that which has achieved such satisfactory results in old Canada and in the provinces by the sea. If they continue during a few decades more to be animated by the same public spirit that has distinguished their efforts since the commencement of confederation, Canada will be able to assume a much more conspicuous position among the free communities of the world, and may prove a formidable rival even of the United States in the great work which both have to accomplish on the continent of America. And it is assuredly the earnest desire of Canadians as well as Englishmen that if, when that time comes, a large scheme of federation — and many distinguished thinkers still cling to that grand idea — is clearly impracticable, there may exist at least such an alliance or connection between Canada and the parent state as will give greater security to both, and afford to the world the interesting spectacle of a people who owe to Great Britain their free institutions never forgetting in the fulness of their strength and prosperity the land of their origin, but still bound to her by the closest ties of interest, sympathy, and affection, and ever ready to lend her material assistance in the hour of need.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, OTTAWA.

THE STATUS OF WOMAN, PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE.

BY SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

A REQUEST from THE ARENA to state what really has come of our half-century of agitation, and what is sure to come in the near future, will be used as the basis of this article.

Fifty years ago woman in the United States was without a recognized individuality in any department of life. No provision was made in public or private schools for her education in anything beyond the rudimentary branches. An educated woman was a rarity, and was gazed upon with something akin to awe. The women who were known in the world of letters, in the entire country, could be easily counted upon the ten fingers. Margaret Fuller, educated by her father, a Harvard graduate and distinguished lawyer, stood preëminently at the head, and challenged the admiration of such men as Emerson, Channing, and Greeley.

In those days the women of the family were kept closely at home, carding, spinning, and weaving, making the butter and cheese, knitting and sewing, working by day and night, planning and economizing, to educate the boys of the family. Thus the girls toiled so long as they remained under the home roof, their services belonging to the father by law and by custom. Any kind of a career for a woman was a thing undreamed of. Among the poorer families the girls might go about among the neighbors and earn a miserable pittance at housework or sewing. When the boy was twenty-one, the father agreed to pay him a fixed sum per annum, thenceforth, for his services, or, in default of this, he was free to carry his labor where it would receive a financial reward. No such agreement ever was made with the girls of the family. They continued to work without wages after they were twenty-one, exactly as they did before. When they married, their services were transferred to the husband, and were considered to be bountifully rewarded by food, shelter, and usually a very scanty supply of clothes. Any wages the wife might earn outside of the home belonged by law to the husband. No matter how drunken and improvident he might be; no matter how great her necessities and those of the children, if the employer paid the money to her he could be prosecuted by the husband and compelled to pay it again to him.

Cases were frequent where fathers willed all of their property to the sons, entirely cutting the daughters out. Where, however, the daughters received property, it passed directly into the sole possession

of the husband, and all the rents and profits belonged to him to use as he pleased. At his death he could dispose of it by will, depriving the wife of all but what was called the "widow's dower," a life interest in one-third of that which was by right her own property. She lost not only the right to her earnings and her property, but also the right to the custody of her person and her children. The husband could apprentice the children at an early age, in spite of the mother's protest, and at his death could dispose of the children by will, even an unborn child. The wife could neither sue nor be sued, nor testify in the courts. The phrase in constant use in legal decisions was, "The wife is dead in law," or, "Husband and wife are one, and that one the husband." According to the English common law, which then prevailed in every State in the Union except Louisiana, a man might beat his wife up to the point of endangering her life, without being liable to prosecution.

Fifty years ago no occupations were open to women except cooking, sewing, teaching, and factory work. Very few women were sufficiently educated to teach, but those who could do so received from \$4 to \$8 a month and "boarded round," while men, for exactly the same service, received \$30 a month and board. Every woman must marry, either with or without love, for the sake of support, or be doomed to a life of utter dependence, living, after the death of parents, in the home of a married brother or sister, the drudge and burden-bearer of the family, without any financial recompense, and usually looked upon with disrespect by the children. Women might work like galley slaves for their own relatives, receiving only their board and clothes, and hold their social position in the community; but the moment they stepped outside of the home and became wage-earners, thus securing pecuniary independence, they lost caste and were rigidly barred out from the quilting bees, the apple-parings, and all the society functions of the neighborhood. Is it any wonder that a sour and crabbed disposition was universally ascribed to spinsterhood, or that those women should be regarded as most unfortunate, doomed to a loveless, aimless, and dependent existence, — universally considered as having made a failure of life?

Scarcely less under the ban was the woman who dared venture into the field of literature. No pen can depict the scorn and derision that expressed themselves in that word "bluestocking." The literary woman placed herself forever beyond the pale of marriage, for no man would be brave enough to take for a wife a creature who had thus unsexed herself. If she could write, it followed without question that she could not cook, sew, manage a house, or bring up children, and

such connection suggested at once an appalling scene of

disorder and discomfort. This belief prevailed, to a great extent, in regard to a woman who attempted any vocation outside of domestic service, that by so doing she became at once and forever unfitted for the duties of wife and mother. Of all the old prejudices that cling to the hem of the woman's garments and persistently impede her progress, none holds faster than this. The idea that she owes service to man instead of to herself, and that it is her highest duty to aid his development rather than her own, will be the last to die.

In that day not even woman herself had so much as a dream of entering the professions of law, medicine, and theology. When the genius of Harriet Hosmer impelled her to take up sculpture, she travelled from one end of the country to the other begging for an opportunity to make the necessary study of anatomy. When Elizabeth Blackwell determined to consecrate her life to medicine, not one of the standard medical colleges would admit her as a student, and society ostracized her. After Antoinette Brown had graduated with high honors from Oberlin College, even that institution placed every possible obstacle in the way of her entrance into the Theological Department, and one of the faculty said: "If there were any by-law, Miss Brown, by which you could be shut out, you would not be admitted."

As for the profession of law, nobody lived in those times who had even a vision of a day when woman would enter that domain which seemed so sacredly the exclusive possession of man. Politics seemed a great deal farther away than paradise, and the most radical reformer had not the prophetic eye which could discern the woman politician.

Such was the helpless, dependent, fettered condition of woman when the first Woman's Rights Convention was called just forty-nine years ago, at Seneca Falls, N. Y., by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott. Half a century before this, Mary Wollstonecraft had written her "Vindication of the Rights of Woman," that matchless plea for the equality of the sexes. A quarter of a century before, Frances Wright, in connection with addresses upon other subjects, demanded equal rights for women. In 1835, Ernestine L. Rose and Paulina Wright Davis circulated the first petition for property rights for women, and during the next ten years Mrs. Rose addressed the New York Legislature a number of times asking political equality. Mrs. Stanton also had circulated petitions and addressed the Legislature during this period. In 1847, Lucy Stone, on her return from Oberlin College, made her first woman's rights address in her brother's church in Gardner, Mass.

While there had been individual demands, from time to time, the first organized body to formulate a declaration of the rights of women was the one which met at Seneca Falls, July 19-20, 1848, and adjourned

to meet at Rochester two weeks later. In the Declaration of Sentiments and the Resolutions there framed, every point was covered that, down to the present day, has been contended for by the advocates of equal rights for women. Every inequality of the existing laws and customs was carefully considered and a thorough and complete readjustment demanded. The only resolution that was not unanimously adopted was the one urging the elective franchise for women. Those who opposed it did so only because they feared it would make the movement ridiculous. But Mrs. Stanton and Frederick Douglass, seeing that the power to make laws and choose rulers was the right by which all others could be secured, persistently advocated the resolution and at last carried it by a good majority.

The proceedings of this convention were ridiculed by the press and denounced by the pulpit from one end of the country to the other. Its demands were considered the most absurd and preposterous that could be made, and so severe was the storm which raged that many who had signed the Declaration made haste to withdraw their names. Now, at the end of half a century, we find that, with few exceptions, all of the demands formulated at this convention have been granted. The great exception is the yielding of political rights, and toward this one point are directed now all the batteries of scorn, of ridicule, of denunciation that formerly poured their fire all along the line. Although not one of the predicted calamities occurred upon the granting of the other demands, the world is asked to believe that all of them will happen if this last stronghold is surrendered.

There is not space to follow the history of the last fifty years and study the methods by which these victories have been gained, but there is not one foot of advanced ground upon which women stand to-day that has not been obtained through the hard-fought battles of other women. The close of this nineteenth century finds every trade, vocation, and profession open to women, and every opportunity at their command for preparing themselves to follow these occupations. The girls as well as the boys of a family now fit themselves for such careers as their tastes and abilities permit. A vast amount of the household drudgery, that once monopolized the whole time and strength of the mother and daughters, has been taken outside and turned over to machinery in vast establishments. A money value is placed upon the labor of women. The ban of social ostracism has been largely removed from the woman wage-earner. She who can make for herself a place of distinction in any line of work receives commendation instead of condemnation. Woman is no longer compelled to marry for support, but may herself make her own home and earn her own financial independence.

With but few exceptions, the highest institutions of learning in the land are as freely opened to girls as to boys, and they may receive their degrees at legal, medical, and theological colleges, and practise their professions without hindrance. In the world of literature and art women divide the honors with men; and our civil-service rules have secured for them many thousands of remunerative positions under the Government.

It is especially worthy of note that along with this general advancement of women has come a marked improvement in household methods. Woman's increased intelligence manifests itself in this department as conspicuously as in any other. Education, culture, mental discipline, business training develop far more capable mothers and housewives than were possible under the old régime. Men of the present generation give especial thought to comradeship in the selection of a wife, and she is no less desirable in their eyes because she is a college graduate or has learned the value and the management of money through having earned it.

There has been a radical revolution in the legal status of woman. In most States the old common law has been annulled by legislative enactment, through which partial justice, at least, has been done to married women. In nearly every State they may retain and control property owned at marriage and all they may receive by gift or inheritance thereafter, and also their earnings outside the home. They may sue and be sued, testify in the courts, and carry on business in their own name, but in no State have wives any ownership in the joint earnings. In six or seven States mothers have equal guardianship of the children. While in most States the divorce laws are the same for men and women, they never can bear equally upon both while all the property earned during marriage belongs wholly to the husband. There has been such a modification in public sentiment, however, that, in most cases, courts and juries show a marked leniency toward women.

The department of politics has been slowest to give admission to women. Suffrage is the pivotal right, and if it could have been secured at the beginning, women would not have been half a century in gaining the privileges enumerated above, for privileges they must be called so long as others may either give or take them away. If women could make the laws or elect those who make them, they would be in the position of sovereigns instead of subjects. Were they the political peers of man they could command instead of having to beg, petition, and pray. Can it be possible it is for this reason that men have been so determined in their opposition to grant to women political power?

But even this stronghold is beginning to yield to the long and

steady pressure. In twenty-five States women possess suffrage in school matters; in four States they have a limited suffrage in local affairs; in one State they have municipal suffrage; in four States they have full suffrage, local, State, and national. Women are becoming more and more interested in political questions and public affairs. Every campaign sees greater numbers in attendance at the meetings, and able woman speakers are now found upon the platforms of all parties. Especial efforts are made by politicians to obtain the support of women, and during the last campaign one of the Presidential candidates held special meetings for women in the large cities throughout the country. Some of the finest political writing in the great newspapers of the day is done by women, and the papers are extensively read by women of all classes. In many of the large cities women have formed civic clubs and are exercising a distinctive influence in municipal matters. In most of the States of the Union women are eligible for many offices, State and County Superintendents, Registers of Deeds, etc. They are Deputies to State, County, and City officials, notaries public, State Librarians, and enrolling and engrossing clerks in the Legislatures.

It follows, as a natural result, that in the States where women vote they are eligible to all offices. They have been sent as delegates to National Conventions, made Presidential electors, and are sitting to-day as members in both the Upper and Lower Houses of the Legislatures. In some towns all the offices are filled by women. These radical changes have been effected without any social upheaval or domestic earthquakes, family relations have suffered no disastrous changes, and the men of the States where women vote furnish the strongest testimony in favor of woman suffrage.

There is no more striking illustration of the progress that has been made by woman than that afforded by her changed position in the Church. Under the old régime the Quakers were the only sect who recognized the equality of women. Other denominations enforced the command of St. Paul, that women should keep silence in the churches. A few allowed the women to lift up their voices in class and prayer meetings, but they had no vote in matters of church government. Even the missionary and charity work was in the hands of men.

Now the Unitarians, Universalists, Congregationalists, Wesleyan and Protestant Methodists, Christians, Free-Will Baptists, and possibly a few others ordain women as ministers, and many parishes, in all parts of the country, are presided over by women preachers. The charitable and missionary work of the churches is practically turned over to women, who raise and disburse immense sums of money. *While many of the great denominations still refuse to ordain women,*

to allow them a seat in their councils or a vote in matters of church government, yet women themselves are, in a large measure, responsible for this state of affairs. Forming, as they do, from two-thirds to three-fourths of the membership, raising the greater part of the funds and carrying on the active work of the church, when they unite their forces and assert their rights, the small minority of men, who have usurped the authority, will be obliged to yield to their just demands. The creeds of the churches will recognize woman's equality before God, as the codes of the States have acknowledged it before man and the law.

By far the larger part of the progressive movements just enumerated have taken place during the last twenty-five years, and the progress has been most rapid during the last half of this quarter of a century. With the advantages already obtained, with the great liberalizing of public sentiment, and with the actual proof that the results of enlarged opportunities for women have been for the betterment of society, the next decade ought to see the completion of the struggle for the equality of the sexes. The hardest of the battles have been fought, and, while there is still need for both generals and soldiers, the greatest necessity is for the body of women to take possession and hold the ground that has been gained. It is not sufficient that women should fill positions as well as men, they must give vastly better satisfaction in order to prove their claims. There is an urgent demand for women of the highest character and intelligence, because the whole sex will be judged by the few who come forward to assume these new duties.

While by the momentum already gained the reforms demanded would eventually come, women have learned the value of organization and united, systematic work in securing the best and speediest results. It is no longer necessary to make an effort for further educational facilities. The few universities which still close their doors to women will ultimately be compelled to open them by the exigencies of the situation. There are no longer any fences around the industrial field, although men will continue to have the best pickings in the pasture so long as women are disfranchised. There will be a gradual yielding of the laws in recognition of woman's improved position in all departments, but here also there never will be complete equality until women themselves help to make laws and elect law-makers. In view of this indisputable fact, the advanced thinkers are agreed that the strongest efforts should be concentrated upon this point.

From that little convention at Seneca Falls, with a following of a handful of women scattered through half-a-dozen different States, we have now the great National Association, with headquarters in New York City, and auxiliaries in almost every State in the Union. These State bodies are effecting a thorough system of county and local organi-

zations for the purpose of securing legislation favorable to women, and especially to obtain amendments to their State Constitutions. As evidence of the progress of public opinion, more than half of the Legislatures in session, during the past winter, have discussed and voted upon bills for the enfranchisement of women, and in most of them they were adopted by one branch and lost by a very small majority in the other. The Legislatures of Washington and South Dakota have submitted woman-suffrage amendments to their electors for 1898, and vigorous campaigns will be made in those States during the next two years. For a quarter of a century Wyoming has stood as a conspicuous object-lesson in woman suffrage, and is now reinforced by the three neighboring States of Colorado, Utah, and Idaho. With this central group, standing on the very crest of the Rocky Mountains, the spirit of justice and freedom for women cannot fail to descend upon all the Western and Northwestern States. No one who makes a careful study of this question can help but believe that, in a very few years, all the States west of the Mississippi river will have enfranchised their women.

While the efforts of each State are concentrated upon its own Legislature, all of the States combined in the national organization are directing their energies toward securing a Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The demands of this body have been received with respectful and encouraging attention from Congress. Hearings have been granted by the Committees of both Houses, resulting, in a number of instances, in favorable reports. Upon one occasion the question was brought to a discussion in the Senate, and received the affirmative vote of one-third of the members.

Until woman has obtained "that right protective of all other rights — the ballot," this agitation must still go on, absorbing the time and the energy of our best and strongest women. Who can measure the advantages that would result if the magnificent abilities of these women could be devoted to the needs of government, society, home, instead of being consumed in the struggle to obtain their birthright of individual freedom? Until this be gained we can never know, we cannot even prophesy, the capacity and power of woman for the uplifting of humanity. It may be delayed longer than we think, it may be here sooner than we expect, but the day will come when man will recognize woman as his peer, not only at the fireside, but in the councils of the nation. Then, and not until then, will there be the perfect comradeship, the ideal union between the sexes, that shall result in the highest development of the race. What this shall be we may not attempt to define, but this we know, that only good can come to the individual or to the nation through the rendering of exact justice.

OUR DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR SERVICE.¹

BY HERBERT H. D. PEIRCE,

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BELIEVING that the apathy with which our diplomatic and consular service is too often regarded at home is due to our remoteness from the national life of other peoples, and hence to the absence of any particular stimulus to the study of the subject, the writer ventures, in advocating certain needs which personal experience and close study have clearly demonstrated to him as real and crying ones, to state, briefly, what the functions and *raison d'être* of our foreign representatives are.

From the earliest times, nations have found that questions of international importance arose requiring settlement among themselves. Questions of disputed boundary, the intercourse of peoples one with the other, difference in the laws of the various countries, international commerce, and the cupidity of sovereigns desirous of extending their dominions, all have created conflicts of view requiring settlement.

The effort to settle differences by arbitration rather than by the instinctive but costly method of resort to arms, early gave birth to the sending of envoys and, in Roman times, to the establishment of embassies for settlement by agreement and treaty of such vexed questions as could be determined by peaceful means, and to the consequent growth of an international law, the observance of the principles of which was recognized as essential to mutual protection among nations. Thus in the sixth century the Emperor Justinian defined the law of nations as "that law which natural reason has established among all mankind, and which is equally observed by all people."

With the advance of civilization the tendency to engage in warfare diminished, while greater attention was paid to the organization and regulation of the systems of embassies, and to the provision of peaceful means for the avoidance and settlement of disagreements; and in consequence greater respect began to be paid to international law, and greater care exercised in the drawing up of treaties and conventions.

The disorganization of the society of nations during the middle ages greatly retarded the growth of diplomatic relations among the European states, and it was not until near the seventeenth century that

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there was any material revival of the system of legations, nor until after the peace of Westphalia that they began to be permanently and reciprocally established between the various states.

International law, like civil law, international treaties, like private contracts, can only lessen the liability to disputes ; they cannot prevent them. But while, under civil law, courts of judicature can decide upon the respective rights of disputants, there is no competent judicial authority for the interpretation and application of the laws of nations. Each nation interprets for itself, at its own capital, the principles of these laws ; and it is of the highest importance to each of the other nations to retain upon the spot, at that capital, competent and learned counsel of acknowledged ability, to plead the views of his own government, not only in cases immediately affecting that government, but in those where it may have only a collateral interest, and to watch the course of events and become familiar with those circumstances and accidents which may influence the mind of the interpreting authority. This then is an important function of the diplomatic agent. The success with which he is able to perform this function must largely depend upon his mental attainments, his force of character, and the respect and regard which are entertained both for him personally and for his government at the court near which he resides.

Upon the degree of respect and regard personally entertained for the diplomatic representative will depend in very great measure his usefulness to his own country. As he must first of all be "*persona grata*" at the court near which he is to reside, in order to be acceptable, so the more he is "*grata*" the more acceptable, influential, and useful will he be in every way. Moreover, it is a part of his duty to make his country not only respected, but *liked*, both by the governing classes and among the people at large ; to promote, in short, a sentiment of affection for his countrymen in the country of his residence. To this end his own personal popularity will be of the utmost consequence. From time to time we hear the expression "toadying" applied to the diplomatic function. The epithet is not only undignified, but insulting to both the nations in question. Great nations do not "toady," for this implies an attitude of servility. Whatever amenities pass between diplomatic officers and the exponents of the government near which they reside, are devoid of personal significance, and simply express that international good feeling in which it is to be hoped our own country will never be behind.

But the diplomatic representative is first and foremost the agent of his government and country in the country to which he is accredited, or, in other words, of his own sovereign's government at the seat of government of the sovereign near whom he resides, the sovereign being in any case the source of power, whether sovereignty be vested in the per-

son of a ruler or in the will of the whole people, as constitutionally manifested.

It has been an oft-repeated proposition that the telegraph will do away with the necessity of diplomacy. This belief cannot be for a moment entertained by anyone familiar with international affairs. So far from this being true, the contrary is the case; the telegraph has greatly increased the duties and labor of the diplomatic officer.

The etiquette of the society of nations as at present constructed does not permit of either sovereigns or their governments entering into immediate correspondence upon their affairs, even were it possible. Nor can important negotiations generally, even between great private corporations, be conducted without personal intermediaries, qualified to arrive at agreement by discussion. Those of governments must be in the first instance tentative and wholly noncommittal; hence the more need of such intermediaries.

It is sometimes argued that we are sufficient unto ourselves and have no need of international relations, which seem to be unaccountably confused in certain minds with the "entangling alliances" which it has always been our policy to shun. The opinion is as ill-founded as is the association of ideas. Of necessity we belong to the community of nations, and can no more disregard that great community than can the individual man disregard his fellows in his social surroundings.

Small as is the bulk of our commerce and business with Russia, as compared to that with the western nations of Europe, great as is the physical and political distance between the great republic and the empire of the tzars, still the official correspondence of our legation at St. Petersburg for the year 1896 amounts to 2,300 communications received and sent, many of which were of considerable length.

As the agent of his government, it is the diplomatic representative's duty, not alone to transmit its views to the government to which he is accredited, and to pursue, under the instructions of his government, the negotiation of such affairs as may arise between the two powers, but also to keep his government accurately informed of all that occurs in the country of his residence which in any way affects the government of that country or its present policy, or which may have a material bearing upon future policies, whether as regards his own country or that of others; to transmit intelligence of the general trend of sentiment of the people, and especially of the governing classes of the people, regarding political affairs; to report from time to time upon the progress of the country in the march of civilization, giving such information as may lead to a just estimate of its financial strength and its progress in the arts and sciences, and in agriculture and manufactures; to give information concerning changes in its tariffs, taxation, population, and

laws; and to supply all available statistics, maps, and other data which may assist in forming an accurate and complete knowledge of the country in which it is his official duty to reside.

Through their diplomatic agents, nations conduct the negotiation of treaties, conventions, and agreements, one with the other, give expression to their wishes and sentiments, exchange courtesies and correspondence. For, from the nature of things, governments cannot in general communicate with each other through such channels as are open to individuals.

Finally, it is the duty of the diplomatic agent to extend to the citizens of his own state, visiting or inhabiting the country of his residence, such assistance and protection as they may be entitled to receive, under treaty or under international law; to use his utmost endeavors to secure justice for them, under the laws of the country where they find themselves; to issue to them passports; and to aid them by his advice in all that relates to their status as such citizens.

Such are the principal duties of the diplomatic agent. It will be seen not only that they are varied, but that they call for a high degree of intelligence and for education of a wide range, together with close observation, application, and industry; for tact, judgment, and the habit and use of social amenities, which must, however, be combined with decided force of character.

These qualities should be supplemented by substantial means with which to maintain, at the seat of government to which he is accredited, the dignity and prestige due to the representative of a great power. The greater the power he represents, and the greater the dignity claimed for him as representing such power, the greater should be the outward signs, by which all men are more or less affected, of that power and that dignity.

A nation's power is primarily based upon its resources, the energy of its people, and its prosperity. That is to say, apart from the dignity to which its institutions may in themselves entitle it, these are the prime factors which make its influence weighty in its effect on international affairs, and which enable it to compel the respect of other nations to those doctrines and policies which it sets up as essential to its well-being and self-preservation.

A policy of parsimony in equipping diplomatic representatives with the means to maintain those signs of prosperity can only react unfavorably upon the influence at the court where he resides of the country which sends him.

Apart, however, from these considerations, a man occupied with the important affairs of a great nation should not be hampered with considerations of the petty economies of life. The nature of his mis-

sion requires him to maintain intimate social relations with the officials of the government to which he is accredited and with his colleagues of the diplomatic corps. Such relations are best kept up by the free interchange of social visits and of such entertainments as are the custom of the country. It would hardly comport with the national dignity that these should be accepted and not reciprocated in some measure; and as these courtesies are offered to him, not in person, but as the representative of his government, national pride as well as simple justice should dictate that his public emoluments be sufficient to cover these expenses, and not as at present compel him to drain his own private resources in an effort to maintain in a suitable manner the national dignity. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the subject of the expense of maintaining social relations in a great capital; and whatever may be the common impression with regard to it, the cost in European capitals is not less than in our own great cities.

A diplomatic agent, to be well equipped for the best performance of his functions, should possess experience in affairs and a liberal education of the widest character as a foundation, to which should be added a highly specialized knowledge of universal history, of political economy, of the science of diplomacy, of the history of treaties, of constitutional and international law, together with a fluent familiarity with at least French, to which the more languages he can add, the greater will be his usefulness.

French is the universal language employed in diplomatic society, and the general medium of intercourse at foreign courts. The Minister of Foreign Affairs may happen to speak English, but he is *sure* to speak French, and, except in England, to be more at home and readier to express himself in that language than in any other foreign to him. The written communications addressed to the diplomatic agent will be either in the language of the country of his residence or in French; and to read them through the medium of a translation is, at best, to arrive at their meaning at second hand.

The many and varied duties of the chief of a diplomatic mission require that he should be ably seconded and assisted in his labors by a competent secretary of legation. The duties of a secretary of legation, and especially of a first secretary, if there be more than one, as at all important missions there should be, are as manifold as those of his chief, although of course subordinate to them. He is, by international usage and by law, a "public minister." The same educational attainments are quite as important for him as for the minister; and very much the same natural qualities are necessary. Aside from his duties regarding the care and arrangement of the voluminous archives and correspondence of the mission, transcribing despatches and documents, and classifying

correspondence, as received, for convenient reference; and from his duty of keeping himself thoroughly *au courant* with the course of negotiations in each case and retaining always in his mind its exact status; he must in addition be able to discreetly supplement his chief in all his duties, gathering all such facts as he can obtain, and keeping the minister fully informed of them, cultivating friendly social relations with all ministers of the government and the members of the diplomatic corps; he must familiarize himself with the *entourage* of all the ministries and with their methods and manner of transacting business, and must extend his acquaintance and means of gathering information in every possible direction. In case of the absence of the chief of mission, he must be qualified and prepared to take upon himself the conduct of its business as *chargé d'affaires* during the interim. He must acquire a thorough familiarity with all the forms of etiquette of the country to which he is accredited, especially with that belonging to its official life; and he must gain an intimate knowledge of its geography and people, and of its laws and the procedure in civil and criminal courts. It is needless to say that he must be well versed in the construction which his own government puts upon the principles of public, and its attitude regarding private, international law; in the drawing up of state papers and the significance to be attached to the phraseology usually employed in such documents.¹

Most governments give the title of *conseiller* (counsellor) to the first secretaries of their embassies and more important missions; but this grade does not exist in our service nor in that of England, although upon the diplomatic list of Russia the English first secretary of embassy is so described. England sometimes appoints at important posts a minister of the second or third class to act as and perform the duties of secretary; in which case he is accredited as such minister performing the functions of *conseiller* or of first secretary. France also sometimes adopts a similar practice.

¹ Our government does not definitely state what the duties of secretaries are, contenting itself with saying in its instructions: "The general duties and obligations of a Secretary of Legation are, from their nature, little susceptible of minute definition, and must, therefore, in a great measure be governed by circumstances, or ascertained by the growing experience of the Minister and yourself."

The regulations of the British diplomatic service describe them as follows:

"The Secretary of Embassy or Legation must be deemed to hold, as regards the Chief of the Mission, the same position which an Under Secretary of State holds as regards the Secretary of State, and therefore the whole public business of the Embassy or Mission should pass through his hands, and, subject to the orders of the Chief, should be carried on under his superintendence.

"The public and official despatches and papers will, if not opened by the Ambassador or Minister himself upon their arrival, reach him through the Secretary of Embassy or Legation; and the directions of the Chief in regard to all matters of public business will pass through the Secretary, and be executed under his superintendence and control. The principle on which this regulation is founded scarcely needs an explanation, for it is obvious that the public interests require that the Secretary, who may, at any moment, in consequence of the absence of the Chief, be called upon to conduct the public business on his own responsibility, should be kept fully informed as to the course of these matters with which he may have to deal."

At most of our more important missions, two secretaries are employed. In those of several other countries, there are three or four, besides "*attachés*," who are junior officers attached to missions to perform clerical work and learn the duties of the diplomatic service. Great Britain maintains at Paris seven secretaries and six civil *attachés*. Formerly such *attachés* formed a part of the *personnel* of our own service, but they have unfortunately been abolished. Their restoration would obviate the necessity of employing foreign and unsworn clerks, who, under the present system, are essential to the prompt transaction of business.

Each nation decides for itself what degree of dignity is to be accorded to its diplomatic representative, by assigning to him such rank as the importance of the relations between the two countries and their own national dignity seem to indicate as appropriate. Obviously the higher the rank the greater the expense of the mission. The degree in grade is usually the subject of mutual agreement; for "usage requires that they [nations] should send and receive ministers of the same rank" (*Wheaton*). The classification of the grades of diplomatic agents was settled and agreed upon by the powers at the Congress of Vienna, on March 19, 1818, and that of Aix-la-Chapelle, Nov. 21, 1818, as follows: they take precedence in the order given:

1. Ambassadors, papal legates or nuncios.
2. Envoys, ministers, or others accredited to the sovereign.
3. Ministers resident, accredited to the sovereign.
4. *Chargés d'affaires* accredited to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

These different grades are accorded ceremonials varying according to their rank. A minister of the first rank, that is to say, an ambassador, is the personal representative of the sovereign, and receives such honors as may be supposed to belong to the sovereign's personal deputy. He takes precedence of all other diplomatic agents, both upon occasions of ceremony and in the transaction of business. Thus several ministers plenipotentiary (or ministers of the second rank) may be awaiting their turn for interviews with the Minister of Foreign Affairs; should an ambassador, however, arrive meantime, they must give place to the ambassador. As the personal deputy of his sovereign, he must, from the very nature of things, maintain a scale of living greatly beyond that necessary for a minister plenipotentiary.

The meagre compensation paid to our foreign diplomatic officers has ever been a notorious and discreditable evil. What was true in the times of Adams, of Monroe, and of Livingston, is equally true to-day, although changes have been made in the manner of compensation. But if these changes have operated to increase the compensation, the cost of living has at the same time increased so much that the

comparative conditions remain much the same. In 1816, Mr. Monroe wrote to the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, as follows :

The character of the country, if not its rank, is in some degree affected by that which is maintained by its ministers abroad. Their utility in all the great objects of their mission is essentially dependent on it. A minister can be useful only by filling his place with credit in the diplomatic corps, and in the corresponding circle of society in the country in which he resides, which is the best in every country. By taking the proper ground, if he possesses the proper qualifications, and is furnished with adequate means, he will become acquainted with all that passes, and from the highest and most authentic sources. Inspiring confidence by reposing it in those who deserve it, and by an honorable deportment in other respects, he will have much influence, especially in what relates to his own country. Deprive him of the necessary means to sustain this ground, separate him from the circle to which he belongs, and he is reduced to a cypher. He may collect intelligence from adventurers and spies, but it will be of comparatively little value, and in other respects he had as well not be there.

It would be easy to quote, from the time of John Quincy Adams down to the present day, ample testimony to the need of more liberal payment of our foreign representatives. Two passages from Mr. Livingston's report as Secretary of State to President Jackson in 1833 are so much to the point that they can hardly be omitted ; indeed all that is contained in the report upon this subject is well worth careful attention at the present day. Speaking of the diligent labors of our ministers abroad, labors little understood or appreciated at home, but of which the Secretary well knew the arduous nature, he says :

Even the merit of their correspondence, from which, at least, the reward of honor might be delivered, is hid in the archives of the Department and rarely sees the light, and except in the instance of a successful negotiation for claims, a minister returns to his country, after years of the most laborious exertion of the highest talent, with an injured, if not a broken fortune, his countrymen ignorant of his exertions, and undervaluing them perhaps if known. . . . If, then, none of the ministers we have sent abroad, however prudent, have been able to live on the salaries that are allowed them, the conclusion is inevitable that the salaries ought to be increased, or the ministers should be recalled. If the mission is useful, it ought to be supported at the public, not private, expense, and the representatives of a great nation ought not to be obliged to employ, in devising parsimonious expedients for their support, that time and those talents which ought to be occupied in the service of their country.

The following year, Mr. Livingston was sent as United States minister to Paris, a position he resigned within a few months, finding the salary inadequate to his support as the diplomatic representative of a great country.

The expense of living, as has been said above, and especially of living on the scale required by a diplomatic officer, is not less in London, Paris, Berlin, or St. Petersburg than in Washington, New York, Chicago, or San Francisco, where a costly establishment and a free scale of entertaining could not be maintained upon the salary of one of

our ministers. The head of none of our great commercial enterprises would consider an annual expenditure of \$17,500 sufficient to enable him to live in a manner suited to his condition and dignity.¹ Should not the representatives of our great country's government, with the eyes of all the world upon them, and charged with the duty of supporting their country's dignity, be enabled to live as well as the private citizen of his own land?

But if our chiefs of missions are underpaid, what is to be said of the rest of our diplomatic officers? A first secretary of embassy or legation receives the munificent sum of \$2,625 a year! He must go to court to every function. He must maintain an establishment of considerable expense, and must to some extent entertain company, in order to fulfil his duties properly. If he is married, he cannot with decency live upon his salary in the plainest and simplest manner. The consequence is a constant drain upon his individual resources.

In the English diplomatic service the same officer receives £1,000, besides his travelling expenses to and from his post, and an extra allowance as bonus for the acquisition of certain languages.

We are told that in spite of the salary there are plenty of applicants for these posts. It is doubtless true that there is a considerable class of people who look upon these offices as sinecures, which require but little work and offer great social opportunities. Such a candidate is not likely to be a very assiduous public servant, and it seems questionable whether this point of view is one from which it is well to select the public officials of a great republic. Appointments of this nature have not, in the experience of our diplomatic service, been generally very useful or creditable.

On the whole, there is scarcely an office of which the duties, properly performed, are more arduous, more responsible, and less fairly appreciated, than that of a minister to a country with which we have important commercial relations. Yet there is some reason to believe that appointments to them are eagerly sought from the same false ideas of the nature of the employment. To these mistaken ideas may be traced many of the evils which have operated, and still operate, injuriously upon the interests and reputation of the country. (Livingston.)

The other branch of our foreign representation, the consular service, while it is in a certain sense dependent on the diplomatic service, is quite distinct from it in the character of its functions, its duties, and its governmental relations. No social or court obligations and no questions of policies devolve upon the consul.

He is the commercial agent of his government. His duties call for a thorough knowledge of the language of the country in which he

¹ Great Britain pays her envoy to Mexico as much as we pay our ambassadors to first-class powers, while her ambassadors receive from £5,500 to £9,000, the average being £7,314, in addition to house rent. And all British diplomatic officers receive a handsome allowance as outfit on going to a new post, in addition to their travelling expenses and salaries.

resides, as well as of the admiralty laws of his own country and that of his residence; some acquaintance with the principles of international and constitutional law; and a large knowledge of commercial affairs. He should and indeed must be a man of sterling integrity and of character to command respect.

He is the local magistrate representing his country in the place of his residence for all matters falling within the jurisdiction of its laws, as in matters of dispute between the master and crew of any vessel coming into the port for which he is the consul. A vessel is to a certain extent legally outside of the territory and jurisdiction of the foreign country in which it happens to be, and within that of the country under whose flag it is entitled to sail. It and its seamen are therefore to a considerable extent under the protection of the consulate of that country, and by consequence are under certain obligations to it in payment of fees, etc. These fees are collected by the consul, and must be carefully accounted for by him and remitted to his government.

He must assist the citizens of his country in obtaining their just rights under the local laws, but must do this with the tact never to exceed his authority, referring and appealing all questions which pass that limit to his government's diplomatic representative in the country. He is competent to perform marriages, administer oaths, and do all notarial acts. He settles estates of his countrymen dying in the place of his residence, and certifies invoices of goods exported to his own country, without which certified invoice such goods, under our laws, cannot pass the custom house. He must make frequent reports to his government upon the commerce, health, agriculture, trade, manufactures, inventions, exchange, and general statistics of the locality in which he resides. These are the principal duties, generally stated, of the majority of consuls. In certain countries, chiefly uncivilized ones, certain judicial powers are added.

For the proper organization of the service, it is classified into various grades. These are consuls general, consuls not permitted to engage in trade, consuls permitted thus to engage, and commercial agents. Besides these are various minor offices, as vice and deputy consuls general and consuls, consular clerks, interpreters, etc. It would be surprising if a consul newly arrived at his post, and having no previous experience, were at once competent to fill all the many duties of his office without guidance; and, as a matter of fact, in our service, at all the important consulates, there is some clerk or other officer who has had long enough experience at the post to be able to keep up the routine and advise his chief of the usual course of procedure. In fact, it is generally not until a consul has been for some time at his post, that his services begin to be of very much value to his govern-

ment, and by the time he has become really efficient, he is unfortunately generally supplanted by a new appointee.

The requirements for real usefulness in both the diplomatic and consular service include a more advanced degree of education, and knowledge of a highly specialized character. The more highly specialized the information of either a diplomatic or consular officer, the more useful he will be to his government. Yet of all the walks of life, these services are generally regarded in America as being those which any novice may most readily take up without preparation. The result cannot be other than detrimental to our prestige in foreign countries. As we would not put a ship into the hands of a commander ignorant of navigation, an army under the control of a general without military training, a suit at law into the hands of a counsel who had never opened a law book, a suffering wife or child under the care of a person wholly unskilled in medicine; so we should not put the foreign affairs of our government into the hands of men without knowledge of the various subjects which go to make up diplomatic science and consular efficiency.

To cite special examples of great efficiency in the diplomatic service of our own or other countries without previous special experience, does not at all contravene the statement that such experience is in general necessary. Genius is not the rule, nor can it be hoped that it will always be at hand. The organization of a permanent diplomatic and consular service, with a system of promotions, need not necessarily prevent the filling of the more important offices from time to time by men of exceptional capacity and character. Indeed, in the service of Great Britain, as of other countries, this often takes place. But the permanent organization of our consular and diplomatic service, the regular training of candidates for it, the ordinary promotion of its members from grade to grade, would be of inestimable advantage to our foreign relations and to the efficiency and value of our public servants abroad. A bill now before the Senate presented by Hon. H. C. Lodge covers many of the needs of such an organized service; if it falls short in some important particulars, it is doubtless because it is believed to be all the country is at present prepared to accept and understand. It leaves, however, the chiefs of missions out of the organized service, proposing to fill these offices as at present; and the office of secretary of legation, upon a maximum salary of \$3,000 a year, becomes the *highest point* in the career which a member of the service can hope to attain unless he takes a position inferior in the *accepted rank* and becomes consul general upon a salary of \$5,000. This hardly seems to be a tempting inducement to men of such calibre as should constitute the diplomatic service of a great nation. Whether we should greatly gain

in the quality of the *personnel* of the diplomatic branch of our service under it, is open to question.

While some of our consuls are at present overpaid, the majority are, like all of our diplomatic officers, underpaid. The offices are much sought, in the mistaken belief that life is cheaper anywhere than in America. The incumbent generally finds, after he has dissolved his business connections at home, that he has made a mistake, from a financial point of view, and if he wishes to remain long in office, it is usually either because he does not know what else to do, or because he has some special reasons apart from the compensation.

We have recently awakened to the belief that so great a country as ours, exercising so great an influence upon the affairs and policies of the world as the United States does, should be duly equipped with a navy which shall stand before the nations of the world as palpable evidence of our power. We take pride in the appearance of our "white cruisers" and in the admiration which they excite in foreign ports. Their use is to prevent war, not to make it. It would be a sorry sight to see them shabbily kept, their officers ununiformed and without discipline, uneducated for their duties, and not the honored members of a fixed and regularly organized service.

Are we to continue to send out to foreign countries those other promoters of the respect due to our great nation, the officers of the diplomatic and consular service, shabbily equipped, untrained, chosen not for fitness, but to pay debts due to politicians, and devoid of the organization of a great service, which, both by *esprit de corps* and by self-interest in the hope of promotion, fosters and stimulates the best energies?

A great, enlightened, prosperous, and powerful country, like the United States, owes it to itself to see that it is represented abroad by a diplomatic and consular service at least as good as the very best; and with our resources and social system, we could easily make our own better than the very best now existing in the world. It would not be difficult to go further, and to say that the diplomatic service of the United States could and ought to be the model for the world, as is our policy of neutrality, a policy, by the way, which could not be maintained without a diplomatic service. Two of the greatest authorities upon international law, Wheaton and Cabro, have been citizens of American republics. Our isolation from neighboring states puts us in an exceptional position to take a high and impartial view of human rights and international law. We have had great and distinguished men to represent us in many capitals, and their activity and influence have been of untold benefit to us. Unfortunately no sooner are they well known in the capitals of the world, than a change of administration

recalls them to their own country. The difficulty with which Baron von Humboldt was made to understand that our government was really willing to part with the services of so distinguished and valuable a diplomatic officer as the illustrious Wheaton is a commentary upon the difference in principle between our government and that of other nations in regard to the diplomatic service.

We can and ought to secure throughout our entire foreign service, and in every rank of it, men of the highest intelligence, education, and aims; but to do this we must first offer them a career in which their tenure would be secure. Most of all we should pay them sufficient salaries, and not compel them to ruin themselves in the service of their government.

Lastly, our foreign embassies and legations and the residences of our diplomatic officers are by the usage of nations American soil. It ill becomes our dignity that such territory, a piece of our own dominion, should be hired for the purpose from foreigners, as chance or as price may dictate. At least in every great capital our flag should float over a fixed and permanent dwelling-place of our own national authority, as do those of England, France, Germany, and Austria, over their embassies and legations.

CONCILIATION *vs.* ARBITRATION.

BY PROFESSOR COURTENAY DE KALB.

HISTORY affords no other example of a great nation so persistently devoted to peaceful industry as the United States. It is an example of the natural tendencies of human society which always make for peace when there are no external conditions of political and commercial rivalry which may lead to a conflict of arms. Our continental expansion, coupled with our isolated position, has rendered the triumph of a peace policy possible within our borders. This fortunate situation was early recognized, and its importance insisted upon by our ablest statesmen, resulting in the development of that dual policy of non-interference in European politics on the one hand, and of resistance of any extension of European influence in the Western Hemisphere on the other. These are but necessary counterparts, the one of the other, by means of which we may realize the full benefits of our geographical position, and continue in our pursuit of industry undisturbed by the alarms of war. The prime object to be aimed at, which our peculiar circumstances render so easy of attainment, is the preservation of our institutions and of our international rights. Peace, with its manifold blessings, follows as a natural consequence upon our success in that, and is not attainable otherwise. Hence, while it is our duty to adhere to the principle of peaceful dealings with other nations whenever possible, it is our higher duty to resist the curtailment of those natural rights which, if violated, might impose limitations upon our proper and normal development.

Our inherent strength, resulting from our numbers, our geographical position, our spirit as a free, liberty-loving, and generous people, together with our fixed determination to avoid unnecessary collisions, has rendered feasible a frequent resort to arbitration as a mode of settling disputes with foreign powers. Thus we have become *par excellence* the arbitrating nation of the world. We have discovered and acted upon the fact that our strength was sufficient to compel the award of justice by judicial process. The eminent success attending this substitution of arbitration for war has awakened a popular enthusiasm for the method which has unfortunately encouraged a false notion that arbitration in itself is capable of insuring peace and justice, whereas it is sufficiency of strength to command respect abroad that has enabled us to employ this means to achieve so desirable an end. It admits of serious inquiry whether the benefits accruing from special

arbitration would be so pronounced if compulsory arbitration should be made the rule. In fact, under a compulsory system, with provision for definite settlement of disputes, it would completely subserve all those interests of governments which are promoted not alone by pacific measures, but by material strength as well.

There are but three functions of war, first, for aggression, — either territorial, commercial, or political aggrandizement; second, to prevent invasion of rights; and third, to secure redress for injuries received. In the great majority of instances similar ends are attained by diplomatic negotiation and by arbitration, with only occasional resort to open war, an adequate military footing being relied upon as a menace to incline the negotiators to moderation in their demands or protests. Thus the military power of a nation is actively effective equally in times of peace as in times of war. Indeed, leaving aggression out of sight, the chief virtue of national military strength, when used in coöperation with a competent administration of foreign affairs, is that it resists the beginnings of trouble. A nation will consider well its cause, and will be sure that there is at least a reasonable doubt as to the side on which justice lies, before raising a question with another government which is able and disposed to maintain its rights. The scandalous difference in the behavior of the great nations toward each other and toward those of lesser rank, which is conspicuously in evidence somewhere every year, leaves no room for argument upon this point. It must be observed that there are warrantable and unwarrantable controversies between governments. In the pursuance of a predetermined policy a nation may set up pretensions which are wholly unjustifiable. Such pretensions can only be met by firm resistance, without entailing sacrifice of rights. The ordinary modes of peaceful settlement invariably result in compromise, which in cases of this kind involves a surrender to some extent to the aggressor, but for the sake of avoiding destructive war compromise is frequently arranged even under these circumstances. Where a doubt may exist as to the respective rights of two nations, the course of diplomacy is directed toward a determination of the facts, or if these cannot be clearly ascertained, then toward a compromise which may not be prejudicial to the higher interests of either of the contestants. If the certainty regarding any case become known, no power could insist upon unjust claims without losing the sympathy of other nations. It may be averred that when the uncertainties which may have hovered about a question have been entirely removed, the only avenue to a satisfactory peaceful settlement lies through ordinary diplomatic negotiation, aided perhaps by friendly mediation. Where the mists of uncertainty cannot be wholly dissipated by such light as the disputing governments may throw upon the

question, arbitration may properly be resorted to, in which case the award will, in part at least, involve a compromise. The settlement of a dispute without war, then, reduces itself in the first place to a determination of the fact, or so much of the fact as may be ascertainable, followed by a basis of agreement for composing the difficulty. In reaching an agreement it not unfrequently happens that the contestants will more willingly submit to the sense of justice and fairness of disinterested parties in rendering a decision, than accept the proposals for compromise advanced by either of the parties to the controversy. Here is where arbitration finds its peculiar field, such tribunals passing upon the facts themselves, and deciding what shall be the future rights and obligations of the litigants as to particular matters.

There are, however, certain conditions precedent to arbitration as now conducted. It must first be decided that the question is arbitrable, that is, that it does not involve the national honor, or affect those conditions which are essential to the existence of either nation, or to the enjoyment of their natural rights as free and sovereign peoples. Next, the limitations of the jurisdiction of the tribunal must be accurately defined, else it may exceed in its review the questions at issue, and involve further difficulty by rendering the decision repugnant to one of the parties litigant. Also, any controverted points in international law, whose decision is necessary before the questions in dispute can be judged by a court, must be explicitly agreed to in advance. Although such an agreement is often almost tantamount to a settlement of the concrete case, it is comparatively easy to reach an understanding upon abstract general principles. A court of arbitration is by its nature incompetent to decide new points in international law. The Hon. E. J. Phelps well says regarding this matter¹:

Beyond cases turning upon questions of fact, arbitration, however plausible in theory, is not likely to be found practicable. In cases involving questions of law, which means of course international law, it is not available. . . . Unlike a court of justice, which deals with municipal law and is empowered to extend its principles to every case of new impression, so that there can be no dispute too novel or too difficult to be decided, an arbitration cannot extend the rules of international law beyond what is already established, since those rules find their only sanction and authority in the general consent of nations. The inquiry in every case is, therefore, whether the proposition advanced has received such assent. If not, however justifiable in itself, it is idle to expect arbitrators, empowered only by the agreement of two nations to decide a particular case, to take it upon themselves to enlarge the law of nations, and to add to its existing rules any new proposition. . . . Hence no rule of law can be adopted by such a court unless it can be shown to have been previously acquiesced in; and arbitration can be useful in no case depending upon a question of international law, except those cases in which it will be unnecessary, since the point involved will have been already settled.

Finally, in a large number of cases, where questions of right and

¹ "Arbitration and our Relations with England." *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1896.

privilege are at stake, it is absolutely imperative that a *modus vivendi* shall be arranged to prevent serious friction or the accumulation of large pecuniary claims of the one nation against the other, while the arbitration is pending. Such are the conditions essential for the successful application of special arbitration, whereby it has been found possible to obviate an armed collision when difficulties have reached too acute a stage for adjustment by the diplomatic representatives of governments.

Compulsory arbitration, however, introduces some new features. As previously indicated it lends itself to abuse in the interests of aggression, and may indeed become a more powerful weapon for despoiling nations of their rights than mere armed strength alone. As it is a recognized principle of international law that treaties should be made in good faith and honorably observed, the guarantee against war-like demonstration contained in a treaty for general arbitration, until a case falling within it shall have been reviewed by an authorized tribunal, eliminates one of the chief dangers of advancing unjust claims or of setting up unwarrantable pretensions. Advantage can accordingly be taken of technical subtleties for pressing issues which should never have been raised, and which would not have been attempted except under the safe cover of such a treaty. Large interests of one nation may thus be placed in jeopardy by another, and the conduct of trade seriously disturbed, through the mere questioning of rights, which perforce must be submitted to arbitration, whereby they may be injuriously compromised. Compulsory arbitration, therefore, opens a convenient channel for an aggrandizing nation to harass another, making substantial gains whether the immediate outcome of its efforts be to secure temporary or permanent enlargement of its field of action.

A second function of obligatory arbitration, as of war, is to prevent the infraction of rights of the offended nation. To a considerable extent it is effective for this purpose, although as shown it fails through inviting disputes rather than resisting their beginnings, and through subjecting national rights and privileges to the danger of restriction. Furthermore, it may often lead to a definitive settlement of questions which could have been easily accommodated by diplomacy with substantial advantage, both present and future, to the nation whose interests were threatened.

The third function of obligatory arbitration, which completes the parallelism between arbitration and armed force as aids in conducting the extraordinary relations between governments, is that of securing redress for injuries actually inflicted. Arrival at this stage in cases of protracted dispute usually indicates original weakness, either in diplomacy or in available fighting equipment, on the part of the injured nation. The notorious controversy over the Alabama claims is an excel-

lent illustration. The aid rendered to the Southern Confederacy could not be resisted at the time, owing to our internal disturbances. By this means Great Britain was able to inflict permanent injuries upon our maritime commerce, to the corresponding benefit of her own. The dictates of wisdom naturally led to an adjustment of the difficulty by arbitration. The damage had been done; it was largely against commerce, which could not be benefited by war; a simple indemnity, therefore, with the far more important guarantee against a recurrence of similar episodes, was as sufficient redress as could be obtained under the circumstances. A definitive settlement of the points at issue in such a case is of the highest importance, and it is to be noted that the contention of most serious difficulty, concerning the duties of government in respect of belligerent rights, was settled by diplomacy in drawing up the treaty referring this question to a tribunal. Redress does not necessarily mean restitution, — it would have been practically impossible in the Alabama case, — but it should involve reparation, which is most satisfactorily achieved through perfect assurance against a repetition of similar injuries. Hence the full and definite settlement which is obtained through the process of arbitration is here peculiarly efficient.

Having now reviewed in some measure the office of arbitration, and the conditions precedent to it, and having observed the difference in effect between special and compulsory general arbitration, the proposed treaty between the United States and Great Britain may be more easily considered. In the first place it is wanting in definiteness. Neither its advocates nor its opponents are able to reach an agreement among themselves as to the range of cases to which it may be applicable. This ambiguity is particularly striking in Article IV, which reads :

All pecuniary claims or groups of pecuniary claims which shall exceed £100,000 in amount and *all other matters in difference*, in respect of which either of the High Contracting Parties shall have *rights* against the other under Treaty or *otherwise*, provided that such matters in difference do not involve the determination of territorial claims, shall be dealt with and decided by an Arbitral Tribunal, constituted as provided in the next following Article.

Examination of the treaty will show that provision has been made for reaching a *final* settlement of all disputes falling within the operation of this Article. But there is no limit to its operation except as regards territorial claims, and efforts to withhold the most vital interests of the nation from the jurisdiction of a court in which the casting vote is held by a foreigner, could only lead to friction easily more dangerous than the original cause of disagreement, since England would have a right under the treaty to demand the submission of the case to arbitration. It would be practically impossible in a large number of instances to draw a line between what might be construed as a right and a matter of policy, so that the question of exclusion of a case from the operation of the

treaty, even if amended so as to make such a reservation, would be technically indeterminable. An ambiguity of so serious a nature can only become a prolific source of discord and conflict.

Another difficulty, which is liable to engender trouble that will defeat the purpose of the treaty, is its failure to provide for engagements respecting the rulings which shall be accepted as law in judging matters involving legal questions of a novel character. Accordingly in the very application of this convention recourse would frequently of necessity be had to special treaties in order to carry it into effect. Similarly its failure to provide for a *modus vivendi*, where necessary, would compel the negotiation of special supplementary conventions, and this places the non-aggressive nation at a distinct disadvantage, for it is easy to see that, being under an obligation to arbitrate, such a nation might be forced to accept less equitable terms than would have been suggested had the hands of both parties been free in the transaction.

Again, so far as relates to the adjudication of territorial claims, the court to which such cases are to be referred is merely "the creature of the parties litigant." In addition to the legal absurdity involved in this provision, the majority of five to one required for a final decision means simply that no conclusive award could be obtained, and that the tension between the two nations would become more severely strained than before. The highly explosive character of this article is recognized in the treaty itself, which further states that,

In the event of an award made by less than the prescribed majority and protested as above provided, or if the members of the Arbitral Tribunal shall be equally divided, there shall be no recourse to hostile measures of any description until the mediation of one or more friendly Powers has been invited by one or both of the High Contracting Parties.

The only practical effect which can be foreseen as liable to issue from this article is an encouragement of aggression in the hope of some advantage to be gained thereby, and the treaty as a whole seems to afford greater probabilities of danger and dissension than of the triumph of peace and justice. Our object as a people is to maintain relations of amity and concord with all other nations. We are not seeking aggrandizement, nor would we knowingly pursue an unjust course toward any, but a new generation has come to the front since the clash of arms has been heard in our midst, and other generations are coming forward to whom the events of the Civil War read still more like ancient history. Their temper has not been subdued by knowledge of the realities of warfare, and they will be correspondingly quicker to resent injustice. So we can ill afford to undertake a novel experiment with defective machinery that may only prove an inciting cause to perilous friction.

It is an open question whether we can improve upon our historic system of resort to special arbitration, but there is a method, more

efficient and far less dangerous than compulsory arbitration, which may be applied for the attainment of those humane purposes which we all so earnestly desire. This is the provision by treaty for referring all disputes to a Court of Conciliation and Inquiry, which has been suggested by some of our most eminent jurists. Its main object would be the simple ascertainment of the facts by exhaustive investigation. It could report these facts, with proofs, and determine the accepted rulings of international law which would be applicable to the case in hand. It could with propriety go further, in unusual cases, and suggest principles which might justly be incorporated into international law as covering matters of the kind under consideration. With a general provision in advance as to the basis on which a *modus vivendi* should be arranged when requisite, no objection could be raised to submitting any class of disputes to the review of such a court. It would offer even less encouragement to aggression than exists to-day. Finally, the moral effect of a decisive declaration upon the facts and extenuating circumstances relative to any concrete case would insure an honorable adjustment of the difficulty in the light of the revelations of so impartial an inquiry. The delay incident to such a process, with a general expectation that the truth would ere long become available, would dispose the public to moderation, and thus facilitate the conclusion of disagreeable episodes by customary diplomatic methods. Moreover, such a termination of controversies is rarely difficult when the facts are known, but as a last resort the matter could be referred to an arbitral tribunal for the assessment of damages or the exact determination of the future rights, privileges, or obligations of the disputants.

Arbitration for its own sake is not necessarily desirable. What we are seeking is a means to an end, namely, the preservation at one and the same time of our institutions untrammelled by foreign interference, of our rights as an independent and sovereign nation, and of international peace as between ourselves and others. Three courses, beyond the common channels of diplomacy, are suggested to us for achieving this result, Special Arbitration, Compulsory General Arbitration, and Conciliation. It is our duty to choose that one which, leaving sentiment aside, seems freest from dangers, and surest to promote the higher good of our country and the world by progress in civilization along lines laid down in accordance with the dictates of honor and the teachings of wisdom and experience, in order that our success may be great and enduring.

A WOMAN FROM ALTRURIA.

BY GERTRUDE G. DE AGUIRRE.

ONE day in the past December the flags of the city of San Francisco floated at half-mast; but the story of death they mutely told was not that of any hero of the battlefield or renowned statesman, nor of any man who had clutched the reins of power and dazzled the multitude by the glitter of his star of success. Their message touched more deeply the hearts of the people than could any story of the end of human power and renown. It was this: "The best-beloved woman in San Francisco is dead."

This was Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper, and she was beloved because the gospel of her life was love, a gospel lived, not simply preached. How had she shown her love? By service, a service whose fruit was the awakened and enlightened minds of eighteen thousand children. She was the founder of the kindergarten on the Pacific coast, and for years had gone into the dark and dreadful places of the city and gathered the little ones into its fold, where they were given the upward impulse that lifted them out of their hard environment of ignorance, degradation, and crime. Eighteen thousand children saved from ignorance! Think of the tremendous force for good thus made unceasingly active! Every child educated in the kindergarten becomes a centre from which flow the self-mastery and consideration for others which form the corner-stone of kindergarten teaching. Such a force once set in motion goes down the centuries doing its great work toward leavening the whole. As one of the orators said over her dead body: "When San Francisco becomes a metropolis of one million or five millions, Mrs. Cooper's work will be greater than it is now, because of the radiation from that which has been done. And if there are continental divisions in that place whither she has gone there must be a continent filled with souls that have come to blessings from this great woman."

Great woman! Great in the truest sense of the word, for she forgot self in the service of others; and we have high authority for it that the greatest among us are they who most faithfully serve. Are not all lives wasted that are not lived for others? Nor does this kind of service mean sacrifice. On the contrary, it brings with it the true development and expansion of the individual, which must be the purpose of life. When we help others we uplift ourselves, all humankind being so mysteriously linked together that what we give out returns to us again as surely as the echo comes back from the rock.

We have all heard plenty of talk about "saving souls," and are familiar with the unfortunate method adopted by many well-meaning persons engaged in it, which is to go about telling miserable people how bad they are. There is but one way to save souls, and Mrs. Cooper found it long ago. It is to abolish ignorance, to educate and improve the individual, to develop the unit. This is the process of evolution, and is best worked out by awakening the child to a knowledge of the good that is in him, teaching him his own value and his relation to others, showing him the beauty of form, color, refinement, gentleness, kindness, and love,—in short, putting into his hand the weapons that will enable him to overcome the only foe to humankind — ignorance.

We honor the man who gives to a city a water fountain or a hospital; and we do well. We point with pride to electric lights, beautiful architecture, paved streets, splendid monuments, and lovely parks; and this, too, is well. But greater than these are the gardens where the child plant is trained to grow in beauty; where the seeds are sown that shall bear fruit in men and women of higher mould, nobler aims, and sweeter lives.

Is it remarkable that the woman who has thus saved thousands should be spoken of by the newspapers of her city as the greatest benefactor San Francisco ever had, and that when she died the flags were placed at half-mast in her honor, an honor that has been accorded to but two other women in this country? Is it strange that strong men were not ashamed that the unaccustomed tears rolled down their faces — "hard tears, that hurt" — as they stood in the presence of her flower-covered bier? Is it a matter of wonder that the most eminent men of the city reverently carried her clay garments to their final resting-place, in the presence of thousands of tear-stained faces of men, women, and children of every class, complexion, and clime,—an assemblage more sorrowful than was ever before gathered together there on any similar occasion? "Money could not buy and authority could not compel such demonstration of public and private grief," said one of the local chroniclers.

Mrs. Cooper's kindergarten work in San Francisco was the admiration of the world wherever it was known; but it was by no means all she accomplished. From the age of fourteen she was busy in ways that helped others to higher mental outlooks, always ministering to the spiritual as well as material needs of others, always helping to diffuse more light.

She was as distinguished in religious as in educational work. Though brought up in the Presbyterian faith, she was too big for it, and earned the distinction of being tried for heresy because she refused to believe in infant damnation and everlasting punishment. This

occurred in the Calvary Presbyterian Church of San Francisco. The trial was a famous one, and she defended herself so ably that she attracted wide attention and commanded the admiration of everybody who could not conceive of a hell which contained infants "a span long." The finding was against her, and she was put out of the fold. Made welcome in the First Congregational Church she remained there until her death. In a recent scandal she took sides against her pastor, believing him guilty of the charges against him. Her position was briefly defined in the words: "I stand for purity in the pulpit."

Nothing in her life worked more directly to her benefit than did the condemnation by the church which tried her for heresy. From that day her influence and sphere of usefulness increased. Hearts were opened to her that had known her not before; and friendly hands were everywhere stretched forth to her, for the people of the Pacific Coast are generous and full of the warmth of love to those unjustly persecuted.

Mrs. Cooper was a cousin to Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, and her maiden name was Ingersoll. Though her views on religion were so radically different from those of the great agnostic, he and she were warmly attached to each other. Some years ago he sent to her a volume of his lectures, thus incised: "To my own cousin Sarah, of whom I will say that if all Christians were like her this book never would have been written."

Mrs. Cooper was born at Cazenovia, N. Y., in 1836, and was graduated from Cazenovia Seminary, the first coeducational institution in the country. Among its graduates were some of the men now eminent in commerce and the professions. When but fourteen years old she taught school at Eagle Village, eight miles from Cazenovia, and there organized her first Bible class, which soon filled the schoolhouse with parents as well as children, and later grew into a powerful church.

After spending some time at the Troy Female Seminary she went to Augusta, Ga., as governess in the family of Governor Schley, who owned five hundred slaves, to whom she endeavored to give religious instruction. While there she married Mr. Halsey Fenimore Cooper, Surveyor and Inspector of the port of Chattanooga, and later editor of the *Chattanooga Advertiser*. Being abolitionists, Mr. and Mrs. Cooper went north at the beginning of the war, where they remained until Memphis was taken, when Mr. Cooper was appointed Assessor of Internal Revenue there, while his wife found a field of labor in the hospitals and as president of the Society for the Protection of Refugees. Of four children born to them in the South only one survived. Two boys died in infancy; and while the mother was nursing the sick family

of a refugee, the two little daughters fell ill of the same malady — smallpox — one dying, the other, Harriet, for whom Mrs. Cooper at last sacrificed her life, escaping death, but not the marks of the dread plague.

In 1869 Mr. and Mrs. Cooper located in California, where Mrs. Cooper began religious work at once. Eventually she had a class to which she gave religious instruction, which numbered several hundred members. She collected \$300,000 and founded the fifty kindergartens of the Golden Gate Kindergarten Association, very many of which are endowed, and out of which have grown over one hundred and twenty.

Her public work was of wide scope. She was vice-president of the Century Club, president and vice-president of the Woman's Press Association, treasurer of the World's Federation of Woman's Clubs, a director of the Associated Charities, and one of the five women elected to the Pan-Republican Congress. At the World's Fair she delivered thirty-six addresses, and on her return helped to organize the Woman's Congress, of which she was president at the time of her death, and had been for two years. A few months before she died she stated that she was an officer of nineteen societies for charitable purposes.

Yet all this labor for others did not prevent her from making one of the most charming homes on the Pacific Coast, where the beautiful virtue of hospitality was to be found by the weary and heavy-laden, as well as by those familiar with the sunshine of prosperity.

This rare and loving soul was called to walk through dark valleys. Twelve years ago her husband committed suicide, a victim of inherited mania, and Mrs. Cooper's own life at last was sacrificed to the same mania transmitted to their daughter.

They say of this noble woman that she knew how to love; that she loved deeply, steadfastly, permanently. As a tribute to love she gave her life. Her daughter was her constant companion, confidante, secretary, and friend. They loved each other with a devotion passing all ordinary maternal and filial affection. One was the shadow of the other, and they were never separated. The daughter had not the strong religious faith of Mrs. Cooper, but she worshipped her mother as a saint, and was ever her most ardent admirer.

The world knows the sad story of that fervent love. Harriet Cooper's mind gave way; she lost all interest in life, had attacks of profoundest melancholy, and longed to die and take her mother with her. Mrs. Cooper, believing her malady curable, endeavored to conceal it from the world and refused to be separated from her, although repeatedly urged to do so by her physician and the few intimate friends who knew the true state of affairs. After several unsuccessful attempts at taking her own and her mother's life, the daughter at last

succeeded. Two open gas-jets ended all, bringing sorrow to many hearts.

We need not go into remote history for stories of Spartan mothers to tell our children. Mrs. Cooper's story of Spartan heroism and service is no fable. There are tales which say that more than once in the dead of night the demented daughter turned on the gas and held her mother pinioned to the bed until she was nearly overcome, yet after much entreaty relented, and let her live, and herself consented to carry the oppressive burden of life a little longer. But only a few close friends knew of the danger the devoted mother nightly faced. Yet others who knew not of it saw on Mrs. Cooper's face the solemn sign that sometimes comes upon the faces of gracious souls whose earthly experiences are almost at an end, and remarked upon it.

In the kindergartens of San Francisco it has been the custom for the children to celebrate Mrs. Cooper's birthday. They made preparations to do so on the 11th of December, one day ahead of the usual date, because that fell on a Saturday. They twined her picture with laurel, and otherwise made ready to do her honor; but when the day came the laurel was changed to crape, for the great gardener of the child plant was no longer among the living.

All who knew Mrs. Cooper spoke of her great gentleness; they say she was a gentlewoman in every sense of the word; but with that gentleness went the firmness of the hills, and a loyalty to conviction not to be shaken by persuasion or abuse. The welfare of all human-kind concerned her. She was a true mother, for she numbered her children by thousands.

Was not Mrs. Cooper a wanderer from Altruria, one of a new race, dreamed of and looked for by those who believe we are journeying to "some far-off, divine event, to which the whole creation moves"? Some of the people of this new race are already with us, and they bear their sign manual not to be mistaken, for by their works are they known. There is a new heaven, and it can be entered here, where it will make a new earth. It is to

be to other souls
The cup of strength in some great agony!
Enkindle generous ardor, feed pure love,
Beget the smiles that have no cruelty,
Be the sweet presence of a good diffused,
And in diffusion ever more intense!

And what of her who was that cup of strength to many fainting souls? Was her road smooth and flowery? Ah, no! It needed the heart of the hero, the faith of the martyr, to patiently walk therein. And of the good diffused by her, what is her share? What has she entered into on the other side of silence? What meaning ~~has she~~

found for the curious problem we call life? Here we pause. The grave is voiceless. Dead lips have no message we can understand. Only stillness and the solemn beauty of peace are there. But if we turn from her pathetic dust to the memory of her serene face and gracious life, something bids us hope; something says that one who gave so largely must also receive according as she gave, yea, with measure heaped up and running over. It may be that death has not touched her at all; that she yet lives and loves in larger ways than we can understand.

Thousands of women lament their lack of interest in life. Their hearts are empty, their hands idle. The world has been a disappointment to them, and the great burden of self is hard to carry. The happiness they sought has eluded them, and they are out of harmony with everything. If they would but learn the lesson of service and self-forgetfulness taught by the life of this vanished altruist, they might attain to something better than the happiness of their dreams,—the blessedness of usefulness.

SEPULTURE OF THE LIVING.

BY MARVIN DANA, M. A., LL. B., F. R. G. S.

IN the eighteenth century whole nations believed in vampirism. In Greece, Russia, Poland, and Hungary, unnumbered corpses were dragged from their graves, the heads cut off and burned, and the bodies left at cross-roads with stakes driven through the hearts. The superstition of the time taught that these were ghouls, who prolonged an unnatural and hideous existence within the tomb by subtly absorbing for their nourishment the vital energies of those yet living. Their ghastly careers could only be terminated by the disinterment and mutilation of their carcasses.

Our first impulse is to abhor such brutal treatment of the dead, while we marvel at the ignorance that sanctioned it as legal procedure. Yet the cruel folly was not wholly without excuse. The accused dead were put on trial, and the sentence was determined by circumstantial evidence. When the living sickened without apparent cause and wasted away, the secret source of their affliction was believed to be the vampire ghosts that came forth from the sepulchres to suck the blood of life for their own uncanny nourishment. Thereupon the suspected bodies were taken from their graves for examination. If they had suffered corruption they were declared innocent. But if they retained their flesh untainted by decomposition, with the blood fluid in their veins, they were adjudged guilty, and the final penalties of their crimes were visited upon them. The official records of the time prove to us that many were thus condemned by reason of their unchanged bodies, though they had been weeks entombed.

The inevitable conclusion to which we are forced is that in vampirism we find a ghastly witness to the extent of living sepulture. In the written account of the punishment of vampire corpses, there are statements to the effect that some of the bodies were convulsed at the last moment as if in torture, that the blood flowed, the eyes unclosed; that one shrieked as if in agony. We need not question the truth of such assertions. They are authoritatively made, and are to be accepted as credible. We cannot doubt that many, if not all, of the victims of vampirism were of those most afflicted of all human beings, those tormented by fate, who are numbered with the dead, and cast into the earth, while yet the breath of life is in them.

My own observation, pursued for a number of years, prepares me to assert that in this country one person each week is buried alive.

This is the mildest statement possible, since it refers only to the cases where bodies are exhumed, indubitable traces of life in the grave detected, and the facts are reported in the public press. When we consider that hardly one in a thousand of the bodies buried is ever again examined, when we consider that weekly one of the few examined is found to have been buried alive, we are appalled at the awful possibilities — aye, the awful realities — as to the extent of living sepulture.

Physicians are not partial to public utterances on the subject. The theme is too horrible for popularity. They hesitate to declare the facts, since the facts are rather injurious to themselves, as showing their inability, under certain conditions, to distinguish between life and death. Moreover, in the generality of cases, the remedial methods are doubtful, or difficult of execution. I have discussed the subject with many men prominent in the medical world, and, without exceptions, they refuse to be quoted on the subject, but in their confidences most of them have admitted the accuracy of the facts I have already set forth, and a few have agreed with me in the theories which I shall now detail.

My attention was first seriously called to the subject at the time of Washington Irving Bishop's death. I was well acquainted with the celebrated mind-reader, and was with him once when he fell into a cataleptic state and when the physicians who were summoned pronounced him dead. I have no wish to revive the question as to whether or not the haste of the physicians who performed the autopsy on Bishop was satisfied in operating on a corpse or on a living body. It is enough for my present purposes to say that the inquiry incident to his death attracted my particular attention to the phenomena of catalepsy, and, in consequence, to the subject of living sepulture.

It should be understood that when a person is in the cataleptic trance every test of death known to medical skill may warrant the belief that the person is dead. To mention but one example: a woman, now living, was twice pronounced dead, prepared for burial, and saved from being buried alive by accident. In this case the fallibility of tests is dreadfully apparent, because the first mistake was known to the physicians when they made their second examination. On this account they used every precaution and painstakingly proved her to be dead, — though she is not yet.

Self-induced catalepsy is a possibility. We need not consider the Oriental fakirs, who are claimed to possess the ability to suspend animation for almost any length of time. Regarding these as doubtful, despite the formal evidence in their favor, there are persons living to-day who can at will enter into a condition of trance, and in some trance is so profound as to present all the appearances of death.

Catalepsy is not a disease. Physicians admit that they know little concerning it, but one eminent authority has asserted that, of itself, it is never fatal. Indeed, from an elaborate examination of a large number of cases, I may declare that disease is hardly ever fatal when the patient falls into a cataleptic state.

Now, from the two paragraphs above we may deduce two propositions of extreme importance to the subject of living sepulture :

First, catalepsy is a form of hypnotic trance ;

Second, catalepsy is a nature's method of combating disease.

Both of these propositions deserve our thoughtful attention. They are, I believe, supported by enough evidence to render them highly probable, and, therefore, to be accepted as true until scientific investigation shall have become exact. Let us, then, examine the proposition that catalepsy is a form of hypnotic trance.

In the hypnotic trance the subject's will slumbers. In the deep trances there is a suspension of activity in the vital functions. The vital organs rest. Voluntary movement is an impossibility. The Nancy and Paris schools alike unite in believing so much, and we may regard that much of hypnotism as determined.

But that much of hypnotism in which all the experts are agreed, exactly applies to cataleptic trance.

Catalepsy is caused by nervous exhaustion or disease ; it is caused by the hypnotic influence of another person ; it is caused by auto-suggestion in the case of certain individuals ; it is caused, in what is known as epidemic catalepsy, by auto-suggestion that takes the form of persistent fear lest the cataleptic condition should come, — the physicians say caused by imitation. In all of these the resemblance to the causes of hypnotic trance are so marked as to need no comment.

In the cataleptic trance ordinarily the subject is aware of that which goes on round about. One ignorant of hypnotism might believe that this fact differentiated the cataleptic from the hypnotic condition. In truth, the hypnotized person ordinarily is aware of that which goes on round about. Only in the most profound sleep is this not the case, apparently, but in a number of very careful investigations the apparent variation has been shown to be merely apparent, and not real.

Having said so much to establish the probable identity of catalepsy with hypnotic trance, I shall proceed to my second proposition that catalepsy is a nature's method of combating disease.

Many have a mistaken notion to the effect that the hypnotic trance is peculiarly exhausting to the subject. On the contrary, the slumber itself is absolute rest for the subject. Of course, while asleep he, like any somnambulist, may go through fatiguing exercises, but if left to repose, that repose is more restful than ordinary sleep, inasmuch as

more profound than ordinary sleep. Any number of experiments, in and out of the hospitals, prove conclusively that hypnotic trance is most refreshing to the subject, and restores from the consequences of fatigue or exhaustion more rapidly than any other known means.

Applying our knowledge of this fact to catalepsy, which we may now believe to be identical with the hypnotic trance, we are prepared to suspect that the patient who falls into catalepsy would thereby receive rest and succor against the exhaustion of disease. Such is the inevitable conclusion from our theory. Turning to our facts for confirmation, we find that, almost without exception, the patient who enters into the cataleptic state recovers from his disease. The only requirement is intelligent treatment when the cataleptic condition supervenes. It would seem that nature, in using the cataleptic trance, makes its final effort to save the patient from death. Through it, the torment or the atrophy of disease is succeeded by repose the most peaceful, the most profound, that the mortal body experiences. The time during which the slumber continues is determined by the patient's requirements. It may be short, it may be long.

It is obvious that, if catalepsy is a nature's method of combating disease, no effort should be made to arouse the patient from the healing slumber. Evidently, to do so would be to thwart nature's last effort. If the means employed, usually violent, are successful, the nervous shock must be tremendous, the result disastrous. On the other hand, if the means employed are not successful, the patient will probably be buried alive.

One other phase of the subject is most important. We know that the cataleptic subject is, ordinarily, conscious of that which occurs in his presence. The subject is in an hypnotic trance, and, therefore, is powerfully influenced by suggestion. The testimony of persons thought to be dead is to the effect that often they, too, believed that they were dead. They heard themselves declared to be dead, and accepted the declaration without question. In view of this, it is apparent that, when the physicians solemnly pronounce the patient dead, when the family wail over the supposed corpse, and the undertaker makes it ready for burial, the unhappy victim, in his trance incapable of any exercise of will, bound, like the puppet of a mesmerizer, to believe whatever is said to him, however unreasonable, — that unhappy victim may, though living and conscious, be assured of his own decease, may accept as eminently reasonable his descent into the grave, the falling of the clods on his coffin, may be undeceived only when nature's thwarted effort to combat disease ends, and he awakes to know the horror of his fate, to die, indeed, unheeded, bound to a brief but awful torment in
 darkness of the tomb.

To suggest means for lessening the present evils is a difficult task. Cremation of the dead is of no particular benefit. To be burned alive in an instant, is better, doubtless, than to die in the ground, but what we desire is a death unassisted by our friends' mistaken haste.

In the first place, the apparent death of the person should not be commented on in the presence of that person, on account of the influence of such suggestion in delaying or preventing the return to a normal condition. The patient should be regarded as sleeping, and whatever is said or done in his presence should not contradict the idea that he will awake.

As to the other phase of the question, the avoiding of living sepulture: The tests for determining death as they are made by physicians to-day are *not* conclusive, so far as cataleptic subjects are concerned. To bury the living is, indeed, a grave crime against humanity's rights. It requires a grave preventive measure. My own researches and those of many others make me positive that there is but one sure proof of death — the corruption of the body. Other tests fail; that test never fails. It is the only certain means, and should always be awaited as the proof of death, before the body is treated as a corpse. Artificial means of preventing that corruption should be done away; autopsies should forego their scientific haste, for the sake of giving the patient every chance of life; in fine, until the visible and undeniable evidence of death appears, the patient has a supreme right to be treated as one who lives, despite all superficial signs to the contrary.

The remedy is repugnant to us, but it need not be. Assuredly, at the worst, it is incomparably less repugnant than living sepulture. If all thus buried could come forth from their graves to tell us of their horrid death within the sepulchre, as many have come already, could we hesitate for a moment before that ghastly phalanx of the tortured? Could we wilfully increase that grewsome and accusing company, for the sake of a sentiment? Let us retain our dear ones as living, until death shows us, by his own plain signet of corruption, that they are his.

FALLING PRICES AND IMPOVERISHMENT.

BY HULBERT FULLER, M. D.

“THE beneficent tendency of falling prices towards a higher, grander, greater, and happier civilization” is the preposterous proposition of Mr. Dean Gordon in an article entitled “Falling Prices” in the March ARENA. That this axiom was evolved out of his superficial consciousness rather than from any profound inquiry into the logical basis of falling prices, must have been instantly apparent to the most careless of readers. Indeed, it is so on a par with the alleged beneficent effects of Bradley-Martin balls or of \$700,000 inaugurations, the subtle economies of which the average newspaper editor has not yet mastered, that it scarcely seems legitimate to refute such a proposition through the pages of the ARENA, whose contributors are supposed to have at least mastered the A B C of political economy before challenging the field. What have Mr. Jerry Simpson and other plain Democratic orators been teaching lately in Kansas, that anyone from that State should send in an article on “the beneficent tendency of falling prices”?

The author of that article obviously knows only two ways by which general prices are made to fall. Utterly ignoring that masterful work of Prof. Thorold Rogers on “Six Centuries of Work and Wages,” and with a refreshing indifference to the influence of “Rent,” — using the term in the general sense that it bears in political economy, — Mr. Dean Gordon goes on to tell us that prices may fall because of an appreciating standard of money, or because of increased facilities of manufacture and production; in short, the gold-standard and the overproduction theories. The former of these he promptly dismisses, as though the fallacious theory of an appreciating standard were settled once and for all by the last election perhaps, and confines himself simply to the argument of cheaper production. So that, merely referring to the present spectacle of Republican senators clamoring for bimetallism, and the recent declaration of Senator Chandler that prices have fallen thirty-five per cent in the past six years because of an appreciating gold standard, we likewise shall dismiss the influence of money and limit ourselves to the “beneficent tendencies of falling prices” and some of their more flagrant causes.

It is certainly startling to be seriously informed by a resident of Kansas, that the farmer can now produce two bushels of wheat or corn, because of improved facilities, on the same area required to produce

one bushel ten or fifteen years ago ; or, which is the same thing, to produce two bushels now with the same cost for labor that was formerly required to produce one bushel. Yet this is the argument Mr. Gordon applies to the making of buggies and bicycles, and, we are to infer, represents his ideas in regard to farming as well. It is a pretty theory, and has the great advantage of being simple and easy to understand besides. But unfortunately it is not true, either of buggies, bicycles, or farming. Facilities have not undergone such a miraculous improvement within the past decade except in occasional instances. That in some cases, as in the manufacture of wire nails, for instance, production has been cheapened, is beyond all doubt ; but such cases merely prove the exception and not the rule. Certainly no such revolution has recently occurred in the labor involved in bicycle making, nor yet in farming. Hence, when Mr. Gordon's John Smith makes bicycles for \$50 that formerly sold for \$100, or his mythical Sam Jones makes buggies at the same marvellous reduction, there are many ways by which such a result can be accomplished, but none of them are "beneficent."

For when no new invention has recently occurred to greatly facilitate the manufacture of an article, there are three commonly observed ways of cheapening prices :

- 1st. The manufacturer may reduce wages.
- 2nd. He may increase the number of hours of his employees.
- 3rd. He may make inferior goods.

But better than all these, he may form a trust or combine and so do all three together. Aye, he may do better still ; for if he is a good practical business man like the controller of the sugar trust he may combine factories with an aggregate capital of seven millions, and water the stock up to fifty millions. And having done this, he may now proceed to pacify the general public by both cheapening the price of sugar and increasing wages ten per cent, simply because of the absolute bulge he has on the stock market. Under such conditions legitimate business becomes a gigantic gamble ; wages may be anything or nothing, and sugar the same ; for by virtue of his control of the stock, the manufacturer is so able to influence the market as to run the greatest "skin" game on earth, whether the wheels go round or not. Innocent victims rush in to buy stock, the gilded youth about town, the widows and orphans even, who, the railroads and manufacturers tell us when we demand a settlement, "must not be defrauded." Finally, however, our easy-going public gets angry and alarmed, until one morning we wake up and read in our newspapers that a great university has been endowed with millions of dollars by the president of some enormously wealthy and pernicious trust. Professors are engaged at splendid sal

ries to teach the advantages of "sound" money and protection to the youth of our land. Building after building is erected; granite and oak fairly strain and groan with the weight of so much learning — and so much money. Until the wondering world is at length startled and disillusioned to learn that one of the professors has been caught teaching heresy; that he has dared to affirm that the earth "do" move around the sun; that truth is greater than a "trust"; and of course his head is instantly chopped off and his body thrown to the dogs.

Seeing that we have now arrived at college it may be as well to take up the subject of arithmetic right here, and to remind Master Dean Gordon that his sums and figures do him little credit. The unvarying trend of his argument being that general low prices benefit all alike, let us take, for instance, the case of a man working on a salary under low and high prices.

LOW PRICES.		HIGH PRICES.	
Salary, per week.....	\$10.00	Salary, per week.....	\$20.00
Bread, per week.....	\$1.00	Bread, per week.....	\$2.00
Meat, per week.....	1.00	Meat, per week.....	2.00
Vegetables, per week.....	1.00	Vegetables, per week.....	2.00
Rent, per week.....	2.00	Rent, per week.....	4.00
	<hr/> 5.00		<hr/> 10.00
Balanced saved,	\$5.00	Balance saved,	\$10.00

Of course one might object to these figures by claiming that they are virtually the same; that ten dollars saved under the one system will buy no more than \$5 saved under the other. Very true; but we are to remember that this money is being saved, not spent, and that in an era of falling prices it is a sure thing that prices will continue to fall. So that, by no effort at all, the man who has saved a little money may confidently expect to arrive some day, paying no regard to interest, at a stage where every dollar that he has saved comes to be worth two. This, perhaps, is one of the beneficent effects that Mr. Gordon sees in falling prices. Many millionaires have hitherto discovered and spoken very highly of such benefits, but we had certainly hoped better of Kansas.

Thus at the outset we are confronted with the painful fact that the inevitable result of falling prices is to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. What do people of Kansas think of such beneficence? To him that hath shall be doubled; and of him that hath not, even the little that he hath shall be taken from him. And there are some who, sitting in high places and feeling that the world is good enough for them, assert that such is the will of Providence; and out of their hearts' selfishness declare that man is made for law and not law for man. Wherefore, having a cinch, they are wont to cry out:

"Rights! Rights! Let no man tamper with the rights of the individual," forgetting in their foolishness that every law that was ever made, every trifling ordinance that was ever passed, has always interfered with the rights of the individual in order to best conserve the rights of the masses; that progress is ever superior to law, and that when the latter becomes inelastic and petrified it must change or be overthrown. Else shall we come to consider a part greater than the whole, the greatest good to the fewest number, even unto the absurd reduction that a house divided against itself shall stand, while a house united shall fall!

Surely a man must be jesting or playing with the wrong end of a loaded gun when he dares to speak of the beneficent effects of falling prices. For the people are not fools, and there are some sayings that the most illiterate of men know at once and intuitively to be false. Such, for instance, as the assertion that luxury is a good thing because it puts money in circulation, which lie the metropolitan press seems to be united in trying to prove. Even that alleged Democratic paper, the *New York Sun*, in speaking of the late investigation of trusts, asserts that they are a good thing because it is shown that they cheapen prices, and that anyway a man has a right to run his business to suit himself. Wherein, after all these years, the *Sun* publicly advertises the fact that it does not yet know the difference between liberty and license. While other newspapers — to show what editors are doing for the enlightenment of the public — take the ground that high protection should be given so as to encourage a competition that may at length become suicidal in order that people may have cheap prices. Which reminds us of the argument advanced by ministers in Nevada that prize-fights are a great blessing because they put money in circulation and there is just a lurking possibility that one or both of the participants may be killed and the country benefited. Such are some of the vapid utterances and weaknesses that any listener may gather during this transition period of a democratic country.

Now as to the causes of agricultural decline — and surely this is such a period — Mr. Thorold Rogers names four: insufficient capital, excessive rent, insecure tenure, and inefficient labor. Of these we shall select as the one great underlying cause of falling prices, simply rent. We may omit the adjective "excessive," it being superfluous, as rent is always excessive or rapidly becoming so. By "rent" we mean, in an economic sense, all that portion of labor which accrues to the owners of land or other natural capabilities by virtue of their ownership.

We may now observe the effects of rent by a practical illustration. A young man in New-York named Smith owns a large tract of land in

California, we will say. Mr. Smith has never seen this land, as he finds it more to his tastes to spend his money in New York and London. But he owns it, and has apparently a sympathetic public behind him. Anyway, he has a clear title from his grandfather, who was given the land by a general in the Mexican army to whom he had rendered a service, and who had himself obtained it from his wife, whose grandfather had driven a pack of thieving Indians off of it and camped down upon it himself. There was no question about the title; like all other deeds to land, if we trace it back we find it to be based upon the divine and unalterable principle that might makes right. That there was ever any such thing as truth, or right, or justice, or brotherly love, in these so-called ownerships of the earth is something that the modern world has only begun to question. Savage races, however, knew better; by them the land was held in common ownership. But man, civilized man, has sold the birthright of all posterity for a mess of pottage!

But Mr. Smith of New York does not care to work his land; he therefore leases it to twenty, forty, one hundred, or as many settlers as he can accommodate. At first he exacts only a small part of the crops or a little money. But new settlers begin to pour in, adjoining territory becomes settled, improved machinery is introduced, productivity is enormously increased; and Mr. Smith, in company with others owning land, decides to raise the rents or prices. The soil is found to be fertile, so that a period of boom may even set in and Mr. Smith's share of the labor of others becomes vastly increased. Meanwhile the price of land (rent) may continue to rise, many make purchases at high prices, while others who are more fortunate sell out and get away. But while rents continue to rise, why, why, why is it that prices of produce do not rise a little in accordance with the value of land? Men are working if anything harder and at longer hours than before, but find themselves getting poorer and poorer. "Hitherto," says John Stuart Mill, "it is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being." Those who are working on leased land find themselves reduced to slavery, long hours, and a bare sustenance on a wonderfully fertile soil; while those who purchased land at high prices are scarcely any better off. A crisis follows, Mr. Smith gets his share and a little more of the labor of others, goes to Europe, and talks about the beneficent effects of falling prices; while a great tidal wave of free-silver agitation sweeps over the country, as though an appreciating or contracted currency were the only cause of falling prices.

Now, this matter of rent as applied to land we find exactly paralleled in general business. The results of "watered stock" are the same in either case. Whether we observe them through railroads, trusts, lands, corporations, or individuals, the baneful effects upon the masses

of an increase of rent are alike apparent. We read that the wealth of a country is increased because the lands have doubled or trebled in price. Nonsense! we can no more create wealth in such a manner than we can lift ourselves into the air by our boot-straps; nor is it a whit more legitimate for landowners to force rents above the cost of labor actually applied in improvements, than for corporations like the sugar trust to water their stock from seven to fifty millions. The effect on the masses is equally pernicious and enslaving. Six years ago, under the McKinley tariff, steel rails that are now selling for \$17 were protected by a duty of \$12 per ton. Under this temptation, mill after mill watered its stock and effected combinations by which their owners made millions, and Mr. Andrew Carnegie purchased an estate in Scotland, where he wrote a book entitled "Triumphant Democracy." But what share of this enormous wealth accrued to the laborer only those can realize who have visited the mills, who remember the Homestead strike in the midst of all this "triumphant democracy," and who have to-day seen the fearful degradation of American labor in such districts, where men are working thirteen and fourteen hours a day at wages a third less than formerly, and which are barely sufficient to keep soul and body together. This frightful spectre is a glimpse of the Dark Ages. Even as we lean back in our comfortably cushioned Pullmans and journey across the continent it is as though each tie to which a rail is nailed were the helpless and bleeding form of some workman, fettered and sacrificed in the faces of an indifferent populace that is congratulating itself on the ability of this country to make rails so cheaply that they may be sold in England!

For heaven's sake let us hear no more of this nonsense of the beneficent effects of falling prices. If we can no longer afford to pay our workmen a fair price for their labor it were better that we have no more rails and no more railroads. That men should be forced to toil thirteen and fourteen hours a day to get a bare living in this land of plenty and alleged over production is a monstrous iniquity and disgrace, that is protected and fostered and maintained in farm and factory by means of excessive rent or "watered stock."

When Mr. Dean Gordon, therefore, declares in his peroration that falling prices, like machinery and improvements, are merely an instance of those all-wise blessings that men have always fought because of their ignorance, we wonder how in the name of mystery he has managed to stand on his head so long! And when in the midst of this acrobatic performance he asserts that, in discountenancing falling prices, we might as well beg for the abolishment of fire protection because fires make work for men in rebuilding, we are curiously reminded of that wonderful tale of Charles Lamb in reference to roast pig. And because of the queer kink that some philosophers get in their minds w!

attempting to distinguish between cause and effect, we beg to repeat the story.

According to Lamb, the savor of roast pig was first accidentally discovered among the Chinese by the burning down of Ho-ti's hut. But ever afterwards, so firmly was the association established between the burning of houses and the smell of roast pig, that the Chinese invariably set fire to a house whenever they wished to enjoy the savor of roast pig. And this is the state of things that Mr. Gordon and fallacious philosophers of beneficent falling prices would have us continue; for, lo! the house of many a Ho-ti is now burning, and the smell of roast flesh is abroad over the land.

LOS ANGELES, CAL.

MALADMINISTRATION OF THE POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

BY HON. WALTER CLARK, LL. D.

Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina.

“G O, my son,” said the great Chancellor Oxenstiern to his son, who was setting out on the grand tour of Europe,—“go, and see with what little wisdom the kingdoms of the world are governed.” It is true to-day as then, and of republics no less than monarchies. We need not take time to refer to Carnegie and the iron-armor matter, as to which the government was shown to have paid \$520 per ton for steel armor which the same establishment was furnishing at the same time to the Russian government laid down in Russia at \$247 per ton. Many similar incidents, though smaller perhaps in the amount of the frauds, are to be found in other departments of the government. The object of this article, however, is not to expose frauds — that seems an endless and a bootless undertaking — but to point out some of the maladministration of that great department of the government which comes nearest the citizen and visits him more frequently than any other, the tax collector not excepted, and whose agents constantly go in and out among us, and whose tolls are a daily tax upon our pockets — the Post-Office Department.

The growth of this department is more phenomenal than that of the republic itself. Starting with seventy-five postmasters and an annual expenditure of \$37,000 under Washington, it had grown in 1886 so as to report 53,000 postmasters and \$44,000,000 of expenditure, and this with a constantly decreasing rate of charges, which by that date had come down to three cents for the carriage of one-half-ounce letters anywhere in the republic. The ten years since 1886 have seen postage reduced to two cents for one-ounce letters, and the Post-Office Department increased to near 75,000 postmasters and \$92,000,000 expenditure. What it will be even ten years hence if the proposed reduction of letter postage to one cent shall be made, and especially if telegraph or telephone offices shall be established by the government, with low rates, at every post office in the land, in town and country, no man can estimate.

In the main the subordinates of the post office do their work efficiently and honestly. There is no department or organization working a large force of men scattered widely apart, which can show a smaller percentage of defalcations or fewer derelictions in duty. The

is no complaint of the working staff, of the vast mass of men who do the drudgery and the labor of the great machine which is so material to the comfort and convenience of the public. If there had been shortcomings in them there would have been reform long since. Where the Department immediately touches the people it is usually regular and irreproachable. Yet there are vast defects, criminal shortcomings, which, stupendous in amount of losses, prevent betterments and ameliorations in the service rendered to the public. It is of these that this article wishes to treat.

The two gravest defects in the administration of the Post-Office Department are: the enormous overcharges paid to the railway service, amounting to fully \$15,000,000 annual loss to the government; and the prevention by corporate influences of the adoption of the telegraph and telephone as a post-office betterment and facility, although they have been adopted by the Post-Office Department in ninety-five per cent of all the post offices in the other civilized governments of the world.

And, firstly, the overcharges paid to the railways for mail service are such as to stagger belief. According to the Postmaster-General's reports, the government pays eight cents per pound for the transportation of mail matter, in addition to paying rental for the postal cars; while the express companies, who make large profits, are charged one cent per pound and less for the same service. And not only this, but while the average life of a postal car is twenty years, the government pays on an average two hundred per cent on the cost of a postal car as yearly rental in addition to paying eight times the charge per pound paid by express companies for hauling the car.

To get down to details: Postmaster-General Bissell's Report for 1894, p. 53, and Wilson's for 1895, p. 31, show that the average price for carrying the mail was eight cents per pound, and this for an average distance of 448 miles. The Texas and Southern Pacific R. R. carries caps, boots, cassimeres, and hardware for eight-tenths of a cent per pound, from New Orleans to San Francisco, 2,500 miles, or five times the average haul of the mail for which eight cents a pound is paid; that is, the government pays fifty times as much. On an investigation before the Inter-State Commerce Commission George R. Blanchard testified that the express companies carried milk to New York, a distance of 396 miles, at a charge of one-sixth of a cent per pound, returning the cans free, and that the distance could be increased to 1,000 miles and there would still be a profit at one-sixth of a cent; while the government pays for the transportation of the mails over the same lines eight cents for an average of 448 miles, besides paying for the annual rental of the cars largely more than two hundred per cent on their cost. Joseph H. Choate, who appeared for the railroads at the same investi-

gation, testified that at a rate of one-third of a cent per pound on forty-quart cans of milk there would be a profit of two to three hundred per cent.

The amount paid the railroads for the rental of the postal cars is \$3,600,000 annually, a sum more than enough to build outright nearly double the number of postal cars the government has in use. There are five hundred postal cars in use, costing \$3,500 to \$4,000 each. These the government could build for less than \$2,000,000, and, their average life being twenty years, it follows that at the present rental of \$3,600,000, the government is paying \$72,000,000 for property it could acquire for \$2,000,000. On the Pennsylvania R. R. the government pays annually \$7,327 per car for the rent of sixty-nine cars, which could each be bought outright for less than half the money. Thus over two hundred per cent is paid by the government as rental of postal cars which it should own. On the New York Central the government does worse; it actually pays \$8,500 each for annual rental of postal cars which can be bought for \$3,500 or less, nearly two hundred and fifty per cent interest. In this way \$3,600,000 a year is spent for rentals, whereas, if the government would build the five hundred cars at, say, \$3,500 each, — a full estimate, — the outlay would be \$1,750,000, or less than half the annual rental. Three per cent interest on this sum would be only \$52,500 per annum. The life of a car being twenty years, the annual depreciation would be \$87,500, and the repairs added would not make the entire cost exceed \$200,000, instead of the present \$3,600,000.

Besides the annual \$3,600,000 for rental of postal cars, the sum appropriated to railroads for hauling the mails is \$29,000,000, an amount which many deem fully \$15,000,000 in excess of a fair and moderate charge. Not only this, but it is in evidence that in the month set apart for the quadrennial weighing of the mails, many railroads, if not all, are in the habit of shipping vast numbers of sacks of congressional mail, books, and pamphlets to points on their lines, and then reshipping them again and again to swell the gross weight on which they are to receive pay for the next four years. So common is the habit that, when some were caught red-handed, the excuse of their officers was, "They all do it"; and the Department was not powerful enough to secure any punishment of the confessed offenders.

So well known are these abuses that when Senator Butler offered an amendment to the Postal Appropriations bill, that the government should not pay for the annual rental of any postal car more than ten per cent of its value (double pay if the life of a postal car is twenty years), or more for the transportation of mails than express companies pay per pound for like service, the Senators did not dare to go on record

upon the motion, and protected themselves by refusing an "aye-or-no" vote upon it.

In the discussion in the Senate, Feb., 1897, Senator Vilas, formerly Postmaster-General, concurred in the substance of the above statements and the necessity of great reductions. He stated that the rate for railway mail had been hurriedly tacked on to an appropriation bill in 1873, that the rate was exorbitant then, and that though railroad charges generally had been reduced forty per cent, their charges to the government, which were extravagant even in 1873, had not been reduced at all. Senator Gorman, who has never been suspected of being on unfriendly terms with great corporations, made the following frank speech:

I do not impute to the men who are in the Post-Office Department or those who preceded them a want of ability or courage to act; but the fact is, Mr. President, that the great power of those corporations, who control everything, who are powerful enough to dictate policies and make and unmake public men, is so omnipotent that no executive officer has been found in the last twelve years, except in the single instance and to the extent I have indicated, who has attempted to reduce the compensation for mail transportation.

Were the government to build and own its own postal cars and merely pay the railroad companies for hauling them, as the millionaires have their private palace cars hauled, over \$15,000,000 a year would be readily saved out of the present yearly expenditures of the post office. With this done, not only would there be no annual deficit, as now, and not only could letter postage be reduced to one cent, and postal cards to half a cent, but even the postage on books and newspapers and pamphlets could probably be somewhat reduced. There could be no further attempt by a "Loud Bill" to stop the circulation of free-silver and anti-monopoly literature under the pretext of a necessity to increase postal rates to prevent a deficit. The way to prevent a deficit is for the government to own its own postal cars and pay the railroads the same rates only for hauling them that others pay.

The second great defect in the postal service is that the swift mail service, the electric mail, is illegally turned over to private companies, who operate it at "the highest figure the traffic will bear," and furnish offices only at the points which will pay handsomely, thus giving the smallest possible benefit to the great mass of the people, and the largest possible profit to the multimillionaires who have confiscated the lightning to their sole profit. This is done illegally, as the Constitution places the post office in the exclusive control of Congress, and no one but the government has a right to operate this best part of the mail service. What would be our condition if the steam mail service had been turned over to private companies as the electric mail has been?

In practically every country except the United States and Canada
"graph and telephone are a part of the mail service. The ever-

age rate for telegrams in Europe is ten cents for twenty words, and the average cost of telegrams is thirteen cents each. The average charge for telegrams in this country is thirty-one cents each. Then, too, in other countries the Post-Office Department has a telegraph or telephone at nearly every post office in the country as well as in the towns. It should be so here. It would go far to destroy the isolation of farm life, and would enable those living in the country to procure the services of physicians in less than half the time, and with less expense than sending a messenger. The market prices in towns would be known each day, and whether it would be well to carry in produce or not. Then many a useless trip to the railroad station for freight that has not come, or to the county town as witness in a cause that has been postponed, could be avoided. Then, too, by increasing the number of post offices, most of the advantages of country free delivery could be had, as messages requiring despatch could be telephoned.

The present Western Union Telegraph Co. has a nominal capital stock of \$120,000,000, on which regular dividends of six and eight per cent are paid, besides \$100,000 salary to the president and large salaries to other high officials. Yet the stockholders of that company have paid into its treasury only \$440,000. The other \$119,560,000 (or so much of it as is not water) has been created by exorbitant rates. This has been raked out of the public by high rates, in addition to the annual dividends on its watered capital, high salaries to high officials, lobbying expenses, and franks to public officials. The plant of the Western Union is estimated to be really worth \$20,000,000, so that an eight-per-cent dividend on its nominal capital of six times that amount is in truth forty-eight per cent. A few years ago a firm in New York offered the government to put up a thoroughly equipped line for \$35,000,000, not only to the 21,000 select points the Western Union now operates, but to each of the 75,000 post offices throughout the Union.

As every postmaster could use the telephone, probably that instrument could be put in at each of the 75,000 post offices using the telegraph, and also at 15,000 of the post offices to forward long-distance messages. With the vastly increased number of messages which would follow low rates and the extension of the service to every post office, experts express the opinion that a uniform five-cent rate for ten body words, between any two points in the Union, would be profitable to the government. In England, when the telegraph passed from private hands to the government, with a reduction of rates to twelve cents for twenty words, the messages promptly increased thirtyfold in number. Other countries had similar experience, the increase in the number of social messages being simply marvellous.

Another great objection to the present system is that while t

higher officials, like the higher railroad officials, are paid enormous sums which they do not and cannot earn, the vast mass of operatives are screwed down to the lowest possible figure and are in constant danger of losing their places. This would be otherwise were the telegraph and telephone operated under the Post-Office Department. The high officials would not, as now, all speedily become millionaires, and the men who do the work would receive reasonable salaries, and, like other post-office officials, would have some stability of tenure. The object of government in operating the telegraph and telephone service will not be to extort high rates to pay great salaries and dividends on a sixfold watered stock, but to operate this department of the postal service as it does the others, upon fair salaries to men and officers, and at as near cost as possible; no profits are desired. Then, too, instead of restricting itself to 21,000 selected points, the government would utilize the 75,000 post offices, and steadily increase their number. The increased business would greatly increase the pay of country postmasters, now inadequate, while the telephones and telegraph instruments, being placed in the post offices, the rents now paid for offices by the private companies would be a clear saving to the government.

It has been objected by the Western-Union lobbyists that the telegraph and telephone systems could then be controlled for partisan purposes. But we know that the post-office officials in the last campaign were not so controlled, while capitalistic pressure was brought to bear as far as possible upon nearly every telegraph operator who could be reached. There is every reason to believe that, under government control, messages would be more sacred than under the present system. As to telephones for private use, the government in Switzerland rents them at \$6 per annum. Even in Paraguay the government charges only \$12 per annum.

But it may be asked, Why has not the government been pressed to take this step, when all other governments have adopted electricity as a motive power in their post-office economy?

The telegraph in this country originally (1844-47) belonged to the post office, and when from mistaken notions of economy Congress permitted it to go into private hands, Henry Clay, the great Whig leader, and Cave Johnson, the Democratic Postmaster-General, earnestly protested and prophetically foretold the evils that have followed. Repeated attempts to restore these betterments to the post office have been made, supported by leading men of all parties, including five Postmasters-General. No less than eighteen congressional committees have from time to time reported upon bills restoring the telegraph to the post office; of these, sixteen have reported in favor of it, one report was non-committal, and one slightly adverse. The telegraph monopoly,

which finds its revenue better than a gold mine, has always fought for delay, and by its powerful lobby at Washington, its lavish issue of franks to Congressmen and other public officials, and its influence over the daily press, to which it furnishes telegraphic news, has always, so far, prevented a roll-call on the measure. It will continue to do so as long as possible. There can be no doubt that, if the measure could come to a vote, public opinion would force a result in the interest of the people.

In 1868, indeed, the Western Union was virtually whipped, and it promised to surrender if given two years to wind up; and the act was passed, which is still on the statute book, that all telegraph lines built after that date should be built with the notice that the government could at will take them over upon an appraisement of the value of the plant, without franchise being allowed for. But by the next Congress the Western Union was strong enough to prevent a vote, and has been so in every Congress since.

Boards of Trade in Boston, New York, Chicago, and other leading cities have petitioned Congress for a postal telegraph. As far back as 1870 the legislatures of Massachusetts, Alabama, and Nebraska did the same, and the legislatures of Nevada and Nebraska in 1873; and the legislatures of other States have followed their example.

The Report of Postmaster-General Wanamaker several years since contained a list of official bodies and labor and other organizations which had asked Congress for this great boon and betterment, and the bare list covered several pages. But the people have so far asked in vain. The Western Union systematically distributes its franks to every member of Congress who will accept them, and to every influential official at Washington and elsewhere whom it is deemed advantageous to influence. Through its dispensation of news it largely controls the daily press. It has, too, the active coöperation, sympathy, and support of the money power, especially of the great trusts, a system of which it was the pioneer; and it constantly maintains a powerful lobby.

Seeing the great difficulty in getting a postal-telegraph and telephone bill through Congress, owing to the dilatory and obstructive tactics of the Western-Union lobby, and while waiting the passage by Congress of a post-office telegraph and telephone act, which shall give us a uniform rate of five cents between any two points in the Union, each State whose legislature represents the people and not the corporations should pass an act providing for a maximum rate for telegrams of ten cents for ten body words for a message between any points in its own borders, and a maximum annual rental for telephones of \$12 at a residence, and \$18 at an office or store.

This will (1) give the people immediate relief, as the larger V

of telegraphing is done within State limits, and it will incidentally cause a reduction in inter-State rates.

(2). By accustoming the people to lower rates and to the legislative control of the telegraph and telephones, it will hasten public ownership.

(3). It will reduce the exorbitant profits and salaries of these overgrown corporations and disable them from spending so much money in lobbying and franks to prevent the post-office ownership of the telegraph and telephones.

The power of State legislatures to regulate the charges of telegraphs and telephones within their own limits is well settled by decisions of the United States Supreme Court.

In Kansas, the Morrill bill is pending to fix telegraph rates at ten cents for ten body words between all points in the State. In North Carolina bills were introduced to fix the telegraph rate at fifteen cents for ten words between any two points in the State, and telephone rentals at \$12 at a residence, and \$18 at an office or store, and they were defeated only by the narrow margin of one vote in each House, so closely did the corporation lobbyists calculate their strength. Similar bills may be pending, or may have been passed, in other States. They should be introduced everywhere, in every State and Territory, whether they can now be passed or not. Their introduction and the discussion of them will attract public attention to the fact that the people have the power to remove the high rates which now debar them from the use of these great facilities, which are now practically restricted to the rich and the deadheads. The effect will be educational, and the next time the legislatures meet, the bills will be passed, for the people are really the masters when aroused to express their will.

If the post office were operated in the public interest postal savings banks and a parcels post would also long since have become efficient parts of our post-office system. They are so operated in nearly every other civilized country, to the profit of the government and the greatest benefit of the masses. There being no risk of broken savings banks, earnings are more generally deposited; and the parcels post largely saves the public from the high rates of our express system.

We miscall this a government "of the people, by the people, for the people." A consideration of the above defects in our post-office management shows beyond cavil or question that in consideration for the benefit of the public we are far behind most other countries, even those making small pretensions to popular government. Taking our Post-Office Department as a sample, it could be said that ours is a "government of the corporations, by means of the lobby, for the benefit of the millionaires."

As was said by the inspired prophet of old: "The ox knoweth its owner, and the ass its master's crib, but Israel doth not know, this people do not consider." With the wealth of a continent entirely the creation of their own hands, they permit a few thousand men to confiscate it for their personal profit; with the wonderful discoveries of steam and electricity given by Providence for the betterment of the condition of the masses, they see with apathy railroads and telegraphs and telephones used to increase the wealth of millionaires and to bind themselves and their posterity in the chains of hereditary serfdom; and standing upon the shoulders of more than sixty centuries, and with the advantage of the lessons these should teach, they see without effort, almost without a struggle, the "power of the purse" pass from them, and know not that without it freedom is an empty form, and the taskmasters of Goshen their certain and early doom.

THE SANITATION OF DRINKING WATER.

BY FRANK J. THORNBURY, M. D.

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THE number of bacteria present in rain water or in snow which has recently fallen, varies greatly at different times. Naturally the number is greater when the surface of the earth is dry and the atmosphere loaded with dust, and less when the surface is moist and the air purified by recent rains. As many as 384 bacteria have been found in one cubic centimeter, or fifteen drops, of fallen snow. In rain water collected in Paris, nineteen bacteria per cubic centimeter were found. The organisms are present in the dust of the air, which is taken up by the rain in falling.

Hail has also been found to contain bacteria in considerable numbers. The maximum number recorded in one instance is 21,000 in one cubic centimeter. This is an exceptional case, however, and is supposed to have been due to surface water having been carried into the air and frozen. Tontin found an average of 729 bacteria per cubic centimeter in melted hail which fell in the city of St. Petersburg.

As a rule lake water contains fewer bacteria than river water. Wolffhügel, in researches extending from July, 1884, to July, 1885, obtained from the water of the Tegeler Lake an average of 396 bacteria per cubic centimeter. From the water of Lake Zurich, during the months of October, December, and January, 1884, Cramer obtained an average of 168 per cubic centimeter. In June of the same year the average was 71 per cubic centimeter. In Lake Geneva, Fol and Dunant obtained from water collected some distance from the shore an average of 38 bacteria per cubic centimeter.

The ice used in Berlin, collected from the surface of lakes and rivers in the vicinity of the city, contains from a few hundred to 25,000 bacteria to the cubic centimeter (Fränkel). In the experiments of Heyroth samples of ice from the same source gave less than 100 per cubic centimeter in three, from 100 to 500 in eight, and from 500 to 1,000 in six.

The simple fact that ice appears clear is no proof that it is pure. You cannot see microbes with the naked eye. The clearest ice may be the most dangerous, and the popular delusion that ice is purified in being frozen is a very sad one. Water will retain its impurities in spite of being frozen for months and even years. The number of microbes in ice is not reduced even by freezing. Only lately it was

shown that ice taken from the River Spree in Germany contained 1,700 microbes to the cubic centimeter, while ice from the Lake of Geneva contained 210 bacteria. Prof. Christomanar, of Athens, has shown that freezing may protect from certain impurities, but these are not the injurious ones.

Usually ice companies cut their ice as near as possible to the large cities so as to reduce the expense of transportation. This is the case with New York, where ice is taken from the Hudson just outside of the city. Only a small quantity of the ice supplied to New York is shipped from the lakes of Maine and the Adirondacks, but much of it comes from near-by lakes which receive the sewage discharges of numerous villages. There is only one absolute protection against the disease germs that ice carries. This is *distillation* and *sterilization* of the water before it is frozen. But the quantity of this kind of ice on the market is very minute.

The question of the contamination of water previously pure, by adding to it ice from an uncertain source, is a very important one. This consideration applies particularly to invalids and sick people, to whom ice is such a delicacy and, at times, even a necessity, and with whom it is important that only the purest of food and drink should be used. It is, however, of no trivial importance to the *general public*. If the people could but see the lifelike creatures contained in ice as shown by some drawings executed by Dr. Walter T. Scheelee, analytical chemist of New York, they would pause in terror before they would use the stuff; but, as previously stated, these dangerous microbes are invisible to the unaided eye. Only the vinegar eels and large parasites can be so discerned. A multiplicity of vegetable and animal forms of life have been developed from ice that is clear as crystal.


The examination of ice water as to its fitness for use must be chemical as well as microscopical. The chemical analysis includes examinations for solids, ashes, oxidation, nitrous acid, nitric, sulphuric, and phosphorous acids, chlorine, and ammonia. The *Euglea viridis*, which swarms in water containing decomposed matter, and is a hotbed for growing cholera or diphtheria bacilli, is always present where these are found. *Chilomas* in living form, which is plentiful where decomposing matter is in the water, and assists the growth of cholera and diphtheria bacilli, was found by Scheelee in his examination of the ice water used in New York restaurants and hotels. He also found the *Monas vivipera* in living form. The latter takes its nourishment from decomposing organic matter only, and it is this germ that gives to stagnant water its green appearance. A micrococcus of a suggestive type was likewise very noticeable. The above are but a few of the

organisms isolated from melted ice. They all indicate impurities, and some of them are dangerous.

Bacteria can maintain their vitality in water for weeks, months, and even years. Water serves as a culture medium for many, in which they thrive. Tests by Cramer showed that Zurich hydrant water increased 17,000 times in its bacterial contents after standing for twenty-four hours. Leon ascertained that the water supply of Munich, which contained only five bacteria to each cubic centimeter, contained 500 bacteria per cubic centimeter after standing for twenty-four hours. With reference to the rapidity of the multiplication of bacteria in general, Cohn states that a germ divides into two in the space of an hour, these into four at the end of the second hour, and these into eight at the end of three hours; in twenty-four hours the number will amount to more than 16,500,000. At the end of two days, this bacterium will have multiplied to the incredible number of 281,500,000,000. Certain bacteria grow best in water, and here come to luxuriant development. Only a small amount of organic pabulum is required for the indefinite life of many of the water bacteria, and the cholera spirillum will live for a year or more in water, although usually it dies in less time than this.

Naturally it is not so much the number as the *character* of the bacteria present in water that makes the latter dangerous; a few cholera, typhoid, or virulent coli germs are more hazardous than great numbers of the so-called saprophytic bacteria. Even the latter, however, when present in large quantities, arouse suspicion as indicating contamination with organic material which affords a pabulum upon which these low organisms better thrive.

As a rule, it may be stated that water containing more than 500 bacteria per cubic centimeter is likely to be contaminated; this would be 160,000 to a tumblerful of ten ounces. Water containing 1,000 or more bacteria per cubic centimeter is in all probability contaminated by sewage or surface drainage, and should be rejected.

The typhoid bacillus. To give a concise description of the chief disease-producing organisms found in water, the bacillus of typhoid fever was discovered in 1880 within the human body, and four years later it was grown or cultivated externally. It is a rod-shaped organism with rounded ends, and is three times as long as broad. Its length is from one to three micromillimeters.¹ Projecting from its sides are numerous hair-like processes known as flagella, by means of which it is able to propel itself very rapidly through water. These are  of an inch in diameter. It glides along in an artistic way, making serpentine windings and curves. A drop of water under the microscope in which typhoid bacilli are suspended presents a most impressive picture.

¹ A micromillimeter is 1/2500 of an inch.

We have here what might be likened to a swarm of dancing gnats. Millions of these minute microbes in a very small part, even, of this hanging drop, constituting a "field" under the microscope, will be seen darting to and fro in every direction, knocking into and gliding by one another, but for the most part tending to rush to the edge of the drop to get air. The typhoid bacilli dried upon small and thin pieces of glass, stain very readily with the aniline dyes, and then they may be seen even more distinctly, although under any circumstances they must be magnified by powerful lenses (preferably a $\frac{1}{4}$ oil immersion), so extremely minute are they. This germ grows very readily outside the body upon the ordinary artificial culture media used by bacteriologists. Its growth upon the surface of cooked potato is quite characteristic, and was thought early in its history to be absolutely distinctive. As shown by recent investigations, however, a number of other organisms occurring in water very closely resemble the typhoid bacillus in its growth upon potato. These are quite common, and are thought to be modified forms of the true typhoid-fever bacillus. It grows upon gelatin, thrives well in milk, and multiplies rapidly in beef tea, causing a cloudiness. Upon agar-agar, a material imported from Japan, it also develops freely, giving rise within twenty-four hours to a growth perceptible to the unaided eye. In a case of typhoid fever, these bacilli will be found in myriads in the intestines, where they produce the ulceration that characterizes this disease. They are also found in large numbers in the surrounding glands of the abdominal cavity, and in the spleen and other organs, and to some extent also in the blood.

The fact of the typhoid-fever bacillus not being found more often in water supplies is no decisive argument against its presence. Messrs. Andrewes and Laws, after extensive researches in London, England, estimate that even though the typhoid bacillus be intimately mixed with the city's sewage from typhoid-fever cases direct, there will be only one typhoid-fever bacillus in one-tenth of a cubic centimeter of the sewage at the outfall. So numerous were the failures of these observers in their attempts to find the typhoid bacillus in London sewage that they finally became oppressed by a sense of mathematical improbability. The average amount of sewage produced in London is 200,000,000 gallons per day; calculating that two hundred cases of typhoid fever prevailed during the time when the above observations were made, it is estimated that the amount of typhoid sewage was one two hundred and fifty thousandth of the whole. The investigators found it possible to work on only $\frac{1}{1000}$ of a cubic centimeter of sewage at a time, and this only when ninety per cent of the organisms were inhibited by the addition of 0.05 carbolic acid, and incubated at 37° centigrade. Under these circumstances they were able to isolate pur

cultures of the typhoid bacillus directly from sewage, a thing which had never previously been done.

The colon bacillus. The colon bacillus, being present at all times in the human intestines in large numbers, and consequently in the excreta, is ever liable to be present in water; and this organism, with the virulence which it is capable of taking on, may give rise to serious intestinal disturbances, and in fact to a train of symptoms closely simulating typhoid fever. This colon bacillus much resembles the typhoid-fever germ, and most experts now regard them as intimately related. Frequently in epidemics resembling typhoid fever, examinations of the water supply will show the presence of an organism that is pathogenic for animals, as revealed by inoculation, but which is not the true typhoid-fever bacillus. The animals fall sick and die, and pure cultures of the colon bacillus may be recovered from their viscera.

Beef-tea cultures, to which the suspicious water has been added, are first incubated at 40° centigrade for twenty-four hours. A few drops of a diluted solution of carbolic acid are also added to the culture. This, with the heat, retards the development of the common water bacteria, which grow best at 22° centigrade, but favors the growth of the disease-producing germs.

The cholera spirillum. The term "bacillus," as often applied to this organism, is a misnomer. The cholera germ is not rod- but spiral-shaped, and is properly known as the cholera spirillum. It was first discovered by Koch in India in 1894, being found in a tank from which the natives drank water. Cholera is almost always endemic in India. In 1894 it had extended to other parts of Asia, and threatened to invade continental Europe. The German government, fearing its approach and consequent disaster, equipped a scientific commission, at the head of which was placed the illustrious Robert Koch, and sent them to India to investigate the cause of that dreadful disease. The cholera spirillum is a very motile organism, and has a terminal flagellum. Its somewhat oval body, with the flagellum, gives it a comma appearance. Hence it is often called "the comma bacillus." It develops freely at the ordinary atmospheric temperature in all nutrient substances that have a slightly alkaline or neutral reaction. In case of cholera it is found in incalculable myriads in the intestinal canal, and therefore occurs in the dejections. It multiplies rapidly upon soiled linen, from which source pure cultures may be obtained. As found in the slimy flakes in the intestinal canal of cholera patients, Koch likens its mode of grouping to that of a school of fish when swimming up stream; that is, the individuals all point in nearly the same direction, and lie in irregular parallel linear groups that are formed by one comma being located behind the other without being attached. The colonies of the

cholera spirillum upon gelatin, in which it grows freely, have a frosted appearance, with irregular-shaped points. These, with the indol reaction, the wrinkled film upon the surface of bouillon cultures, and its morphological characters, serve to distinguish it from other water bacteria.

Koch found the cholera spirillum in a water tank at Calcutta during a period of fourteen days, and his experiments showed that it preserved its vitality in well water for thirty days and in Berlin sewer water for from six to seven days. In the experiments of Nicati and Rietsch, the cholera spirillum preserved its vitality in diluted water for twenty days, in sewer water (of Marseilles) thirty-eight days, in water of the harbor for eighty-one days. The numerous experiments recorded by the observers named, and by Bolton, Hueppe, Hochstetter, Maschek, Kraus, and others, show that, while the cholera spirillum may sometimes quickly die in distilled water, in other instances it preserves its vitality for several weeks (Maschek), and that it lives still longer in water of bad quality, such as is found in sewers, harbors, etc. Bolton found that for its multiplication water should contain at least forty parts in one thousand of organic material, while the typhoid bacillus grew when the proportion was considerably less than this, namely, 6.7 parts in 100,000.

Organisms resembling the cholera spirillum. A number of bacteria found in water, although not identical with it, closely resemble the germ of Asiatic cholera discovered by Koch, and now conceded to be the specific cause of cholera, occurring in man. The organisms here referred to are not uncommon in water, and several of them have been studied quite accurately, and photographed. They are of particular interest in this connection. The first of the organisms of this group to which we will refer is the Spirillum Dunbar. This organism was described in 1893 by Dunbar and Oergel, who secured it from the water of the Elbe. It much resembles the cholera spirillum, but it never exhibits signoid forms. It liquefies gelatin even more quickly than the cholera spirillum. The colonies upon gelatin plates and the puncture-cultures in gelatin are identical with those of the cholera spirillum.

Another organism of this group is the Spirillum Danubicus. It was isolated by Heiler in 1892. In appearance it is rather delicate and decidedly curved. It is often united in signoid and semicircular forms, and exhibits long spirals in old cultures. It is actively motile, and the growth upon gelatin is rapid. Several light-gray-colored colonies, resembling those of the cholera spirillum, but exhibiting a dentate margin, have been observed. The growth of gelatin punctures also much resembles that of the cholera spirillum.

The spirillum Bonhoffi was found in water by a Berlin bacteriologist of the name of Bonhoff. It has a decided resemblance to the cholera spirillum, but is rather stouter and less curved. Curved forms, that is, semicircles, signoids, and spirals, do occur in old cultures.

The Spirillum Weibeli was found in 1892, by Weibel, in spring water which had a long time before been infected by cholera. It is short, rather thick, and bent, often forming S-shaped figures.

The Spirillum aquatilis was found by Günther in 1892 in the water of the river Spree. It is similar to the cholera spirillum in shape, has a long terminal flagellum, and is motile. The colonies which form upon gelatin are circular, have smooth borders, and look very much as if bored out with a tool. They have a brown color, and are mildly granular. In gelatin puncture-culture, growth occurs almost exclusively at the surface.

The malaria germ. Concerning the probable presence of the plasmodium, the parasite which is the cause of malaria, in drinking water that is charged with vegetable matter from low, marshy districts, we have important evidence from the lower Mississippi Valley. So extensively did this disease prevail in the large tract between the Mississippi and Yazoo rivers, that population of the region seemed for a time to be impossible; the very atmosphere seemed infected. The use of artesian wells, however, has brought a wonderful change. Formerly the residents of the delta drank the water from small surface streams, shallow wells, and sluggish bayous. As a result of the use of water free from surface contamination, the region has been robbed of many of its terrors and has proved to be exceedingly healthy.

For hundreds of years the Roman Campagna was the home of the deadly "Roman fever." The water supply of the "Eternal City" was very poor, and the fever made great ravages. But since improvement in the above conditions the death rate of Rome has been lower than that of Naples, Florence, Turin, or Milan, and there occurs scarcely a death in Rome from malaria contracted within the city. While we in the North do not have the extensive swamps of the Mississippi region, still there is in the above experiences an important lesson for us and for all who live where impure water, laden with vegetable refuse, is drunk. Whether it be on the banks of the Ohio, the Schuylkill, the Hudson, or any other river, there malaria may occur.

The septicæmia bacillus. One of the organisms producing the most disastrous of the septicæmias (blood poisoning) of animals, namely, the bacillus of rabbit septicæmia, was first discovered by Koch and Gaffgy in a tributary of the Spree river flowing through Berlin. Mori has isolated from canal water three disease-producing organisms. According to Lortet and Despeignes, the Rhone river water of Lyons

scarcely contains anything except bacteria that are pathogenic. The filtered residue and precipitate injected into guinea-pigs rapidly lead to their destruction. Disease-producing organisms have been frequently detected in the examination of river and well water. With a knowledge of the very dangerous character of these germs, such water would be drunk with much hesitation. The hydrant water of Freiburg, Germany, frequently contains the bacillus of green pus.

The number of bacteria in drinking waters fluctuates greatly. Upwards of fifty per cubic centimeter will be found in ordinary hydrant water; in good pump water, 100 to 500; in filtered river water, according to Günther, 50 to 200 are present; in unfiltered river water, 6,000 to 20,000. According to the pollution of the water the number may reach 50,000. In densely populated and manufacturing districts the rivers and brooks are to the highest degree contaminated, and the color, consistency, and odor of many waters indicate that they deserve the name polluted, rather than water unqualified. The number of germs in a single drop of a heavily decomposed fluid, such as may gain access to rivers in the form of sewage, often amounts to millions.

In the Spree river at Berlin, according to investigation made in the Hygienic Institute of that city, there are from 3,200 to 150,000 bacteria per cubic centimeter, the average number being 37,525. At the Stralau waterworks, the number was four hundred. The water of the Oder, collected within the limits of the city of Stettin, was found by Link to contain from 5,240 to 15,000 bacteria per cubic centimeter; that of the Limmat, at Zurich, 346 in one specimen, and 508 in another (Cramer). Adametz (1888) has described eighty-seven species of bacteria obtained by him from water in the vicinity of Vienna; Maschek found fifty-five different species in the drinking water used at Leitmeritz; and Tils (1890) has described fifty-nine species obtained by himself from the city water used at Freiburg.

As showing the influence of locality on the number of bacteria present in different parts of a river, the following observations are of value. The water of the Seine at Choisy, before reaching Paris, was found to contain 300 bacteria; at Bercy, 1,200; at St. Denis, after receiving sewer water from the city, 200,000 germs per cubic centimeter (Miquel).

Let us now examine into some of the conditions surrounding domestic wells and springs in the larger towns and villages, conditions which also prevail sometimes even about rural homes. We shall then be better able to understand how a well, like a Nevada silver mine, may have "millions in it," and how "the old oaken bucket" may bring from the depths elements of disease with the same draught that refreshes the thirsty throat. For convenience a well is situated in the back yard, per

haps a rod away from the house, or it may even be nearer. Certain other things, also for convenience sake, are grouped close about the backdoor. Here is a cesspool but a short distance, perhaps only a few feet from the well; there is a vault, a filthy institution which is an open disgrace to civilization. A little further away is the garbage heap. In other adjacent localities are the chicken coop, the pig-pen, and the stable, with their accumulations of decomposing filth. It may be that in a corner a dead animal has been buried to save the trouble of conveying it to a distance. A damp and reeking spot near the backdoor marks the place where the slops have been deposited since the drain to the cesspool became stopped up with the accumulated refuse of half-a-dozen years.

Every one of the sources of contamination mentioned is a contributor to the well. A part of the putrid material floats upon the ground and is disposed of by evaporation, but the greater portion of it soaks into the ground. It is a common error to suppose that whatever has disappeared into the ground is destroyed. The filth which has disappeared from the surface may be out of sight, but it is not out of existence. If the soil is filled with refuse of various kinds, the well will be contaminated. Every rain washes the filth a little deeper down until it reaches the well proper or one of the underground veins of water by which it is fed. It may not be generally known that a well will draw water a distance of 60 feet.

As showing the danger of soil pollution and the length of time during which the same will last, the following, from Dr. Lanciani's work on "Ancient Rome," will be of interest:

While a system of garbage collection existed under Roman rule, the disposal of refuse was as crude as it is in many modern towns and cities. That this disposal method was regarded as a nuisance at a very early period is made evident by the fact that sanitary laws were passed 2000 years ago that were intended to at least mitigate the trouble.

Some of these laws, graven on stone, were unearthed by Dr. Lanciani in his excavations, and the text of one of them reads:

C. Centius, son of Calus, the prætor, by order of the Senate, has set up this line of terminal stones to mark the extent of ground that must be kept absolutely free from dirt and from carcasses and from corpses.

On the bottom of this stone, in red letters, some probably near resident had written, "Do carry the dirt a little farther; otherwise you will be fined."

The long and active survival of disease germs in soil was also made manifest by excavations made inside a coffer-dam uncovering the bed of the Tiber, alongside the bridge leading to the Castle of St. Angelo, in Rome. Here, in successive strata, were found coins and relics fixing the age of the deposit down to the fourth century A. D.

The soil, as it was slowly removed, was piled upon an adjoining wharf, and then taken away. When the very lowest and oldest of all the strata disturbed was so disposed of, an epidemic of typhoid fever broke out among the workmen and those living in the immediate vicinity. The result of careful examination is said to have shown that the trouble came from the lowest strata, and that the disease germs that had been lying dormant at the bottom of the Tiber for nearly 1500 years were still active for evil, and proved their vitality.

Roth examined the water of sixteen surface wells in Belgard, which has a very porous subsoil, and he found from 4,500 to 5,000 bacteria in three, from 7,800 to 15,000 in six, from 18,000 to 35,000 in six, and 130,000 per cubic centimeter in one. Forty-seven wells of Stettin, the water of which was examined by Link, gave the following results: less than 100 bacteria in six, 100 to 500 in twenty-one, and in the remainder (sixteen) from 1,000 to 18,000. Bolton examined the water of thirteen wells in Göttingen, and found but one in which the number of colonies from one cubic centimeter was less than 100; in twelve the number varied from 180 to 4,940. Sixty-four wells in Mainz, examined by Agre, and fifty-three in Gotha, by Becker, gave similar results.

It might be well to say something here about the best method of disinfecting a well once contaminated, so that it may again be used without danger. In case of a tubular well, it should first be pumped dry; the pipes should then be removed and placed for two hours in a two-per-cent carbolic-acid solution. Afterward they should be brushed, and several gallons of a five-per-cent solution of carbolic and sulphuric acids poured in. The pipes are then reinserted, and pumping is resumed until no trace of the carbolic acid can be detected in the water. This is determined by the phenol test on the addition of perchloride of iron. The common method of putting chalk into a well as a means of purifying it is of little value (Fränkel).

THE DJINNS.

Translated from the French of VICTOR HUGO

BY HUBERT M. SKINNER.

A deep,
Dead sleep
On wall
And town,
And all
Adown
The gray
Old bay.

Ah, but hark !
From the dark —
Ever nigher —
Comes a dole
Of the night,
Like a soul
In its flight,
Chased by fire.

And now more clear
The murmur swells.
I seem to hear
The jingling bells
Of fools at court,
And almost see
Their Puckish sport
And dance of glee.

Still nearer they come,
And echoes have burst
From walls that were dumb,
Like chimes that are cursed —
Like menacing cries
From riotous mobs,
That lull but to rise
In angrier throbs.

O Heaven ! That deathly call !
The Djinns ! What noise is theirs !
Quick, to the darksome hall,
And hide beneath the stairs !

The blast has quenched my lamp,
And high upon the walls
The shadow of the ramp,
A coiling monster, crawls.

The Djinns are onward making,
In whirlwind cycles turning.
The lordly yews are breaking,
And snap, like pine knots burning.
And 'mid the forest crashes,
And through the open spaces,
With lurid lightning flashes,
The Demon legion races.

They're almost here! Bolt fast the door,
And in this hall defy their storm!
What noise without! O hideous corps,
Of vampire and of dragon form!
The roof-tree shakes — its fastening broke —
And bends, like rushes in the gales;
And the great door of ancient oak
Trembles to burst its rusted nails.

O sounds from Hell! O voice that shrieks and screams!
O hideous crowd, hurled on the north-wind's breath!
My house will fall! Already shake its beams,
Under the stress of that black host of death.
Its timbers creak and groan and strive and bend,
And from the solid earth are nearly torn.
Like a dry leaf in autumn, in the end,
Upon the Demon blast it will be borne.

O holy man, if thou wilt save
From these foul spirits of the air,
Thy humblest penance let me crave.
I bow my head in fervent prayer.
Grant that these faithful doors may hold
Against their flaming breath, amain,
And the black claws, of hideous mould,
Against my windows beat in vain.

Ah, they've started in retreat —
Turned in flight, and left my door;
And the beating of their feet
On the portal sounds no more.
But the clanking of their chains
Fills the air; the grand old trees
Shudder, as the Demon trains
Flash their fires upon the breeze.

THE ARENA.

Each passing moment brings,
Diminishing, and light,
The flapping of the wings,
In their infernal flight —
Borne softly o'er the vale,
And thin, like cricket's scratch,
Or patter of the hail
Upon a cottage thatch.

Yet, distant and faint,
A monody floats,
Like choruses quaint
From Arabic throats,
When desert horn screams
To sand-dwellers wild,
And happily dreams
The Bedouin child.

O dismal Djinn,
That ridest rare,
A Child of Sin,
Upon the air!
Unseen by eyes,
The waves that roll,
E'en from the skies,
Oppress the soul.

Dying dirge,
Like a surge
Falling slow;
Like the plaint —
Soft and low —
Of a saint,
That is said
O'er the dead.

All o'er
At last?
Once more —
They've passed!
They cease —
It ends,
And peace
Descends.

THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE Senate of the United States has recently found a champion. A distinguished member of that body, Honorable George F. Hoar, Senior Senator from Massachusetts, has taken up the gauntlet. Under the inquiry, "Has the Senate Degenerated?" he contributes to *The Forum* for April a cogent and vigorous article. The inquiry he answers in the negative. His paper is a historical and expository protest. The Senator notes the widespread distrust which has been broadcast by the public press relative to the Senatorial body. He seeks to account for this distrust and to show that, in great measure, it is unfounded in truth. He repels the charges indiscriminately made against the great Legislative Council to which he belongs.

The contribution of this eminent publicist is quite impartial. It is written necessarily from within. For this reason it bears the usual marks of that class of composition which the Greeks called *apologia*. Senator Hoar has uttered what he *thinks*, and what is, we believe, justified by the facts; but he has not written all. He has spoken under duress of the environment. I will venture, therefore, to take up the unexhausted theme and to offer, in the current number of THE ARENA, some views of my own under the caption of "The Senate and the House."

In the discussion I shall bring into view *both* of our great legislative bodies, and consider more broadly the tendency of that large and important fact in our political life — *the Congress of the United States*.

The present aspect of the legislative department of our government is an anomaly and a surprise. If history, that never smiles, could be astonished at anything, it would be at this. The position into which the evolution of the political life in America has brought the Senate and the House of Representatives is so strained and so unexpected as to require more than a passing notice. No age is ever fully conscious of itself; but a strong effort of the mind may enable us to mark the surprising attitude which the Upper and Lower Houses of Congress now occupy as a part of our national machinery and as an expression of political growth in the American Republic.

We need not restate the place which the House of Representatives was *intended* to occupy in our public life. We need not refer to the well-known function which the Senate was *intended* to perform in our national system. The first was intended to stand for the popular will and to express it. The other was intended to stand for the States,

such, for the interests and general purpose of State populations, and for the organic autonomy of the several commonwealths composing the Union. The Senate was intended also to hold the place of a superior legislative council, without regard to the derivation of its membership, the method of their election, or the constituencies which they should represent.

It was under this scheme and intent that the government was organized. It was in this form that the public life of the nation was conducted during the first century of our existence as a nation. The House represented the people, and was close to them. The Senate represented the States and the interests and organic life of the States, acting also as an Upper House, or Council, in the Congress. The Senate was far from the people, and the House was near to them.

It is only within the last twenty years that the changed and changing conditions of American life have borne upon the constitution and method of the two Houses in such a way as to modify the original intent and actually to reverse their relative positions. It has come to pass that the Senate represents the body of the people, and that the House represents — well, the House !

In the retrospect we are able to discover the facts and conditions which have brought about this result. After the Civil War, there began to be in America a great corporate life. This corporate life was not foreseen and was not provided for in the original plan of our government. The people were provided for; the States were provided for; public interests and local concerns were provided for; but the great fact of corporation as a modifying force in the life of the American nation was not provided for and was not anticipated.

But the corporation came. It intruded itself more and more, in the seventies and the eighties; and in the nineties it has become almost the dominant fact in the life of the United States. Man, as a citizen, as an individual, is engaged in a struggle which appears to be a life-and-death conflict with corporation. There is not a man in America who has the prescience to discover which of the combatants will ultimately be victorious; patriots hope and believe that the people will win.

We do not here enter into a discussion of the contest of the people with the organic powers. We merely refer to it as one of the bottom causes of the reversed relations of the Senate and the House of Representatives. It is organic power in its partisan aspect which has converted the House of Representatives into a machine, subject to the will of party; and it is organic power in its commercial form which has alarmed the Senate into the sudden assertion of itself as the representative body and voice of the people. I am aware that this is stating the question in a manner diametrically opposed to common assertion and
but the truth is the truth; and popular tradition, broadly promul-

gated and loudly proclaimed by a press which represents nothing but the incorporated interests of the country, will have to take care of itself.

PARTY and CORPORATION, then, are the two facts which have become unexpectedly dominant in the United States. Of these two, party is the worse despot—the more dangerous foe. The party machine has been not only invented and constructed, but perfected. More than any other contrivance of the age, the party machine is in order and operation. Organization was never more effective in anything than in this. In Great Britain they say that Parliament rules, and the Queen reigns. In America the party both rules and reigns. Certainly there was a partisan division from the early years of the republic, but it is only within recent times that the party has become automatic, self-existing, self-supporting, and eternal. Formerly it was a means unto an end; now it is the end to which all things else are the means.

The political party, *when in union with corporate power*, is supreme in America. When the two act together for a common end, experience shows that nothing can withstand them; at least nothing has withstood them. When they do not act together—when one acts as a check upon the other—the people have still a measure of power and spontaneous right. Corporate power offers itself as an ally of the party—of either party. It lends itself to the party for its own good. It is for sale to the highest bidder, and generally commands an extraordinary price. We must note, however, that while corporate power is a *unit*, the partisan contrivance is divided into *two*. Two parties compete for the assistance of the corporation. They bid against each other; they contend valiantly for the favor of the corporation damsel.

These, then, are the forces that play upon both Congress and people. Congress is the special prey of two goblins, corporate power and party despotism. The party has intrenched itself in the House of Representatives, while corporate power finds its greatest opportunity and inducement in the Senate. Partisanship more and more has gained the ascendancy over the Representative body; and corporate influence has extended its sway more and more in the Senate. Of the two tyrannies, the party despotism is far more absolute and destructive than that of the corporation. It has been far more fatal in its ravages. The corporation is at least rational. Its motives are motives that may be appreciated by a human being, and may be expressed in a form that appeals to the understanding, if not to the heart. If the corporation is inhuman, it is at least intellectual and reasonable. Party despotism, on the other hand, is devoid of both reason and humanity. It is the literal truth that no tyranny ever known among men, from the mere animal rule of an Apache chief to the abominable despotism of the Czar, is

comparable with the senseless, absurd, and depraved tyranny of a party organization.

It has chanced, in the course of our public history, that the party has found its most advantageous field of operations in the House of Representatives. Corporate despotism has found its greater opportunity in the arena of the Senate. The party has made the more rapid and complete conquest. The House of Representatives has fallen into the absolute control of the party. It no longer stands before the party ogre, or resists it. It no longer utters a protest against the power to which it has yielded. The machine has come in and established itself in the arena of popular representation. All the human forces and all the forces of reason and truth have been whirled into the cylinder and converted into party products.

On the other hand, it must be confessed that the corporation has made great headway in the Senate. It has fought and won there some memorable and infamous battles. It has taken Senatorial territory and built forts and entrenchments for future operations; but it has not succeeded in entirely destroying the autonomy of the Senate or in reducing it to slavish service. The Senate still stands. The Senate still has a voice. The Senate still cries out and makes battle. The Senate still utters its appeal; and its voice is heard. The man may still rise and proclaim his right in that august tribunal. There are Senators who are still unscared and unsubdued. Many still have the courage to declare the truth and to contend for it, with no greater dread than that of being derided by a horde of partisans and misrepresented by the Associated Press.

In the Lower House, on the other hand, there is positively no longer an outcry of individuality. The whole progress of the event has there been reduced to a struggle, the end of which is partisan advantage and nothing more. Since one party is always dominant over the other, the party in power in the House is absolute. It concedes to its antagonist no more than a certain nominal right, and this concession is a necessity of the situation. The party in power in the House must have something for a foil. It must have an opposition of some kind against which to exert itself. It must beat something, either man of straw or punching-bag or effigy or inflated fiction of some kind, in order that the country may be taken in with a show of prowess.

The party in minority is the foil. It is the stuffed bag hung up for the adherents of the dominant faction to practice on. With the permission of the Speaker and some chairman of a committee—but not without it—any member of the majority may have the floor. He may walk down the aisle and punch the bag to the delight of the House and the galleries. But beyond this the individual in the House

of Representatives has no further right, no further function, no further existence. The greatest man in the United States, chosen a Representative, may present his credentials, take his oath, and be assigned to a seat. There, if he be in the minority, he shall sit until the Speaker nod! He is as incapable of initiative as though he had never been born. He has no longer a vestige of a right. He cannot speak. He cannot effectively propose a measure. He cannot advocate the most salutary resolution or denounce the most obvious fraud. He is absolutely subjected to the organic machine.

The organic machine is, in turn, absolutely subjected to the will of the Speaker. The Speaker constructs his committees. In doing so he labors assiduously — to carry out his own purposes. Weeks are consumed in a transaction that ought not to occupy six hours. The Speaker marks his man. He who will be chairman of a committee must be in accord with the Speaker. He must be the Speaker's man. All the chairmen must be of precisely this subservient type. Not only so, but the majority of each committee must be made up of the same complexion and quality as the chairman. The majority must be the men of the chairman, just as he is the man of the Speaker. The device is absolute. No driver of eight-in-hand, with all of the reins gathered up and his feet on the board, was ever more a despot in control of his team than is the Speaker of the House in drawing up and limiting all the lines of influence and power. Woe be to any refractory horse! The bit in his mouth is severe, and the cut of the whip on his back and flank is sharp and dangerous.

It is by this process that the House of Representatives has lost its autonomy, its individual initiative, and its representative character. The members of the House are a pint of sand carried in the Speaker's pocket; the smaller the particles the better. The Speaker is carried in the pocket of his party, and the party is carried in the pocket of a few men who manage its concerns and determine its "principles."

Under this sceptre where are the people? Nowhere. Where are their rights? Purely mythical. Where is their power? Paralyzed and destroyed by the ascendancy of party. Recently it has been loudly proclaimed that the actions of the House of Representatives are the actions of the people. It is said that the Representatives are "fresh from the people"; that they know the people's voice, and do the people's bidding. There never was a greater sophism, never a greater falsehood. The House of Representatives, in the last ten or fifteen years of our history, has not represented the people at all. On the contrary, it has misrepresented the people, and has stood for the very measures which were most hurtful and withal most hateful to the public sense. It has represented nothing but the party machine and the caucus. The "princi-

ples" promoted in the House and enacted into policy have been the principles of party exigency, not the principles of the people.

In the Senate we have had sundry prodigious scandals resulting from the exertion of corporate power within that arena and from the individual subserviency of members; but we have not had the establishment of party absolutism. No party is, as yet, the autocrat of the Senate of the United States. No party has been able to set up its empire in that arena; and it is the *only* arena from shore to shore of this great Republic in which the party is not supreme. It is *because* the party has not succeeded in mastering the Senate, in compelling it to do the behests of party, in forcing it against conscience and reason to join the procession of absolutism, — it is *because* of this that the Senate has been of late denounced by all the interested organs of public opinion as a body corrupt, fallen, lost to public esteem, un-American, and unfit for the further performance of its august functions in our American system.

The cry is false. The Senate has not yet fallen. It is because it has *not* fallen that the cry against it has been raised. It is because the Senate still struggles and protests, still utters a manly cry on behalf of the people as against organic power, that it has suffered at the hands of party commanders. The unthoughtful among the people have been led to believe that the Senate of the United States is in decadence, that it is a fog-bank of ignorance and obstinacy, a quagmire of corrupt and croaking monsters. It is no such thing.

It is unfortunately true that wealth has gained too great a footing in the Senate. It is unfortunately true that corporate influence has reached too far into the actions and deliberations of that body. It is unfortunately true that for about twenty years the millionaires have come booming in and the brains have gone oozing out. But, on the whole, the Senate of the United States has not fallen and has not decayed. On the contrary, the erect attitude of the Senate against some of the most malevolent influences that are at work in our body politic is an inspiration to patriotism. Strange to note the Senate of the United States acting as the representative body of the people, while the House of "Representatives," no longer representative, is subjected to the control and absolute manipulation of an unprincipled machine, offering its services quadrennially by auction to the highest bidder!

THE EDITOR'S EVENING.

A Criticism.

I BELIEVE that the greatest vice of the English-speaking race is its casuistry. The man who speaks English will persuade himself that anything is fit; then he will espouse it as a fact, and defend it with words and sword. Perhaps the thing in question is only plausible or expedient. Perhaps it is positively a false fact. Perhaps it is the sheerest fallacy, tricked out in some disguise of desire. Perhaps the instructed conscience spurns it; but the covert wish or hope or ambition of the man of English kind is sufficient to transmute the fact, however poor and rotten it is, into the radiant image of truth and the golden vision of humanity.

A large part of the history of Anglo-Saxondom since the sixteenth century has been involved with this casuistical disposition of the race. There is scarcely a fact in our race career which is not, in part, the product of this ethnic trait to trump up something and exploit it as the thing important to civilization and progress — this, while the really important thing is overlooked, denied, and scandalized. The reason of this is that the factitious fact is always easy, and the real fact is always hard. The hard fact, however, is the fact of progress and truth; the factitious fact is the fact of sham and lullaby and retrogression.

Out of these conditions the strong tendency and practice of the English-speaking race to reform something far-off, but never to reform the obvious and necessary thing, has shown itself. To grapple with the near-by fact and to re-create it is always hard; it involves individual exhaustion and race anguish to do it. To deal with the far-off, nebulous fact is easy; for that may be lied about and reformed with mere ink. If it be the Eastern Question, anybody can do it; a newspaper can do it; a "journalist" can do it well; a politician can do it better; a crank can do it best. If it be Armenia, there is no telling the amount of horror and reform which an Englishman or an Anglo-American can feel over that. If it be Turkey, about one hundred and twenty millions of us stand aghast. If it be Crete, let no man doubt that we are sorry for the Cretans and would fight for them. If it be Greece, we burn with indignation. If it be Venezuela, all men can manage so small an affair — and all are eager to try. If it be Hawaii, behold how deeply a nation concerns itself; the throne of Liliuokalani is an issue. If it be Cuba, let the fires of patriotism kindle on every height; *Hispania delenda est*.

It is a great thing, in men and races, to care for the oppressed; it is good and great to succor. Magnanimity and patriotism are the noblest virtues of mankind. No thought unphilanthropic or little fit, bat-like, through the shadows of "The Editor's Evening." Let us indeed sorrow for slaughtered Armenia. Let us sympathize with the Greeks and the Cretans. Let us ask for justice in the matter of the Schomburgk Line. Let us think more of the Hawaiians than we do of the American adventurers who (English-like) have snatched the islands. Let us, in particular, wish that Cuba shall be free under her own flag; maybe, under the stars and stripes!

But, first of all, let us devoutly attend to our own business. We have enough to do on this line. Great Britain also has enough to do. She, always so strong to reform and rectify the world, would better begin at home — under the very shadow of Westminster and the Tower. Has she no House of Lords? Has she no London with its purlieus, the basest and darkest and most depraved in the world? Has she no collieries, with their sooty millions going down daily into the earth to toil unblest for mankind? Has she no peasantry to be liberated and lifted up? Has she no manufacturing cities with their heaped-up millions of human beings struggling for bread and a little life?

As for America, have we nothing except Greeks and Cubans on which to exercise our patriotism and philanthropy? Are there no causes in these States sufficiently great, no questions sufficiently profound, to demand and absorb the energies of both government and people? Where, for example, is the American citizen, aforetime free, independent, individual, spontaneous, — where is he going to? Where has he almost gone? What is becoming of our splendid New-World democracy, born on Bunker Hill and glorified in primitive Kansas? What is becoming of the immeasurable products of industry in this nation? Who is consuming them? Is it the toiling millions, or is it the idle few? What is the financial condition of this Republic and this people? Is it good, or is it bad? Will it be better or worse in the hands of those who are responsible for it? Will the corporation submit, or will it rule? Will the railway dominate, or will it serve? Will the telegraph reign, or yield? Will the great municipality be republican and just, or will it be imperial and corrupt? Will the people, in a word, survive and be free, or will they go under and be slaves again?

These matters ought to suffice for public interest. They ought to absorb the energies of both people and government. We are told, in these days, that all is quiet on the Potomac. Perhaps so; but not all is quiet in the bosom of mankind. As for the thoughtful man who

loves his country and is proud to be a child of the Republic, he would rather see the governing powers of this great people, and the people themselves, concerned with the real facts and hard questions of American civilization, than to see a casuistical patriotism, a quixotical philanthropy, concerning itself about the wars and politics of foreign states. Mark Antony, describing to the half-drunken Lepidus the qualities of the crocodile, said, "And the tears of it are *wet*."

The Arena asks for an Appointment.

It is to be hoped that the sunset years of the century may yet behold something good. We have waited long — very long. Others before have waited. How gradually it has come — this emancipation of woman! — this elevation of her to her place. The event, however, now seems imminent; and why not?

What an essential absurdity it has been to base political and civil prerogatives on mere physiological distinctions in human kind! The future will refuse to believe that anyone possessing reason, conscience, the ability to see and to know, could ever have been guilty of so preposterous a theory of human rights as that which, for centuries, has assigned the women of the world to political and civil, as well as domestic, servitude. There is just one word in the vocabulary which adequately defines such a theory of life — brutal.

These remarks are suggested by the fact that an eminent American woman, Mrs. Marilla M. Ricker, of New Hampshire, has now, we learn, very properly presented herself to the governing powers at Washington for an appointment as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to our sister republic, the Republic of Colombia. THE ARENA may have little influence in shaping the appointments about to be made at Washington, but THE ARENA is for Mrs. Ricker! It is for her *quoad hoc*; that is, as far as our influence extends. This may be said humorously, but every word of it is sincerely and seriously meant.

In allegory and poetry America has always been represented as a woman. Miss Columbia is a woman by the common suffrage of art and letters. Why should not the United States, therefore, be represented at a foreign court by that sex which properly symbolizes the best and purest of our patriotism and poetic dreams?

We have reason to believe that Mrs. Ricker is greatly capable in character and attainments to be Minister of the United States to Bogotá. If there be any reason why she should *not* receive the appointment, we do not perceive it. Nobody can perceive such reason — unless it be the rival candidates for the place. As to them, let pass. If that eminent personage who was aforetime Major William McKinley, Jr., but

who is now, by the suffrage of the people, President McKinley of the United States, should hear and heed our still small voice, so honestly uttered, he would hear and heed a good thing. We are not his constitutional adviser, but we are a friend in disguise.

The Size of Gods.

Modern people have amusing notions about the magnitude of the deities. The idea is that a god is greater for being big. Nothing could more strongly illustrate the subjective origin of mythology, and of theology in general, than the ideas which are unconsciously entertained of the stature, attributes, physiognomy, and manners of the divinities. All these are clearly projected from the inner consciousness of the thinker; they have no substantial basis in the objectivities to which they refer. Why, for example, should anyone suppose Zeus, or the old Hindu Dyaus Pitar, to be of colossal size? Why should not Poseidon and Pluto, the brothers of Zeus, be as large as he? Would it require a ruler of greater size to govern the empyrean than to dominate the earth or the sea? There is not, and there never was, a premonitory symptom of logic in the notion that a god, in order to be mighty, must be colossal. Were it otherwise the smallest member of the Potsdam guards would have been greater than Napoleon.

These thoughts came into my mind while admiring the beautiful reproduction of the Hermes of Praxiteles. This work stands in one of the principal corridors of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Apropos of the original, there is hardly a finer piece of statuary preserved to us out of the broken immortalities of the great Greeks. Hermes is usually imagined to be small in stature. He is conceived as being, as it were, but recently graduated from that theocratic kindergarten in which Eros remains an everlasting boy.

The same illustration of subjective concepts developed into objective realities is illustrated on the feminine side of the pagan pantheon. The female divinities are, in like manner and by common fame, graded down from the imperial Juno to such maidens as Hebe and Iris. The signs of this gradation are plainly seen in literature as far back as Vergil, in whose mildly epic mind Juno appears as a most majestic personage, in comparison with whose tall figure and imperial bearing all the other divinities are dwarfed into attendants and supernumeraries. It is not clear, however, that Homer thought of the gods and goddesses as thus discriminated in size. In the Homeric imagination, the deities were indeed lifted high above the Titans and above mankind. But it is doubtful if the Father of Poetry conceived of the gods as graded in mere physical bigness.

Not speaking of Hermes: It is evident that Praxiteles conceived

of that deity as a full-grown god. I believe that his Eros was also produced in full proportions. As to Hermes, I can give the measurements. On the second day of the new administration, being then in the spirit, I amused myself by measuring Hermes with a reed and bit of tape. I refer, of course, to the celebrated reproduction bearing the supposed infant Dionysos in his arm. I note from the engraving of this work in Falke's "Hellas and Rome" that the Dionysos is wanting — at least, most of him is wanting — in the original. But the infant has been "restored" in the cast by some clumsy hand, — that of Schaper, of Berlin, — trying, I suppose, to make out the work of the master. As to Dionysos, he is, from the hips upward, a mere supposititious daub.

Here follow the measurements, from which the curious may see that the Hermes of Praxiteles was not — is not — an infant: From crown to plane of pedestal (foot wanting), seven feet, three inches; from hip to foot, four feet, one inch; from knee to foot, two feet, two and a half inches; circumference of head, thirty-one inches; from forehead to point of nose, five inches; circumference of neck, nineteen inches; from chin to clavicle, five inches; circumference of chest, forty-nine and three-eighths inches; circumference of waist, forty-one and one-half inches; circumference of hips, forty-nine inches; circumference of thigh, twenty-five and one-fourth inches; circumference of upper arm, seventeen inches; from shoulder to shoulder, seventeen and one-fourth inches; from eye of Hermes to face of Dionysos, twelve and three-fourths inches.

These measurements would seem to justify the opinion of the ancient Germans, in whose mythology Hermes was chief of the Pantheon. Cæsar says of them, *Deos colunt, maxime Mercurium*; that is, "They [the Germans] worship the gods, chiefly Mercury."

L'Académie des Bouvreuils.

I know of nothing more pathetic than the education of the bullfinch. It is the discipline of rayless night. The result is song; the means of reaching it are total darkness and semi-starvation. In Germany one may find the Bullfinch Academy in which this cult of song by darkness is assiduously sought. The academy has branch institutions in several places, all private and all under, not the patronage, but the surveillance, of the state. The empire regards the bullfinch as a perquisite. No one may lawfully capture or imprison or distress a member of the bullfinch family. To do so is fine and imprisonment. But many break the law, and the Bullfinch Academy is established in which to educate the winged prisoners.

The native, or race song of the bullfinch is little more than a chirrup. It is a sparrow cry, and has little suggestion of the plaintive

flutelike whistle which the feathered soloist is taught to render under instruction in captivity. The educated bird performs his theme, or themes, of from six to twelve notes from famous airs with almost perfect art. As I sat in the chair of my friend Bertram, in the tonsorial parlor of the Hoffman, I listened with deep sympathy to the touching rehearsal of a bird of this kind. He was a German specialist, a graduate of the Bullfinch Academy. I learned the method of his education.

When the baby bullfinch is about to be, in the very event of his birth, he is taken into a darkened chamber; not a ray of light is admitted until his education is finished. The little one is virtually deprived of food. A harmonicon or some such instrument, running automatically and attuned to the theme of the required air, is set going in the room. Over and over the theme is played. For the rest there is silence and pitchy darkness. At last the starving and lonesome bird-soul begins to move under the vibrations of the strain. The little brain begins to oscillate, and, lo! a faint piping imitation of the air is heard. Again and again the feeble strain is taken up and rendered. At length the given air is learned—and then another; sometimes the work is continued until four or five themes are learned—learned forever. Such is the profound impression made in the sensorium of the bird-child captive that he never forgets to repeat the airs which he learns under the cruel discipline of darkness and solitude. Perhaps all poets are taught to sing in this manner!

After the discipline is complete, the little bird never utters his native note again. Indeed, he never utters it at all; for that, in a state of nature, is caught from the mother singer. His race song is lost for all time, being replaced with the transferred human melody; just as the poet of our own kind, out of suffering and solitude, sings a song derived from—where?

Victory—Winged and Wingless.

The best products of the mind are yielded under powerful impressions. It was thus that Little Billee made the sketch of Trilby's foot. It was thus that Buckle, while composing his review of Mill's "Essay," turned aside and evolved his cogent argument on immortality; his mother had died. It was thus that Samuel Johnson produced "Rasselas" in a week; his mother, too, had died. It was thus that the Son of Abdallah used to fall into Koranic trances; he had seen visions. It was thus that Phidias produced his statue of Winged Victory. The eternal fame of Salamis was still *flying* in the air.

Looking at the broken wings of this matchless fragment, I could but say: "Winged Victory! Well done, Phidias, to make Victory with pinions!" For certainly Victory flies. I remember how the fame of

Gettysburg and Spottsylvania flew — flew to the remotest village and farmhouse; flew to the rivers and the mountains; flew to the pine woods and the Golden Gate.

But I also remember that the great artists have many times embodied their concepts of victory in statues *without* wings. This kind they call *apteros*, or wingless. Several such have come down to us from the art relics of the great ages. But why should victory ever be wingless? Do we not still say, in an age of prose and politics, that victory hovers over this army or that? Do we not still say that battle-fame flies? Do we not still say that the shout of triumph arose as victory alighted on the standard? Why then should not all victories be winged?

The answer seems to be that victory, in the concept of genius, sometimes appears as coming *to stay*. In such case the image that flies hither and alights, arises no more to soar abroad. The idea is that of victorious repose *after* the battle and the triumph. The art-concept is that of fixed results that remain, inspiring and blessing the victors; these results must not fly away! Winged victory is that which comes on powerful pinion, announcing, as it were, with shout and pæan, the auspicious issue of the battle. But victory *apteros* is the happy result and after-pride of war which remain in regenerated institutions, in glorious memorials, in poem and on canvas, and in the transformed souls of men.

Let Appomattox be a Victory Apteris — wingless forever!

W. S.

Sublime through ages, not as others are,
 But as himself — and therefore most sublime!
 The bard of prophecy to endless time;
 Greater than Goethe, or the Morning Star
 Of English song, or him who sleeps afar
 And undisturbed in Santa Croce's clime,
 Or him who, hoary with heroic rime,
 Sang the loud bruit of the immortal war!
 Low is the tomb at Stratford! but the dust
 "Enclosed" there and trace of mould therewith
 Outweigh the Abbey as the world a clod!
 A misspelled epitaph, a mildewed bust,
 A slab, a railing, and a peasant's myth —
 These are the trophies of the slumbering god!

BOOK REVIEWS.

[In this Department of THE ARKANA no book will be reviewed which is not regarded as a real addition to literature.]

The Story of Canada.¹

American writers are not unacquainted with that excellent series of works published under the general title of "The Story of the Nations."

"Story" is a favorite term with the writers of our times, abridged, as it is, from the more formal word, "history." There is a hint in this usage that the narrative, in the case of a historical story, runs more easily and somewhat more colloquially than does the formal, and many times pompous, narrative of history proper. We should say, however, that some of the best writings of our time have been produced under the name of story. It were hard to say to what extent general knowledge has been augmented by the study of books bearing this popular title.

The last number of the Story-of-the-Nations series is "The Story of Canada," by Hon. John George Bourinot, Clerk of the Canadian Commons. The author is one of the most distinguished men, we think we may say the most distinguished writer, of the Dominion. As Dr. Johnson said of Goldsmith, "he has touched many kinds of work, and touched nothing which he has not adorned." He is a useful publicist, having served for a considerable length of time in the important office of Clerk to the Commons. He has written much. He is a leading contributor to the best magazines of England, including *The Quarterly*. He is an eminent scholar. He is a companionable and generous spirit whom it is a pleasure, not only to his own countrymen but to all sane Americans, to know. To enjoy his friendship is an inspiration. He is one of those gentlemen whose activities and mental habits are shot through with gleams of fructifying sunshine, illumining the whole landscape and making it a place of resort for pilgrims whose scallop-shells are broken, and whose sandal-shoon are worn with desert travel.

Doctor Bourinot bears for his scholastic titles, LL. D., D. C. L. He has won them by genuine attainments in learning. Besides his office as Clerk of the Commons, he is Honorary Secretary of the Royal Society of Canada, Doctor of Letters of Laval University, Honorary member of the American Antiquarian Society, etc. He is the author of several works on the constitution and History of Canada, which have given him a substantial reputation beyond the borders of the Dominion. He is a member of the Western Association of Writers, and has attended several of the annual meetings of that body at the Warsaw Lakes — to the great delight of his friends in our Central States.

"The Story of Canada" is dedicated, we might say consecrated, by the author, to the Countess of Aberdeen. We venture to transcribe Doctor Bourinot's inscription of his work to that eminent lady:

"I DEDICATE THIS STORY OF CANADA

BY PERMISSION

TO

HER EXCELLENCY THE COUNTESS OF ABERDEEN

WHO HAS WON THE ESTEEM AND AFFECTION OF ALL CLASSES

OF THE CANADIAN PEOPLE BY THE EARNESTNESS WITH

WHICH SHE HAS IDENTIFIED HERSELF WITH

EVERY MOVEMENT AFFECTING THE SOCIAL

AND INTELLECTUAL PROGRESS OF

THE NEW DOMINION."

¹"The Story of Canada." By J. G. Bourinot, C. M. G., LL. D., D. C. L.; Clerk of the Canadian House of Commons; Honorary Secretary of the Royal Society of Canada; Docteur-ès-Lettres

The contents of "The Story of Canada" include a Bibliographical Note and an Introduction, in which a general view of the Canadian Dominion from ocean to ocean is given. The second chapter is on "The Dawn of Discovery in Canada," in which the author sketches the history of adventure in the North, from 1497 to 1525. The third chapter is devoted to the voyages and explorations of Jacques Cartier who may, in many respects, be regarded as the founder of French Canada. After this epoch (1534-1536) we have chapter IV, covering the period from 1540 to 1603; that is, from Cartier to De Monts. Chapter 5th is devoted to "The French Occupation of Acadia and the Foundation of Port Royal (1604-1614)." Then comes the story of Champlain and his wanderings and adventures in the valley of the St. Lawrence. The period embraced in this extends from 1608 to 1635.

Then follows the romantic period in Canadian history, which the author describes under the heading of "Gentlemen-Adventurers in Acadia"; this carries the narrative down to 1677.

Chapter eighth is devoted to "The Canadian Indians and the Iroquois." In this part the author gives an account of the organization, character, and customs of the native races of the St. Lawrence. He then proceeds to sketch the "Convents and Hospitals" that were established in the epoch between 1635 and 1652. Thereafter the narrative continues through the gloomy period (1652-1687) ending with the humiliation of the Iroquois.

With the year 1683 we strike solid ground in the institution of a Provincial Government over Canada. In this the author discusses "The Church and the State" at that epoch. Special studies occupy the body of the work from chapter XII to the close, in chapter XXIX. The topics are "The Period of Exploration and Discovery," extending through two chapters, "Canada and Acadia," "Acadia and Île Royale"; "The Struggle for Dominion in the Great Valleys of North America," extending through three chapters; "The Period of Transition (1760-1774)"; "The American Revolution," including the Invasion of Canada, the Death of Montgomery, and the Treaty of Peace.

Chapter XXI is entitled "Coming of the Loyalists"; then we have the "Foundation of New Provinces" and the planting of representative institutions in the North. "The Patriotism of the Canadians" is set forth in Chapter XXIII, which is devoted to the War of 1812. The period from 1815 to 1840, Dr. Bourinot defines under the head of "Political Strife and Rebellion." The title of Chapter XXV is "Responsible Government and its Results"; of Chapter XXVI, "End of the Rule of the Fur-Traders and Acquisition of the Northwest." Under this head an account of Riel's rebellion is given. The next chapter is devoted to "British Columbia and Prince Edward Island" and their entry into the Canadian Union. In this chapter the narrative covers the history of events since 1867, with some notice of the great men whom the author defines as "Makers of the Dominion." Chapter XXVIII includes a study of "Canada as a Nation," and Chapter XXIX is devoted to a special study under the head of "French Canada."

The narrative throughout Dr. Bourinot's work is perspicuous, strong, and in many places brilliant. The work is compendious; much is included in little. It is evident that the author has not lacked for materials. His studies, as indicated in the Bibliographical Note, have been made from the original documents; his authorities are ample; his statements of fact cannot, we think, be seriously criticised in any part. His deductions, while they may be a little tinged with Dr. Bourinot's political sentiments, are nevertheless not colored to the extent of distortion or untruth.

"The Story of Canada" is, throughout, a book that may well be set with confidence and pride in the library of American and English readers, — confidence in the

of Laval University; Honorary Member of the American Antiquarian Society; Author of several works on the Constitution and History of Canada. One Volume octavo, pp. 449. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; London: T. Fisher Unwin; Toronto: The Copp, Clark Co., Limited, 1888.

work as a positive addition to our current literature, and pride that a Canadian American has written the story of an important part of our ethnical and institutional heritage in the New World in a spirit so broad and catholic as to remind us once more of our common origin, and, let us hope, of our common destiny.

A Bard of the Transmissouri.¹

Thirty-one years ago, at this hour, the writer was travelling alone across the magnificent prairies of Kansas. He was *en route* from Topeka and Lawrence to Fort Scott. The illimitable plain, swelling and subsiding like the sea, was already covered with green grass and wild flowers; it was April. Here and there in the wonderful landscape might be seen a chimney standing as a memorial of Quantrell's burnings. Topeka was a village of plank houses. Massachusetts Street, in Lawrence, was beginning to restore itself from the barbarous wreck in which the fierce guerilla had left it.

Nature was never more fresh and rarely more sublime. The verdant prairies of great Kansas awaited the incoming millions. Deep was the impression which all this made on my mind; I was prospecting, as a youth, to find a place from which to begin. But fate decreed it otherwise.

One might well inquire, as I did on that lonesome, happy journey, what would be the intellectual development of the Kansan race. I will say, in passing, that no better race has lived on the earth. The Eastern parts of the Union contributed to form the unrivalled stock of patriots and heroes who made Kansas forever famous in the later Fifties. The elements which were thrown together there coalesced; out of that coalescence and vital union has sprung the present race, strong, free, audacious, and, I may say, beautiful. The prejudice against Kansas as a State, and against the people of Kansas, is the most unfounded and absurd, envious passion of locality and development ever seen in America. For one, I not only spurn the prejudice, but I rejoice in being allied on the intellectual and ethical side with that race of stalwart heroes who have done the State of Kansas proud in the history of the nation.

But I was intending to speak of the literary evolution in Kansas, and of some of its best products. Among the latter I select as the best of the best, "The Rhymes of Ironquill." I think I shall betray no confidence and give out no secrets by saying that "Ironquill, of Kansas," is the literary name of the Honorable Eugene F. Ware, of Topeka, who, as a publicist and man of affairs, is second to none of the leaders of that great commonwealth. I select Mr. Ware and his poems, in part, because he and they best represent the normal literary evolution of the Kansan people. His poetry is the natural blossom of the conditions among which it came to efflorescence.

Ironquill of Kansas is himself. He is a Kansan of the Kansans. His muse is native and to the manner born. She wears no foreign draperies; she apes no foreign fashions. She is virgin and translucent. Her melodies are out of the windharp of the prairies. If she adorns herself with any foreign decoration, it is only now and then with a classical rose out of the garden of the Greeks.

Mr. Ware is a well-educated man. He has a trained intellect. His profession of the law as well as his collegiate discipline in youth has contributed to the practical and robust development of all his faculties. He is, to them who know him well—as the writer has the good fortune to know him—emphatically Nature's man. His presence is commanding; his nature, generous; his manner, hearty. He is incapable of jealousy; the fatal literary littleness which afflicts so many is unknown in the life and purpose of this strong, manly poet.

"The Rhymes of Ironquill" are, I repeat, the best expression of the ideal and imaginative life of the Kansans. More largely, the book is a remarkable product of

¹"Rhymes of the Rhymes of Ironquill. A Book of Moods." Fourth Edition. One vol., small
87v.
vols: Crane & Company, 1896.

our times. The personality of the author has made it so; the surroundings among which these songs were sung have set and shaped the themes and melodies.

The volume before me contains one hundred and sixty-nine poems. They vary in subject from the wild jocularities of the prairies to the highest visions of creative art. Sometimes they are patriotic; sometimes they contain a reflection of home life, of love, of companionships, of nature, and, finally, of a high and profoundly philosophical insight into the universal *thing*. Let no one suppose that the muse of Ironquill is not capable of high flights. Some of his poems are replete with the deep wisdom of the real. There is, here and there, a curious astronomical or astrological touch which carries them high above the plane on which most poems are projected. Over the humor ever rise beautiful images of human things *as they are*. Some of Mr. Ware's poetical bits are as sublime as they are original.

There is that in this volume also which may arouse the stormiest memories. Out of the "Organ-Grinder," for example, I quote the following — with the explanation that the organ-grinder, playing from house to house, has come to some of the old war tunes. At last his insensate, automatic music-box begins to grind out "Der Deutscher Companie." This fires the patriotic passion of the poet, and he cries:

Der Deutscher companie ish der beshtest companie —
The music bears me backward to the year of '63.
I saw a German regiment step out from our brigade;
It marched across a meadow where a hundred cannon played;
Its bugles hurled defiance as it skirmished up a slope
Amid a fire that gave no man the promise of a hope.

They fell like wheat; they came not back; at night no bugles played —
There was no German regiment attached to our brigade.
The world has seen thy valor, O land of song and vine!
Since Hermann plucked the eagles from the ramparts of the Rhine.
Down valor's lustrous colonnade is seen the marble throng —
Thy warriors and thy scholars, O land of vine and song.

Whoever has written a finer outburst than that, let him stand forth.

Sometimes this strong Ironquill is tender. He takes "Netsie" (I suppose his own little girl) on his knee, and says to her:

Happiness or heartbreak
If it sadly be,
Blue-eyed little daughter
Sitting on my knee,
Though I may be buried
I will grieve with thee.

When the ache is ended,
We can go and see
Our old home in Lyra,
Where the rainbows be;
You will have a world of fun
When you go with me.

In the poet's opening number he gives us "The Washerwoman's Song," celebrated not a little in those circles where people are still able to recognize poetry when it comes. The poet himself is not a believer, but the washerwoman believes and sings, while she rubs and scrubs, with the baby on the floor paddling in the pools of suds. She sings of a Saviour and a friend, who will keep her always. The poet hears the song and utters this as the reply of his heart:

It's a song I do not sing,
For I scarce believe a thing
Of the stories that are told
Of the miracles of old;
But I know that her belief
Is the anodyne of grief,
And will always be a friend
That will keep her to the end.

Out of a game of "Whist" the author extracts the following philosophy:

Hour after hour the cards were fairly shuffled
And fairly dealt, but still I got no hand;
The morning came, and with a mind unruffled
I only said, "I do not understand."

Life is a game of whist. From unseen sources
The cards are shuffled and the hands are dealt;
Blind are our efforts to control the forces
That, though unseen, are no less strongly felt.

I do not like the way the cards are shuffled,
But yet I like the game, and want to play;
And through the long, long night will I, unruffled,
Play what I get until the break of day.

Sometimes the poet is reflective and philosophical to a degree. He condenses and expresses in little that which, if expanded, would reach to infinity. Thus, for example, in the two brief stanzas on "History" he delivers a theme which, if developed *in extenso*, would include all the historical lectures from Schlegel to Flake:

Over the infinite prairie of level eternity,
Flying as flies the deer,
Time is pursued by a pitiless, cruel oblivion,
Following fast and near.

Ever and ever the famishing coyote is following
Patiently in the rear;
Trifling the interval, yet we are calling it "History" —
Distance from wolf to deer.

Ever and anon the half-satirical Ironquill breaks out into humor. Rarely shall we find anything so exquisite in its way as "Æsop's Fables," in which the poet modernizes upon the work of that great name which stands back of nearly all the applied stories among the civilized races. Here, for example, is the fable of "Persimmons":

Once a fox, upon the sly,
Some persimmons did behold,
So he got a pole and poled;
But he gave up with a sigh,
And acknowledged his mistake —
The persimmons wouldn't rake.

MORAL.

Then in sorrow he did say,
As he slowly walked away,
Fruit of that kind will elude
All our efforts, I am told,
If the pole with which it's poled
Hasn't got the longitude.

Under the caption of "The Life-Insurance Agent and the Post Anger" we have the following roaring joke:

Very skilfully and fast,
Boring post-holes in the soil,
Worked an honest son of toll;
An insurance agent passed,
Saying, "Such a 'perfect bore'
I have never seen before."
Then he sort of caught his breath,
And he talked that man to death.

MORAL.

Strange it is, somehow or other
We are bound to make a fuss,
When we notice in another
Vices that belong to us.

We have not the space to make extended quotations from the "Rhymes of Ironquill," but cannot forbear to notice in particular the poem on "John Brown." Nothing has compared in merit with this, except only that remarkable production of Edmund Clarence Stedman, written between the time of the condemnation and the date of the execution of the hero of Osawatimie. We quote five stanzas:

All merit comes
From braving the unequal;
All glory comes from daring to begin.
Fame loves the State
That, reckless of the sequel,
Fights long and well, whether it lose or win.

* * * * *

And there is one
Whose faith, whose fight, whose falling,
Fame shall placard upon the walls of time.
He dared begin —
Despite the unavailing,
He dared begin, when failure was a crime.

When over Africa
Some future cycle
Shall sweep the lake-gemmed uplands with its surge;
When, as with trumpet
Of Archangel Michael,
Culture shall bid a colored race emerge;

* * * * *

There, future orators
To cultured freemen
Shall tell of valor, and recount with praise
Stories of Kansas
And of Lacedæmon —
Cradles of freedom, then of ancient days.

From boulevards
O'erlooking both Nyanzas,
The statured bronze shall glitter in the sun,
With rugged lettering:

"JOHN BROWN OF KANSAS:
HE DARED BEGIN;
HE LOST,
BUT, LOSING, WON."

Whoever has not read these "Rhymes of Ironquill" has missed one of the rarest and raciest products of recent times. Gradually recognition has come to the Poet of the Kaw. Among the first and best to acknowledge and salute the "Rhymes" was James Whitcomb Riley, who has addressed to Mr. Ware one of his incomparable pieces of dialectical wisdom. Speaking of the "Rhymes" by name, Mr. Riley, in the last three stanzas of his complimentary poem, says:

Read that-un too — 'bout game o' whist — and likenin' Life to fun
Like that — and playin' out yer fist, however cards is run:
And them "Tobacker-Stemmers' Song" they sung with such a will,
Down 'mongst the misery and wrong, O Rhymes of Ironquill!

And old "John Brown," who broke the sod of Freedom's fallow field,
And sowed his heart there, thankin' God pore slaves 'ud git the yield! —
Rained his last tears for them, and us, to irrigate and till
A crop of songs as glorious as Rhymes of Ironquill!

And, sergeant, died there in the War, 'at talked, out of his head —
He went "back to the Violet Star," I'll bet! — just like he said! —
Yer wars kin riddle bone and flesh, and blow out brains, and spill
Life-blood — but *somepin'* lives on, fresh as Rhymes of Ironquill.

THE ARENA FOR JUNE.

Mayor J. D. Phelan on Municipal Reform.

IN THE ARENA for June the discussion of problems of Municipal Reform will be continued by the Hon. J. D. Phelan, Mayor of San Francisco. The value of this series of papers can, we think, be hardly overestimated. Municipal government is, perhaps, the most serious question which, in the long run, confronts the people of the United States. The cumulative tendency of population is adverse to republicanism. Republicanism requires a wide-open place and a dispersed people for its easy and natural development. The city does not readily or perfectly coalesce with the nation. The great city everywhere becomes self-centred, independent, localized, selfish, and corrupt. The worse rather than the better elements of society get into the ascendant. How this evil tendency in affairs can be controlled—how good government can be established and maintained in great municipalities—is the question of the day.

THE ARENA has already enabled its readers to obtain the views of Mayor Quincy, Mayor Pingree, and Mayor Thacher, whose powerful article in the current number will attract general attention.

Professor William I. Hull on the "Children of the Other Half."

The work of organized charity in great cities has become so vast a machine as to require each year additional skill in the engineers who handle the levers. Stupendous as is the apparatus, however, it cannot keep pace with the conditions that demand its existence. This state of facts is the theme of the able article contributed to THE ARENA for June by Professor William I. Hull, Ph. D., of Swarthmore College.

In the classification of facts and figures, and in practical deductions therefrom, Professor Hull speaks as one having authority. He graphically depicts the de-

plorable aspect of life in the metropolis. More particularly he portrays the pitiable state of child-life in the Babylon of the nation. His article is also a faithful transcript of the efforts which are making to ameliorate the condition of the poor little victims of poverty and crime.

Hon. David Starr Jordan, President of Leland Stanford Junior University.

Among the men who are now at the fore in the world of thought and action, few occupy a more enviable position than does President David Starr Jordan, of Leland Stanford Junior University. The industry of this tireless investigator is unflagging. His fine constitution and splendid natural endowments concur in making him one of the leading spirits of the age.

In the June number of THE ARENA, President Jordan contributes an article on "The Heredity of Richard Roe"; that is, a study in universal heredity reduced to a concrete example. This paper, we predict, will attract widespread attention, and will tend to confirm the unusually high opinion which is held of Doctor Jordan as an intellectual leader, a scientific investigator, and a master of pleasing English.

Religious Teaching and the Moral Life.

In THE ARENA for June the question of the bearing of formal religious teaching on the moral life of the people will be ably debated by Judge Charles R. Grant and Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton. The former has for his theme, "Fidelity in the Social Compact." In following the discussion Judge Grant dwells upon religious instruction in connection with primary and secondary education. To this, Mrs. Stanton, writing under the head of "Reading the Bible in the Public Schools," replies by most strongly defending the proposition that the moral life of school children may be best preserved and promoted independently of Bible reading in the schools.

THE ARENA.

Honorable William P. Fishback.

THE ARENA for June will bear to our contributors an important article by Honorable William P. Fishback, of Indianapolis, on the subject of "Railway Finances." Rarely have we been able to present a paper written in a more incisive and interesting manner than this, or one conveying a profounder lesson in public policy. Mr. Fishback is Master in Chancery for the state of Indiana, and is President of the Western Association of Writers. His contribution will be read with profound satisfaction by all who are seeking the betterment of current conditions in American society.

Reform of Our Primary Election System.

Under this caption Mr. Edward Insley, of the Chicago *Tribune*, will contribute a cogent and convincing article to THE ARENA for May. Mr. Insley has been largely instrumental in promoting the reform of the primary-election law in the State of Illinois, and, more recently, in agitating the question of a general reform throughout the Republic. We do not doubt that his able article will be eagerly accepted by the readers of THE ARENA, and that it will be a factor in the transformation of Public Opinion.

Recent American Poems.

Under the head of "Recent American Poems" THE ARENA for June will present to its readers as many as six of the finest recent gifts of the American muse. It is the purpose of the Editor to carry this Department from month to month, making admission thereto a sort of prize honor to be awarded to the best of THE ARENA poets. Our readers may confidently expect, in this Department, the most beautiful recent products of the American muse.

Hubert M. Skinner.

Mr. Hubert M. Skinner, of Chicago, is not altogether unknown to the world of letters. His book on "American Folk Lore" has brought him a well-earned

reputation. Mr. Skinner is an excellent scholar in language and a critical essayist. In THE ARENA for the present month he has essayed the almost impossible task of rendering into English verse "The Djinn" of Victor Hugo. This work he has accomplished so successfully as to make his production memorable. In THE ARENA for June he will, under the caption of "The Tale of Two Horses," present a racy study in the politics of Andrew Jackson's time, and in doing so will surprise our readers with the beauty of his style no less than the keenness of his insight into the political conditions prevalent in the Thirties.

Besides the articles specified above, the June number will be filled out to completeness with matter of the highest interest. The Editor's article will be entitled "The Emperor," in which he will review, somewhat exhaustively, Professor Sloane's "Napoleon." The "Editor's Evening" and "Book Reviews" will complete what we trust will be one of the finest numbers of THE ARENA ever sent to our readers.

Special Announcement.

Helen H. Gardener terminated her relation with THE ARENA with the number for March. She will hereafter be known to our readers as a promoter of those interests which she so ably upheld during her period of special duty under the former management.

The volume of Mrs. Gardener's literary work has so greatly increased, and her outside avocations as a lecturer and advocate of social reforms have extended so far, that it is necessary for her to take the step here indicated. Her books already before the public have drawn so large a share of attention as to induce the continuation of that series of successful works. Mrs. Gardener's fame as a lecturer has created a demand for her voice and argument in all parts of the country from New England to California. Our cordial good wishes go with Mrs. Gardener for enlarged success and increasing fame in her future career.

To Our Patrons and Friends.

If you find, on examination, that **THE ARENA** is battling for the cause of truth and worthily promoting the interests of the American people, please to contribute **YOUR** effort by helping to extend the influence and circulation of this magazine—to the end that it may still better fulfil its mission.

Respectfully,

ARENA COMPANY,

Copley Square, Boston.



HON. JAMES D. PHELAN,
MAYOR OF SAN FRANCISCO.

THE ARENA.

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MUNICIPAL CONDITIONS IN CALIFORNIA.

BY HON. JAMES D. PHELAN,

Mayor of the City and County of San Francisco, Cal.

THE best means of securing better municipal government is not a question for the East or the West, nor for the people resident exclusively of cities and towns. It is a question whose solution affects the interests of all the people. A study of population shows that the proportion which the town and city bear to the country is three to one against the country, and hence it is safe to conclude that city life, in its political, social, and physical aspect, determines to a very great extent the national life.

In this view, municipal government becomes more than a matter for merely local consideration. When recently the legislature extended the limits of the city of New York and conferred upon that city a new charter, supposed to embrace the most advanced municipal reforms, an enterprising metropolitan journal called for a general expression of opinion as to its significance, and the people north, south, east, and west were pleased to respond. Why? Because a representative city by making a new departure in government vitally interested them. Success in such matters is contagious. Failure is a warning. So greatly do American cities resemble one another in the spirit, genius, and aspirations of the people that the influence of leadership is magnetic. Improvements made and reforms inaugurated are rapidly transmitted from one place to another. The eager life, however, of a business city by the far Pacific, where men are supposed to be engrossed in fortune-making and possessed of little leisure, and where the community is not, perhaps, as deeply rooted as elsewhere, might not present so valuable a study to reformers as the municipal conditions in the older cities and towns. But, while it is true that these considerations have retarded the development of local civic pride, San Francisco to-day, with its fifty years of growth and experience, is well abreast of the country in its knowledge of what the people should expect of modern municipal government, and is strong in its struggle for a realization of these expectations.

Patriotic men have organized associations to assist in the better government and improvement of the city, and at this time a new charter, built on Eastern models, is the leading feature of the municipal programme, which is being energetically pressed, and which will likely become effective within the next two years. San Francisco has suffered from scattered powers and divided responsibility. Legislative interference and "boss" politics have made reforms imperative, and the new charter is designed to cure these evils. In line with this tendency, the recent legislature, anticipating charter reform, has conferred additional power on the Mayor by passing an act requiring every ordinance to be sent to him, for approval or disapproval, calling for any specific improvement or the granting of any franchises or other privilege, or affecting real property interests, or providing for the expenditure of more than one hundred dollars of the public moneys, or levying a tax or assessment, or establishing rates for artificial light, or ordinances or resolutions imposing a duty or a penalty, which shall have passed the city council. The city council, or Board of Supervisors, as it is called, consists of twelve members, and it requires the vote of nine to overcome the executive veto. The charter will no doubt confer on the Mayor the power of appointment in most of the administrative offices, and will elaborate a scheme of civil-service reform. Under our present system, there is a multiplicity of elective officers, and the local legislature usurps executive functions. President Jordan, of Stanford University, pithily stated the case and dissipated the natural antipathy to the concentration of power in the hands of one man, whose personality can be determined only by an election, when he said that the only way to get a good Mayor is to make a bad one a public calamity.

Historically the development of municipal government in San Francisco has progressed from fear to confidence. That is to say, the early timidity of the founders of the city gave us a legislative charter which was designed to prevent official wrongdoing. The new plan is to permit good to be done, even through the formerly mistrusted official channels. When powers are scattered, "the boss" gathers the ends together and becomes an autocrat, corrupt and irresponsible. Now we would make "the boss" elective. If he be chosen by the people he should represent the people's will and do it. The old prejudice against an autocrat, at home and abroad, arose from the fact that he was not responsible to the people.

The conditions which have surrounded municipal life in San Francisco sprang from the circumstances and temperament of the people, who originally regarded their sojourn in California as only temporary, and expected to return ultimately to their Eastern homes. For this

reason their government was a makeshift. But among later generations that sentiment has been superseded by a sense of pride in the city, which has an affectionate hold upon its population, reinforced by the love of home and the desire to excel. But this early indifference has produced two curious results, interesting to students of municipal government.

First, so thoroughly safeguarded were the powers conferred upon the supervisors and the city officials, and so reluctant were the people, only mindful of their immediate wants, to discount an uncertain future which they did not expect to enjoy, that comparatively no public debt was created, and we have a municipality without bonds. San Francisco has grown in fifty years from nothing to a city of 350,000 people; has constructed streets, erected public buildings, schools, and hospitals, laid out parks, one of which, reaching to the Pacific Ocean, is maintained out of taxation at an annual cost of a quarter of a million dollars; and yet the city may be said to have practically remained out of debt. Probably this experience cannot be paralleled by any city of equal size and importance, and of such rapid growth, in the civilized world.

Second, while San Francisco has accomplished this, yet, unlike other cities which have large bonded indebtedness, she owns no public utilities. The same shortsighted thrift which saved the city from borrowing, also deprived it of owning. Public property, it is true, to the value of \$25,000,000 stands in the city's name, a part of which is inherited from the old Spanish pueblo, and a part has been paid for by taxation; but the great tax-levying corporations, performing municipal functions, have been allowed to usurp the municipal powers and occupy a field which modern municipal development has made so inviting. The past generation desired to simplify their government and limit the scope of public works, as we have seen, and thus the egregious fault was committed of giving away for long periods, without compensation or reservation, valuable franchises for street railways, telegraph, telephone, subways, water-supply, and gas and electric lighting. It is only within the last few years that strict laws covering the sale of franchises have been enacted, and when the existing privileges expire by limitation the city may recover the advantages which it has lost. By the constitution of 1879, however, the exclusive character of water and light franchises was destroyed by giving the use of streets for such purpose to any person or persons who would file a sufficient bond for the restoration of the roadway, the local legislature reserving the right to fix the rates which should be charged; and these rates the courts have decided must be reasonable. But the fact still remains that to-day the street-car service, the telephone, telegraph, garbage disposal, water, and artificial light are owned by private corporations.

As might have been expected the result has been the creation of powerful monopolies and the imposition of high rates for all kinds of service, and to maintain them we have, as a corollary, the suspected corruption of public bodies. Legislators and supervisors and even courts are exposed to the machinations of these corporations, which, with the Southern Pacific Company, the overshadowing railroad monopoly of the State, have been classified by the people, in impotent wrath, as "the associated villainies." They have debauched politics and have established a government within a government, more powerful in normal times than the State government itself.

These conditions emphasize the desirability of the public ownership of utilities, because, while better results could no doubt be attained, especially under a reform of the civil service, public bodies would not be exposed to the insidious inroads of corruption, which carries with it the ultimate destruction of representative government. Where the commodities supplied are a public and universal necessity, either natural or made so by the demands of civilized life, the state, in granting franchises, practically transfers with them the power of taxation. Every rise in the price of water or artificial light is tantamount to an additional tax imposed upon the people. Every dividend that is paid upon the watered stock of transportation or other companies using public streets is an unjust and unwarranted imposition upon the people. As these corporations cannot exist without the use of the public streets, which belong to all the people, so should the interest of all the people be the first consideration of the lawmakers, and only reasonable interest should be permitted to be earned on the capital actually invested. If, as is true, \$2,500,000 is annually contributed by the citizens of San Francisco for water and artificial light, it is certainly no less taxation, so universal and necessary is the use of these things, than the \$5,000,000 raised to maintain the city government; and, if this charge is double the value of the service, the people are being despoiled of their property with the connivance of the state, and are unjustly taxed.

Again, the growth and development of the business of a city depend very largely on the transportation facilities which it possesses within its limits and connecting with its suburbs. One system of street railway, for instance, costing less than \$9,000,000 to build and equip, and which collects over \$3,250,000 annually in fares, has issued stock for \$18,750,000, and has outstanding bonds for \$11,000,000, upon all of which it pays interest. Its earning power with five-cent fares should not be the measure of its value. Its value for the purpose of estimating reasonable dividends should be its actual cost. And, on this theory, such a system should supply the citizens of San Francisco with cheaper service, especially during certain hours of the day, when the

working classes pay the toll permitted to be collected over the public streets.

A gas company, whose plant can be duplicated for less than \$5,000,000, is paying six-per-cent dividends on \$10,000,000; and a water company, whose capitalization of stock and bonds amounts to \$23,000,000, and whose property, held for the legitimate purpose of supplying the city with water and not for the exclusion of competitors or for speculation, is very considerably less, is paying regular rates of interest to its stockholders and bondholders on the face value of its securities. I closely estimate that \$7,000,000 is annually paid by San Francisco for her water, light, and street-car transportation, a sum \$3,000,000 in excess of the amount raised last year by the municipality from direct taxation for the support of the local government.

The state should not permit private fortunes to be made out of the necessities of the people, nor should city councils permit the use of public streets to become the means of oppression. Unjust and unnecessary taxation is oppression. The questions here involved are equally momentous with those which stirred to action the American revolutionists, and John Hampden before them; and the spirit of the times demands that these tax-levying companies shall act, in quasi-public affairs, with strict accountability, not to their stockholders alone, but also to the people.

Modern American cities, careful to preserve representative institutions in their purity, should be prepared to own and operate public utilities. That is the ultimate solution of this disturbing question. But, failing of this, the unequal and demoralizing struggle between the weak and the venal on the one side, and the strong and the unscrupulous on the other, must go on. In practice the power of regulation is the opportunity of the corrupt and the corrupter, and is no adequate remedy. Corporations have their rights, but they also have their duties. It cannot be said in these days that laying tracks and running cars, or laying pipes and pumping water, or manufacturing light requires any peculiar ingenuity which calls for special reward. No, the proposition is too simple, and the public are too vitally affected. The people, by the highest exercise of their power, the use of which is only defensible by great public necessity, by the right of eminent domain, condemn private property for public use. This is done, on the same theory and with the same justification, for and in behalf of quasi-public corporations. The use of public streets is also granted to them, without which they could not exist. In return, the city says: "The property you thus create is not exclusively private property, but is invested with a public use for the benefit of the people, not for their oppression. A fair and reasonable return on your actual investment

your right, but you cannot capitalize the use of the streets or the power of the state invoked in your behalf. You cannot collect tolls and pay dividends upon such a capitalization."

It is a confusion of terms, however, to speak of such a capitalization as fictitious. It is not. It is there. It is composed, however, of two parts, which the stockholder and bondholder invariably overlook, namely: the part contributed by the city (the indispensable condition of its existence); and the part contributed by the corporation, upon which alone it should be paid.

It should be remembered by the owners of this class of property that their companies are not obliged to go into the business of serving the inhabitants of a city with their necessities. The municipality itself, as one of its proper functions, can perform the same service, and if private individuals assume this function, they voluntarily assume its obligations and its hazards. This very fact of municipal control or possible condemnation constitutes one of the safeguards of the public, and operates as a restraint upon corporate rapacity. The ownership of all kinds of property is attended with risk, but the risk of this class of property is minimized when we consider that it cannot be condemned without compensation, and that its very magnitude excludes ordinary competition. Furthermore, good service at reasonable rates protects the corporation against public and even competitive opposition. If its relations with the public are satisfactory as to rates and service, as exemplified in many cities of the country, its property is not needlessly exposed to attack.

On the other hand, the so-called sanctity of private property that has only a remote relationship to the public, is constantly invaded. It is taken away for public and quasi-public purposes against the will of the owner. It has to bear taxes and assessments which are often confiscatory, and is exposed to daily and unrestrained competition, which lowers rents and diminishes the profits of trade. The growth and development of one part of the city very often causes stagnation in another, and consequently the private citizen suffers; while the quasi-public corporation, invariably using the public streets, which are the common property of all, is compensated for the loss here by the gain there. No courts have decreed that the private citizen is entitled to a reasonable interest on his investment. He has to take what he can get. He has to pay for his mistakes; and the only advantage which he enjoys over quasi-public ownership is that he can look forward to (even if he does not always realize) the speculative value of his investment.

No, the risk of ownership is common to all property, and cannot be urged with any force in favor of quasi-public corporations. For

while it is true that the city, accepting their use and service, cannot take away their right to reasonable profits (which is a guarantee in itself), yet, on the other hand, no one dealing with the public in such an intimate capacity as do these corporations, has a right to expect more. That is the distinction, and that is the difference. In California last year, for instance, a railroad was constructed involving six million dollars, and the projectors voluntarily bound themselves to receive no more than six per cent per annum on their investment, giving the public the benefit of earnings in excess of that by constantly reduced rates. This is freely doing what the state should compel.

The further distinction between the monopoly of public utilities and the ownership of private property and the conduct of private business, consists in this: that the people must patronize the one but need not necessarily patronize the other. Competition regulates the price of other commodities, but property in utilities is naturally or necessarily a monopoly. When regulation and control become, for any reason, dangerous to the state or impracticable, we must conclude that municipal ownership is the only remedy.

No municipality can afford to yield, without imposing strict and easily observed and automatically enforceable conditions, its inherent right of taxation, no matter how disguised. No corporation, if it be wise, even with the wisdom of a serpent, should willingly assume that power with the purpose of making excessive profits.

The necessities of the public do not create a legitimate field for financial exploitation by private enterprise, nor are public bodies fair prey for "organized appetites" and corporate greed. The people are entitled to the protection of their government, even against betrayal by their own servants; certainly against invasion by corporations of their own creation.

There is, however, such a thing as a free and cordial understanding between the people and the quasi-public corporations. But while this is possible and even actual, it is rare. And it must be borne in mind that where it exists this principle is firmly established and freely recognized — that the people are entitled to and should only pay reasonable rates, and that the companies are, therefore, entitled to and should only receive for their services reasonable compensation.

RAILWAY FINANCIERING AS A FINE ART.

BY HON. WILLIAM P. FISHBACK,

President of the Western Association of Writers.

THE use of chips and counters is a great convenience in such games as poker, faro, and the like. The business, so called, of the stock exchange, in Wall Street and elsewhere, is carried on by the use of tokens or bits of paper designated as bonds and stock certificates, which are supposed to entitle the holders of them to certain dividends to be declared by managers of railway and other corporations, or to certain interest instalments payable at stated times. The croupier at faro guarantees prompt payment in cash to the chip-holders at the end of the game. The seller of stocks and bonds in the game in "the Street" guarantees nothing except the title and the genuineness of the chips. The purchaser buys under the rule *caveat emptor* as to price and value. The value of his purchase depends upon the volume of railway traffic, transportation rates, the state of the money market, the ability, the honesty, or dishonesty of corporation managers, the manner in which corporation reports and accounts are made and kept, whether these reports and accounts are fair or "cooked," whether the officers wear "smoked glasses," and the like. Now, it is plain that the so-called "lamb" are at a disadvantage in this business, or game. In faro the "splits" give the dealer a small percentage of advantage, but this the player understands and may calculate on; the contingencies and rascalities in the stock-dealing game, however, are incalculable.

This by way of prelude, the object of this paper being to point out some of the evils of stock-gambling which are not necessary evils, evils which can be got rid of, or at least greatly lessened, so that the man, woman, or "lamb" who takes a hand in the game shall have at least as good a show for his money as the tenderfoot who plays stud-poker at a wayside inn in Arizona and submits to the five-per-cent "rake-off" of the dealer.

As the game in the street cannot well proceed without the bonds and stock certificates which are used as chips or counters, let us make inquiry concerning the manufacture of these implements of the trade. As red, white, and blue counters, graded in dignity and value according to color, are used in faro, so the stock-gambling tokens used in the street are similarly graded, and are known as first mortgage bonds, second mortgage bonds, consolidated mortgage bonds, income mortgage bonds, equipment bonds, preferred stock, and common stock. Printed

on good parchment paper and elaborately engraved and decorated by the American Bank Note Engraving Company or some other reputable concern; bearing the signatures of the President and Secretary of the corporation with the impress of the corporate seal, and carrying also the certificates of reputable gentlemen, who as trustees affirm their genuineness, these bonds and stock certificates seem to import value upon the face of them. But it is a sad fact that many of them are printed, signed, sealed, and delivered "with intent to deceive," and with no honest belief on the part of those who issue and sell them that the purchaser will ever get his money back.

Take a common case. A new railway is projected in one of the Western or Southern States. A professional promoter of such schemes, with a glib tongue and an elastic conscience, is employed to go along the proposed line or lines and work up some local interest in the enterprise. The people are assured by this gentleman that if they will vote a subsidy of two or three per cent of the taxable value of the property in the county or town through which the railway is to run, and procure a donation of the right of way, the road can be "bonded" for enough money to build and equip it. The further assurance is given that the stock which is to be issued to the taxpayers and donors of right of way will be worth par as soon as the cars begin to run. Careful computations are exhibited on maps and blackboards showing how at a very moderate freight rate the net earnings of the road on local tonnage alone will pay the interest on the bonded debt, dividends on the stock, keep up the repairs, and furnish a sufficient sinking fund to pay off the entire mortgage debt at or before maturity.

The sinking-fund clauses in these mortgages are prepared with great care, and while in form they seem to import the utmost good faith, the attorneys who draft them must grin at each other during the performance. Articles of incorporation are prepared and filed, and the corporation has at least a paper existence. Public meetings are held along the proposed route, optimistic speeches are made, the few old fogies who dissent are incontinently squelched, the elections are held, the subsidies are voted, and the right of way is secured. Now the contractor or construction company comes upon the scene, and after some dickering a bargain is made. The cost of grading, bridges, and track — the country being level — would be about ten thousand dollars per mile if paid for in cash. Instead of cash the contractor is to have the right of way and subsidies — \$20,000 first mortgage bonds, \$15,000 second mortgage bonds, \$10,000 income mortgage bonds, \$10,000 preferred stock, and \$10,000 common stock per mile, or an aggregate of bonds and stocks of \$65,000 per mile; so that a road one hundred miles in length will have outstanding bonds and stocks amounting to \$6,500,000.

Well, the road is built, after a fashion, and the bonds and stocks are delivered to the contractor. Having a mind to go to fresh woods and pastures new, the contractor unloads, a New York or Boston syndicate taking the whole issue of bonds and stocks, say for \$15,000 per mile. The syndicate elect directors and officers for the corporation and make a show of operating the road. A prospectus is published showing that the road traverses a country rich in coal mines, stone quarries, hardwood forests, and agricultural products. Religious papers publish the prospectus, and pious preachers living along the line write letters to Eastern journals extolling the management and proclaiming the success of the enterprise. When the people of small savings—the preachers, teachers, widows, executors, guardians and trustees—and all those who are seeking safe investments have been properly “gingered” by these publications, the syndicate announce that a limited amount of “firsts” will be sold for the beggarly price of 90 cents on the dollar, and “seconds,” say, at 40 cents; and each delivery of bonds so sold is “sugared” by a donation of an equal amount of stock.

The proceeds of the sale of the first bonds issued are used to eke out the earnings and pay a few instalments of interest, but the way in which this is done is not publicly known. By a bookkeeping juggle it is made to appear that the road is making net earnings when in fact it is not paying taxes and operating expenses. It is a very inexpert auditor of a railway company who cannot show that his insolvent company is earning its interest and dividends. It is a device of syndicates who are preparing to unload, to direct the auditor to sophisticate the accounts for that purpose. Take for a sample a case that came before me for investigation, in which the bondholders and general creditors of an insolvent railway company were quarrelling over the question whether the company had made net earnings in a given year. The books and auditor's reports showed a handsome balance to the credit of net earnings. When cornered the auditor swore that by direction of the president he had credited to betterment and permanent-improvement account a half-million of dollars which was properly chargeable to operating expenses, and by this simple process he made it to appear that his insolvent company paid all expenses and made net earnings. The fact was, the property was running down and creating a large floating debt. The device, however, enabled the president to work off upon deluded investors a large block of bonds. Being questioned, the auditor said he knew it was wrong, but he felt bound to obey the order of his president. Ignatius Loyola required that the inferior should be as a corpse in the hands of his superior.

This sham bookkeeping and puffing are sometimes kept up, and the ~~instalment~~ instalments are punctually paid until the unloading process

is completed, when the gentlemen composing the syndicate turn their attention to new ventures. After a while, with no more unissued bonds to sell, the coupons are defaulted, and the victims learn the truth. Meanwhile the bonds and stocks have been "listed" at the stock exchange, and when the tumble begins the holders rush to the market and take what they can get. Or if enough of them have pluck to hold on, they organize a committee and commence proceedings to foreclose the mortgage, which ordinarily means a scaling of "firsts" and "seconds" and the utter obliteration of the underlying bonds and stock. The committee come West, make a tour of inspection, and discover that instead of a well-built, thoroughly equipped railway, they have as a security what Col. Ingersoll has felicitously called "a streak of rust and a right of way." The road is unballasted, the ties are rotting, the station-houses are tumble-down shanties, the trestles and culverts and bridges are dangerous, the quarries and mines and forests have not been discovered, and everything is dilapidated. The car rentals are in arrears, and the pay-rolls and supply claims to a large amount are due and unpaid. A receiver is appointed, receiver's certificates are issued to raise funds to make the road safe for public travel, these certificates becoming liens prior to the lien of the first mortgage bonds; and priority is also allowed to labor and supply claims. The road is ultimately sold, and after paying the receiver's debt and other preferred claims, the balance is distributed to the holders of the first mortgage bonds and coupons. When the interest is defaulted the small holders usually become panic-stricken, and by the time the road is sold the most of the securities have passed into the hands of a few men who lay their plans for a new deal. During the last twenty years nearly forty railways in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois have gone through the foreclosure flint mill.

I have before me a list of twelve railways located wholly or in part in the State of Indiana which have passed under the hammer in foreclosure proceedings. The aggregate length of the roads when they were sold was 2,143 miles, and the interest-bearing mortgage debt at the time of sale was \$67,480,000, being \$31,441 per mile. In no single case was the property worth the mortgage debt, and of course all the stock was worthless. Meanwhile, for some years, the stock to the amount of many millions of dollars had been used as chips and counters in the great game of "the Street." Little, if any, of this loss falls upon the grangers except in a few cases where they have pledged their personal credit to raise funds to build the roads. Most of these roads — and I believe I can say of the twelve mentioned, that all of them — were built with capital furnished by Eastern capitalists and foreigners. *Farms have increased in value, and thriving villages along the lines have*

to be prosperous cities. A consideration of this fact should go far to lessen the clamor that is heard in some parts of the West against Eastern capitalists.

The insolvency of a new railway enterprise and the consequent foreclosure and sale seem to be as inevitable and natural as the process of dentition in infants. And yet the credulity or gullibility of mankind is so general that there are always those who think they see a sure and safe thing in embarking in these new ventures. Dr. King, one of Henry Crabb Robinson's correspondents, propounded a theory with respect to the existence of evil. He said :

That with such a being as man, he can only be cured of sin or folly by suffering its consequences. He is not an *a priori* being, but a being of experience. We see in every action, from the cradle upwards, that he takes little or nothing on trust. He must make his experiments and prove that the fruit is bitter by its taste. No sooner has one generation done this and satisfied itself than another arises which must be satisfied in the same way. Thus the effect of the experience of one generation upon the next is an infinitesimal one; but it is something; and so, after many ages, even in this life sin may be conquered.

It may be also that according to the same principle, the particular breed of lambs who now allow themselves to be so unmercifully fleeced will disappear; but from present indications that time is yet far away in what in the Mexican *patois* is called the "*dim pia*." These victims of their own credulity remind me of a pet raccoon of which I was the happy possessor when a boy. The animal came on the porch roof to my window at night and tried to get at the lighted candle. I raised the sash and he came in. He put one paw into the blaze and withdrew it with a squeak of pain. Not satisfied, he tried the other paw with the same result. Still persisting, he thrust his nose into the flame, and having thereby singed his whiskers he loped off to the top of an apple tree to cogitate concerning his new experiences.

There are rich men who have amassed most of their wealth by playing the game of foreclosing railway mortgages, cancelling old securities, organizing new companies, issuing new securities, floating them upon cooked reports, paying interest and dividends with borrowed money, then defaulting and foreclosing again. The sponge is squeezed, filled and squeezed again, as long as it will hold water. This is as bad as, if not worse than, the trick of a new venture. Some men would not feel comfortable in the possession of fortunes realized in that way, but they are usually "cranks" who believe in the existence of a moral law — some of them are credulous enough to believe in a hereafter.

Many such schemes fail for want of backing, but too many of them succeed by means of the support they get from sound and reputable bankers in New York, Boston, and other financial centres. Without such aid, which is given for the purpose of imparting a temporary buoy-

ancy to the bogus securities, the stock and bonds would never get a footing in the market; and when one banking house in the Street has taken \$2,000,000, and another \$1,000,000, of an issue of first mortgage railway bonds at 90 cents, the news spreads and investors soon absorb the entire series at 95 cents or par; the bankers unloading upon the market with a neat profit of \$150,000 within a few weeks. It is a rare thing for one of these banks to turn up as a holder of these bonds when the pinch of a foreclosure begins. The buyers put their bonds in the Safety Deposit vaults, counting upon making semi-annual visits for the purpose of cutting and cashing their coupons. The coupons are paid, and the price of the bonds goes up or stays up until all things are ready for a new deal. Then comes a short crop, a rate war, bad management, or some juggling with the books, and a default occurs. The bondholders are stampeded, the securities "slump" and are bought in for a song by the same old gang or a new gang; and then come the foreclosure, the receiver, the sale, reorganization, issue of new securities to be ground through the mills of the Wall-Street gods as before.

This trick of deliberately putting a foreclosure suit, receivership, and sale into the belly of a new corporation ought to be disreputable. It is said in extenuation that the promoters of such schemes are deluded into the belief that the earning power of the company and its future prospects justify these over-issues of wild-cat bonds and stocks. To allow this plea involves a stultification of their character for sagacity, and would be taken by them as a gross insult.

I have heard the stories of some of the victims, and they are pathetic. I recall one instance which may stand for others. A road was built in Indiana upon the plan I have above indicated, and the securities were floated in the usual way. There was an over-issue of first mortgage bonds, and then a second mortgage, with the usual accompaniment of worthless stock. The columns of religious papers published in the East were used to advertise the securities, which may have been proper enough according to the counting-room ethics of even a religious journal. But the news columns were occupied with letters from pious people who volunteered information to the effect that this road was prosperous, had a fine future, and that the first mortgage bonds were dirt cheap at 98 cents. To meet the wants of small investors, bonds were issued of the denominations of \$100 and \$500. By dint of puffing and advertising, the whole issue was absorbed. School teachers, preachers, decayed men of business who had retired to the rural districts invested their meagre savings in them. So long as bonds could be sold the interest instalments were paid and the market was bolstered up. But the inevitable default came at last, with its receiver, foreclosure, and sale. The net upshot of the venture was a *disaster*

tion of the proceeds of sale amongst the bondholders, who got three per cent, or \$30 for each \$1,000 bond.

Something like this has happened in other States. I am glad to know, however, that such enterprises are not regarded with the favor they once received from Eastern capitalists. In former years, the man of the West would devise the scheme and proceed to New York or Boston on the theory that the man in the East would put up dollars against his brains. Now I understand that it is expected that the projectors or promoters of such schemes are expected to put in the pot some money as well as brains.

What I have said about railway ventures applies with equal force to other speculative enterprises, — mines, trusts, and the like, — whose agents can always be found in the hotel lobbies and brokers' offices of New York, Boston, London, etc.

Having indicated the abuse, it may well be asked, How do you propose to correct it? I am not fool enough to suppose that I can suggest a radical remedy, but I have a suggestion to make which, if incorporated into proper legislation, will, in my judgment, go far to lessen the evil. Suppose the States from which the railway corporations derive their existence should enact laws prohibiting the issue and sale of bonds and stocks in excess of the intrinsic value of the property for which they stand. What honest purpose is to be subserved by issuing bonds and stocks to the amount of \$100,000 per mile upon property which at the very highest is not worth over \$20,000 per mile?

How will you get at the real value? it may be asked. Let there be an appraisement by a State commission, that shall have power to fix the value and limit the issue of securities. To meet the contingencies of increase in value, which may occur by increased earning capacity, or extensions and betterments, there could be reappraisements at stated intervals. By some such method the practice now so common of flooding the market with stocks and bonds having no intrinsic value, but which are used solely for "chips" in the Wall-Street game, would be discouraged, to say the least.¹

I hear it said that it is useless to attempt to eradicate the gambling spirit, and some say that the stock exchange and the wheat pit and the

¹ Since writing this I have looked at the Texas statute, which is a move in the line of my suggestion. I give the provisions of section 2: "*Authority to issue bonds limited*: — Hereafter no bonds or other indebtedness shall be increased or issued or executed by any authority whatsoever, and secured by lien or mortgage on any railroad or part of railroad or the franchises or property appurtenant or belonging thereto, over or above the reasonable value of said railroad property. *Provided*, that in case of emergency, on conclusive proof shown by the company to the railroad commission that public interests or the preservation of the property demand it, the said commission may permit said bonds, together with the stock in the aggregate, to be executed to an amount not more than fifty per cent over the value of said property." — See Supplement to Sayles' "Texas Civil Statutes," 1895-1896, Art. 4156 a.

The substance of my article was read before a club a year before the enactment of the Texas law.

bucket-shops are beneficent agencies, and that they do not deserve reprobation. Goethe even admonishes us that,

This and but this was the gospel alway,
Fools from their folly 'tis hopeless to stay.
Mules will be mules by the law of their mulishness,
Then be advised and leave fools to their foolishness.
What from an ass can be got but a bray?

This is pessimistic. The following is not wholly a fancy sketch. It was a day in New York when Jay Gould or some other financial leviathan was disporting himself in the troubled waters of the stock market, and all the smaller fry and minnows and vermin of the Street were greatly disturbed. Men and women, cabs and messenger boys were flying about helter-skelter in the wildest excitement. Just then the satirical rogue, the sexton in the belfry of old Trinity, struck up the chimes to the tune,

Come to Jesus — come to Jesus —
Come to Jesus just now.

Mrs. Shandy's question about winding the clock could not have been more inopportune. A herd of cattle stampeded by a New-Mexican thunderstorm is an orderly assemblage compared with that Wall-Street mob, and to me it was a most portentous sight.

There was a grotesque mixture of tragedy and farce one November day a few years ago. The bulls and bears were goring and baiting one another in grand style. Stocks and bonds and fortunes were tumbling at such a rate that chicken-hearted people thought the skies were falling. When the excitement was at the highest, Death in most unmannerly fashion entered the temple of Mammon and struck one of the gamblers down. The affrighted rascals decorously doffed their silk hats to the dark angel, formed a circle, and craned their necks about the body of their dead comrade, as you have seen a flock of barnyard fowls about a dead snake, — and in a few moments they were squealing like the Gadarene swine, and as surely possessed of devils as they.

THE ULTIMATE TRUST-CURE.

BY GORDON CLARK.

I. SOW this article for seed. An absolutely scientific piece of mechanism is always of slow construction, and the best means of reaching any great end can hardly be applied in a day, or even during the administration of a single President. Let me say, then, at the start, that, for the time being, I am practically and politically in favor of any constitutional method of restraining, regulating, or crushing trusts that the welfare of the people may require. As I deal here with taxation, let me say, also, that I favor, for temporary purposes, an income tax, or anything else that will enable the masses of American citizens to recover any part of their property that has been filched from them by such "anarchists of wealth" as now conduct brigandage and piracy under the general head of monopoly. I will add that by far the greatest and most dangerous monopoly on earth, to-day, is the stupendous international Gold Trust, which, as the basis of an international Bank Trust, corners the whole natural heritage of mankind, with all the products of their industry and all the facilities of exchanging their possessions. Until this monopoly of monopolies, this trust of trusts, shall be overcome, all economic effort in other directions will be largely wasted. But, unless there is to be a lapse in civilization, the stupendous blunder of demonetizing silver must soon lead to remonetization, and then to scientific money, or else more directly still to this final achievement. But to scientific money I think it will be found necessary to prefix Scientific Taxation. In so simple a matter as Scientific Taxation, I believe, lies the ultimate cure of all monopolies on the one hand, and all the dangers of socialism on the other.

Taxation has always been sporadic and arbitrary, a different thing in different states and nations, and dependent on the wisdom, or on the follies, whims, and momentary interests, of rulers and legislators. But, if there is any right of taxation, any reason for it, some general principle must centre the whole subject, and render it capable of reduction, first to perfect ethics, and next to perfect method. What is this principle?

When the great Greek, Aristotle, founded and named the science of "economics," he saw, at the first glance of analysis, that all property rests on "natural wealth"—that natural wealth is the source and raw material of all human productions and possessions. In designating such wealth he summed it up as "the bounty of nature." What Aristotle,

the first political economist, called the bounty of nature, Henry George, in recent years, has inadequately termed "land."

Now, the bounty of nature—the earth, the water, the air—was not made by any man or stock company. God made it—and made it as the only means of sustaining his creatures made with it. So, necessarily and self-evidently, those creatures have a natural right in that gift. Or, as Thomas Jefferson said, "the earth belongs in usufruct to the living."

Henry George, especially in his remarkable book, "Progress and Poverty," has illustrated and elaborated this natural relation of man to matter—this bottom fact of political economy—from almost every conceivable aspect. I agree with Aristotle, with Mr. George, with Mill, Spencer, and the rest of the world's profound thinkers, in their finding. But here let me deny a bit. I deny it is merely a "theory." It is a *discovery*. It is a *law*—as much so as the law of gravitation.

In one sense, and a very practical one, there is no dissent from it. There is no form of government not basing its reason for existence on the claim of standing for the best common interests of the people governed. There is no system of political economy not basing the tenures to property—the laws, the practical ethics of the matter—on the same foundation. England distinctly asserts, at the present moment, through her most commonplace and conservative authorities, that her whole wealth belongs to her whole people; hence her right to call on every subject to defend it. She merely adds that the methods she sanctions and enforces for the distribution of wealth are the best she knows for the general welfare. We find all that, nowadays, filtered down into so general a receptacle as the "Encyclopædia Britannica."

The basic principle of ownership, too, is all in our American Declaration of Independence, and is there in the very best way. Our fathers declared that all men are "created equal," and are "endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights," among which are "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." But, as human life is absolutely dependent on its environment, and, as there can be no liberty, except to die, when this access is cut off, the pursuit of happiness necessarily includes the use and enjoyment of things implied in the word "ownership." Hence life, liberty, and *property* are the "equal rights of man," according to the full import of Jefferson.

But what is "equality"? When the founders of our republic declared, as the voice of the modern world, that "all men are created equal," it was not with the meaning that every man and woman can lift just five hundred pounds, the interpretation once put upon us by the dyspeptic stomach of Thomas Carlyle. Washington and Jefferson, Franklin and Paine, were too busy to split hairs with sophists and pettifoggers. All men stand "equal" in the "natural rights" of "life

and liberty," but no two men are precisely equal in the capacity to improve and enjoy those endowments. *That* is the American tenet, as every intelligent American understands it. And precisely the same thing is true of man's natural relation to property. All men are "equal" in the "natural right" of access to the world's wealth — the original bounty of nature, with the improvements that mankind as a whole have made upon their inalienable realty. But individual men can employ and improve that wealth only in accordance with individual capacity. In the *distribution* of wealth, therefore, under the natural relation of man to matter, all men are *not* unqualifiedly entitled to an *equal share* in property, but to an *equitable share*; and an equitable share is an equal share *according to ability, industry, and economy*.

There is the "Higher Law of Property."

Theoretically, even now this law is better recognized than may be generally supposed. We have found it infolded in our Declaration of Independence. "Scientific Socialism," so called, declares it, in demanding all capital for the commonwealth, and then "returns according to deeds" for individuals. Communism — or common wealth and distribution according to "needs" — comes indirectly to the same thing; for the one need of needs in developing the earth is the property-tools to do it: and it cannot be done unless these tools go with the capacity to use them. On the other hand, some of our hardest-headed business men have set up the higher law of property as their special creed. Some years ago, in a controversy with John Swinton, Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, as the exponent of the Vanderbilts, took for his fundamental postulate the assertion that all men should be started in life with an equal chance for the accumulation of wealth, and should then be permitted to enjoy the fruits of different abilities and labors, unquestioned and unmolested. In 1886, that eminent stock-philosopher, the late Mr. Jay Gould, expressed the same sentiment, in laying down the requirements of integrity, honor, and justice, to the leader of the Knights of Labor. So the Constitutional fathers, the social philosophers, the dreamers, the "cranks," the financiers, and possibly some of the rascals, stand behind me for authority. It is hard for any of them not to accept what is simply the Golden Rule carried into economics. But who knows what to do with it? Besides, gentlemen like Mr. Depew entertain the great truth very superficially, and do not really wish to mean too much of what they say. And they have no conception that what they urge as a handy bit of economic piety, speciously advanced by the rich in self-defence, has been thought out into a complete and connected system. The work, however, has been done.

So far I have stated the logos of ownership only as ethics. I will
into mathematics.

The pivot on which this transformation turns is fixed, too, in nature. It is the fact of death. Fortunately men cannot take this world with them into the next. When they lie down in the grave, their stocks and bonds, their money and mortgages, go to other persons. The entire wealth of mankind reverts from one generation to another every fifty years, or according to the average death-rate.

It was not one of "the mistakes of Moses" to institute his "jubilee," with the general redistribution of Hebrew land, on the basis of half a century. That grand squaring of accounts and redivision for each generation, of what was then the great part of all wealth, shows that the duration of human life was about the same, four thousand years ago, as we find it in our tables of mortality to-day. By their "jubilee" the children of Israel attempted to equalize natural wealth among all the people, but to leave the products of labor in the hands that sowed and reaped them. What an ancient barbarous people did by "the rule of thumb," a modern civilized people can do by the rule of three.

It is a fact, then, established by nature itself, that the world's wealth, or a nation's wealth, is simply a reversion, extending substantially through fifty years. But if the whole wealth of every generation is constantly reverting to the next on the average of fifty years, just one-fiftieth of all wealth is constantly reverting in one year. This one-fiftieth is two per cent. Is it not perfectly clear, therefore, that an annual tax of two per cent, *on the full value of all property*, collected by society, and expended for the common good of society, would exactly achieve the people's common right in wealth? Such a tax would, now and forever, withdraw and separate from the property of any nation, or of all the world, the natural, moral, mathematical share belonging to the inhabitants of that nation, or of all nations. It would effect complete democracy of ownership. It would give, with each and every year, to each and every child born under the system, a precisely equal part and lot in all the opportunities and advantages of life.

We are now in the field of *Scientific Taxation*. If "the bounty of nature" is "the common estate of mankind," society, as a whole, has the right to its own. But the common estate is nature's investment, not for one generation, but for all generations. Hence each generation is entitled, as Jefferson perceived, not to the estate itself, but to the "usufruct" of it. I have shown how this usufruct can be definitely collected, through a yearly tax on all assets corresponding to a nation's death-rate. The revenue of this "death-rate tax" has been termed "Natural Rent." It would be a perpetual ground-rent on all property, due to a whole people as a common fund, for the proportional use, by individuals, of the common heritage. Here we see at once th

general right of taxation, which has been asserted and accepted by all nations. But the whole subject is reduced to principle and system.

My friend, Henry George, as I have said, has laid down in detail the law that nature's bounty is a common estate. But, from this postulate — absolutely true — he has drawn the vitally erroneous conclusion that raw land should bear all taxation, and that improvements on it, as the fruits of labor, should go untaxed. But the bounty of nature, to which Mr. George has given the cramped definition of "land," is not merely to be found in farms and building sites, but has gone, since the beginning of time, into houses and ships, and all the handiwork of mankind, as the raw material out of which their productions are made. Yet all *this* "land," all *this* "natural wealth," all *this* raw material, worked up, Mr. George would exempt from taxation. He would not tax a lump of gold, because labor has picked it up and washed it. He would tax the hole out of which it was dug.

But, following Jefferson, I have pointed out that, if natural wealth is the common wealth of mankind, it belongs, not to one generation, but to all generations. The *unborn* have their *equal rights reserved in it*. Hence the common title is *inalienable* and *indefeasible*. No part of the general heritage can rightfully be turned over to individuals *except while they live*. Thus the world's entire wealth, both natural and improved, is the common capital of every generation.

In the same breath, however, I admit the whole claim of both the most advanced and the most conservative political economists, that society has no right to confiscate individual improvements upon the common estate of nature's bounty. The fruits of a man's labor are his own — or, say rather, *the full value* of them. But society, as the sovereign owner of all property, has, even to-day, the acknowledged right of "eminent domain" in it. The property can be taken for just compensation. There is no need, however, of taking it at all if the people's constant right in wealth — their usufruct, or rent — is annually deducted from all distributed property. In that case, both the common capital and the individual improvements on it can remain with the holders, and their *property itself* will be nothing more nor less than the *true compensation for their work on it*.

The logical and mathematical sequence, of man's common right to nature's bounty, is of such vast importance that I may be pardoned for repeating the demonstration in a sort of kindergarten illustration.

Under the higher law of ownership, society — the United States — say Mrs. Columbia — says to one of her citizens, Mr. Toilson: "Here is my farm — my lands, forests, mines, and water-powers — my whole people's natural wealth. Take a piece of it, to be worked up to *t* advantage; for that is the end, I am told, of holding property.

Now, I expect you to have your living, according to the general right of all my sons and daughters, out of that segment of my common stock and your work on it. Consume what is fair. I let you have your slice of my estate for that purpose. But you take it, you know, *to use for life*. I cannot dispose of it out and out, for my great-grandchildren will need it just as much as you do. So I lease you an outfit. When you get through with it, I will take my pay in the improvements you leave on the original realty. That, you know, must certainly revert to future generations."

"True, Mrs. Columbia," replies Toilson. "Your proposition seems just and necessary. But, pardon me, I think it can be improved. You leave me too much discretion in my expenditures — my consumption. Then why should your other citizens wait till I am dead *before I pay back anything*? Let me take my piece of your common capital and go to work on it. I shall want it fifty years — that is, for a lifetime. But next year, at this date, let me drop in and hand you currency for one-fiftieth of what I am then worth. Let me do the same thing every year. Then, at the end of fifty years, instead of taking away my land and improvements — my capital and additions — which will be paid for in full — let the holding, as it stands, go to my boys and girls, *under the same condition I had it*. You perceive, Mrs. Columbia, that the whole average value of my estate — all the property I can ever hold — will revert to you, for equal distribution to future generations, just the same as though you should revoke all wills and appropriate all legacies. The only difference will be that you will give to my heirs the benefit that may arise, not from any monopoly of *your capital*, but from any possible superiority (beyond the average) of *my labor and economy*."

It is supposed that Mrs. Columbia will see the point of Toilson's plea as soon as she carefully thinks it over. But, in any case, the abolition of present arbitrary and unfounded tax-levies — all of them — and the establishment of a strictly *ad-valorem* tax on property, in accordance with the average death-rate, would annually, constantly, and forever, collect a people's true "land-rent" from the distributed possessions of their nation.

But here rises the question, what is to be done with the common fund? How is it to be expended, or redistributed, for the common good?

Its being a *common* fund implies and settles, at the outset, that it is not to be directly and equally lumped out to individuals, that idlers and spendthrifts may squander it. It belongs to no one in that way. The first legitimate use of any common public fund is to pay the expenses of a government. The next use for it is to secure common advantages for the whole people.

Suppose the property of a nation were worth fifty billions of dollars. Then the people, as a whole, would be entitled to just one thousand millions of it, annually. This would be the amount of their birth-right, death-rate tax — their natural rent for the common estate. In round numbers, the yearly expenses of a modern government, administered with strict economy, may be set down at one per cent of a nation's property. In a nation, therefore, with property of fifty billions, the common fund, after paying government expenses, would be five hundred millions of dollars.

The death-rate tax would of course be largely collected from the rich — a poor man, worth a thousand dollars, paying twenty dollars; a rich man, worth a million dollars, paying twenty thousand dollars. The expenditure of the surplus fund — the one per cent of the tax, or whatever part it might be — would necessarily take the form of furnishing employment to citizens without capital, as an equivalent for their direct equal share in the capital of their generation. For property, as we have seen, must always go out into private hands *unequally*, that those best able to increase its value — for the community as well as themselves — can take as much as they can make the most of. I cannot elaborate this point in the limits of the present article. I will merely state the fact, capable of mathematical demonstration, that the distribution of the death-rate tax, first for government expenses, next in wages for work at normal market rates, will constantly restore the equilibrium between the rich and the poor in the just holdings of wealth. And what kind of work is done by those employed would be of no consequence, so it should pay for itself in the production of new and actual wealth. But while society's common capital is monopolized by the few, with no offset for the many, there is no such thing as what is called "competition." The word is a sham.

It ought to be seen, at a time like the present, that while the economic contention here advanced is radical to the core, it is at the same time as truly conservative. The whole claim may be summed up as nothing but *scientific taxation*, with *scientific redistribution*.

It is said that socialism is making rapid progress in the world. Very likely. Socialists are the world's new enthusiasts. Their reform is a religion to them. But they are *wrong*, though not so much in their fundamental principles as in the proposed application of them through the "nationalization of wealth." Thomas Jefferson still stands for a good deal more wisdom than Karl Marx. I maintain that, comprehensively viewed, the tenures to property have grown up through the ages as naturally as accretions of coral. They represent the necessities, the common sense, and the common *consent* of ages and nations. And the most of these institutions are in themselves right. In our confusion, we

do not see how to "evolute," as Mr. George Francis Train used to put it — how to bring old substances into new forms. Private ownership, bequest and inheritance, money, rent, interest, are all perfectly well founded in the very structural relations of man to matter. But society as a whole is always the sovereign landlord and capitalist, and owns a definite share of all wealth. This share is the people's *absolute right*.

Now there can be no doubt that, if the American people to-day should assert their birthright, and should hereafter place themselves annually in possession of a tax-fund sufficient not only for all their public expenses, but to give them a yearly surplus of several hundred millions of dollars, they could either reduce every trust and every monopoly in the land to an honest business, or break it utterly. They would simply have the capital to do it. They could build a railroad, set up a sugar refinery, organize a beef market, form a coal, or gas, or oil enterprise, in competition with which no other could exist. What would be the immediate result? Every extortionate monopoly would turn, for self-protection, into a legitimate and beneficent industry, serving the public for fair profits.

The true principle of ownership shows how unnecessary and foolish is any talk of violence, revolution, or anarchy — especially in our American republic — for a new distribution of wealth. True, we have no end of thieves — individual and corporate — who have stolen from each other and stolen from us. But as for the rascals who have *robbed the people*, their stolen goods are just as valuable *to tax* as any others. And the death-rate tax will give to society *all it owns*, and all it *ought to have* in wealth, to-day, next year, and for all time, however that wealth may happen to be distributed. In case of war, or other extreme exigency, further taxation would be temporary, and would be a uniform levy on assets.

A few years ago there was much discussion in England, Ireland, and America, in regard to land-monopoly. Suppose the people's natural rent were put on all land — vacant and improved — two per cent of its full value, say at public auction. How long would land be "monopolized" and held on speculation?

Apply the death-rate tax to banks — to every dollar of their circulation not a government issue. How piously the "bullion-mongers," as Thaddeus Stevens used to call them, would invoke the shade of that glorious greenback saint to forgive their sins and lead them to salvation.

The tariff — well, there would be no tariff for *revenue*. The people's annual tax would furnish the revenue, as direct taxation always ought to have furnished it, and as the founders of our government would have provided at first, if they had not been obliged to compro

mise with any number of evils, as well as chattel slavery. If, for national self-protection, it were necessary to foster any special industries, they might be conducted by the government, for, while there is no need to nationalize property, and no right justifying it, there are certain kinds of business, like transportation, that may best be socialistic. But, without socialism, scientific taxation and redistribution can easily achieve *universal coöperation*.

In the space allotted to this brief paper, I cannot anticipate my friends who may question "the higher law of property," and especially the application of it. But their chief question I have found to be: "How can you collect a direct tax on all assets?"

I answer that every man holds property, not only under society as the sovereign proprietor, but as even the policeman who protects him in his holdings. He must himself render a yearly account of his belongings to the head of the concern, — the government, — and that is all there is of it. It must be understood that a tax-dodger is the worst of criminals — whose acts lead to the injury, the impoverishment, the death, of his betters. I am not sure that his crime should be punished with the gallows, but I would certainly meet a false list of his possessions with confiscation of them. But after a little experience in any right thing, details always take care of themselves.

HOW TO REFORM THE PRIMARY-ELECTION SYSTEM.

(WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO REFORMS IN
OPERATION OR PROPOSED.)

BY EDWARD INSLEY.

THE genius of free government is the rule of the majority. An oligarchy is not a free government. Nor is that government really free which is ruled first by one, then by another oligarchy, even when the choice between the two is made by an otherwise unrestricted majority.

The self-constituted machines which control the political parties of this nation are so many oligarchies. The majority of the voters at the polls choose between a Bonapartist and a Bourbon. A Louis is overthrown, and a Napoleon takes his place. The majority rule within these limitations — they may make a choice occasionally between masters.

This, in a general way, is the political situation of the entire country, but more particularly is it true of the great cities, the centres of political machinations, of political organizations, or "machines," and of political skullduggery. As the nation has become older and larger, the influence of the city vote has increased, until now it dominates State and National legislatures. While the small towns and the agricultural districts are not free entirely from the malign influence of bossism, it has not as yet taken them by the throat and robbed them of their rights, openly and boldly, with the same uniform success.

"We will give you the right to vote, and even to have your vote counted, but we insist upon controlling and manipulating your caucuses and primaries," is the revised creed of the bosses. The concession of an honest ballot was wrung from the bosses almost by threat of revolution. Having gained this much, our consciences and patriotism have taken a rest, and meekly as mediæval peasants we vote for Tweedle Dee or Tweedle Dum, after our masters have chosen these puppets for the occasion. This is the present state of the experiment in free government which was baptized in patriots' blood over a century ago, and which the rest of the world has been watching since with cynical pessimism.

We allow ourselves to be oppressed by an impersonal, irresponsible, extra-legal body, without conscience and without remorse. It rules caucuses, names delegates, appoints committees, dominates the councils of the party, dictates, nominates, makes platforms, dispenses patronage, controls State legislatures, stifles opposition, punishes independence, and elects United States Senators.¹

¹ Congressman La Follette of Wisconsin, at Chicago University, Feb. 22, 1897.

All this in the name of the people whose rights it usurps.

It is with an abiding faith in the permanency and ultimate triumph of free institutions that this present picture of present corruption in the body politic, and the diversion of its most sacred rights from the true principles of democracy, is drawn. In the darkest hour of this domination of political oligarchies, and of the commercial trusts which pay them license, hope shines brightest. For the revolution is near at hand. It began really a few years ago in an attack upon the outposts. Civil-service reform and the Australian ballot were battles nobly fought and won. But the enemy has been driven back, not conquered, and he remains intrenched behind the redoubts of King Caucus. "Brace" primaries defy the assaults of the reform army, and defend the citadel of political corruption.

It is not sufficient that the political boss shall be denied the privilege of arranging and counting the votes. That was his most delightful occupation; but he still finds steady and remunerative employment where he is allowed to name the candidates.¹

It is a mild use of hyperbole to say that in a primary-election district casting one hundred votes the local boss will be content if he is given — as he always is — the three or five judges and clerks; the other ninety-five voters may cast their votes for A, and the returning board of the bosses will count in B. The converse of the proposition is the exception.

"Only four years ago," says John E. Milholland in the January *North American Review*, "in the downtown and water-front districts of New York, the Republican vote was as relentlessly and defiantly suppressed as it still is in Mississippi and Louisiana. In some election districts not one Republican vote would appear in the returns. So reckless did the violators of the law become at last that even the ballots of the Republican election inspectors were omitted from the sworn returns sent to police headquarters."

What was true only four years ago of elections, is true still of primaries. Dishonesty knows no party, and it is well to remember that these Democratic frauds were winked at and made possible largely by the connivance of the oligarchy then and now in control of the Republican party in New York.

"Much of the evil formerly incidental to election day," says Mr. Milholland, a practical politician, "has been transmitted to the primaries. The vicious practices no longer possible at the polls are now employed in the caucus and nominating convention with an energy unparalleled in the past."

So the reform of the ballot itself has contributed to the further defilement of the fountain head of free government.

"It is a sad confession to make," he continues, "that after all the efforts expended to purify the primaries in most of the large cities of the country, they are to-day more dangerously corrupt than ever in their history."

¹ "Municipal Reform in the United States," p. 61.

I have quoted rather freely from this article, for it expresses prevailing conditions accurately and clearly. But while agreeing with its statements of conditions, I must dissent emphatically from the conclusions drawn as to the proper remedy. Of the number of monographs on the subject which have obtained general circulation, only two or three propose plans for reforming the evils complained of. Mr. Millholland has heard of the Kentucky law—without studying it in practice apparently—and he indorses it enthusiastically as the embodiment of the ideal primary-election system. The ideal primary-election law does not exist, and the Kentucky law is far from being a satisfactory solution of the problem.

A more recent contribution to the magazine literature of primary-election reform is the article by E. L. Godkin in the April *Atlantic*. It is an admirable statement of conditions and of the development of the primary from the earlier caucus. But Mr. Godkin inquires, "Is the situation then hopeless?" and trusts that it is not. I will not transgress upon the ground which the editor of the *Nation* has covered so fully, but will endeavor to find an answer to his question.¹

SOME IMPRACTICABLE PROPOSALS FOR REFORM.

A suggestion for the reform of the primary advanced by M. Sulzberger in the *Penn Monthly* over fifteen years ago, was appropriated and indorsed some years later by David Dudley Field. The proposition was to hold the primaries coincident with elections. At some one election each year there could be set in motion primary-election machinery which would grind out delegates for all the conventions of the succeeding year. Ten delegates of each party to a primary district was suggested. In Chicago this would mean a delegate body of 11,000 for each party.² The delegates were to meet in ward or assembly-district convention, nominate Alderman or Assemblymen direct, and choose a lesser number from their body to represent the electors in town, city, Congressional, or State conventions. The vital principle of the plan was the impracticability of corrupting or controlling by vicious manipulation so large a delegate body, representing as it would fully ten if not twenty per cent of the voters.

The natural prejudice which would develop against choosing any delegate body a year ahead of possible political emergencies is too great to permit even of qualified indorsement of the scheme outlined, although it has undeniable attractions.

¹ A common sophism, of which I will acquit Mr. Godkin, is the argument that you must reform the voter before you reform the primary. This is the view taken by Senator Dallinger in the last volume of the "Harvard Historical Studies." Without waiting for the millennium, why not reform the system by law, not by suasion, and give the voter a chance to show that perhaps it is not he, so much, who needs reforming?

² Essentially a legalised Tammany.

An ingenious and elaborate primary-election plan was outlined years ago in a monograph by Daniel S. Remsen.¹ Its foundation is the familiar idea of abolishing the delegate convention and letting the voter indicate at the primary a first, second, third choice, etc., and by an intricate clearing-house returning-board, trying to arrive at the most satisfactory result. Its weakness lies in its lack of simplicity. Experience with the Australian ballot has shown us that it is hard to teach the mass of the voters to master a comparatively simple proposition. A resort to the one-two-three plan, with an arithmetical or geometrical returning-board, would lead to dissatisfaction and suspicion, even if conducted under absolutely honest and intelligent supervision.

The chief merit of the plan of Dr. Clarke, of Oswego, which has been urged upon various legislatures, was the promise of overcoming the indolence of voters, and providing against manipulation, by a species of lottery. He proposed to divide the voters into small constituencies, these to select delegates by lot, and the delegates to choose a Mayor or other officers. It is safe to say that despite the evils which have grown up under our system of free government, we are not ready to confess its utter failure by resorting to the chance of lottery in choosing our public officers.

During the preparation of a bill to be introduced in the Illinois legislature under the auspices of the reform societies of Chicago, the writer advocated the holding of the primaries coincident with the first of two days of registration preceding elections. The main idea of this proposition was to avoid additional expenses and thus make it easier to secure the reforms desired. The mere act of voting at the primary was to constitute a re-registration for the voter. Incidentally, it was hoped to bring out a fuller vote at the primary by this method than by any other that might be proposed. The Election Commissioners and others present at conferences on the bill advanced objections against this plan based on alleged difficulties which might arise through the conjunction of primary and registration. Without attempting to elaborate the idea any further at this time, it is sufficient to say that the opposition to it was sufficient *per se* to demonstrate its impracticability.

ABORTIVE LEGISLATION

Over one-half the States in the Union have adopted laws intended to control primary elections. Only two of these laws are worth serious attention, those of Kentucky and Missouri. They are the only ones which interfere, even partly, with machine control of the primaries. The Kentucky law does this by a scheme of direct nomination at the primary; the Missouri law by taking the naming of the judges and

¹ "Primary Elections," p. 107.

clerks away from the bosses. The rest of these laws are sham reforms. They have accomplished little or nothing, and are valuable only to teach us what to avoid.

Mr. Milholland, in his *North American Review* article, "discovered" the Kentucky law last January, although it is one of the pioneers in the line of primary-election reform legislation. The Kentucky law was heralded by him as a new thing, as the hope of the nation, and was recommended for general adoption. As a matter of fact the Kentucky law dates back to 1879-1880, while nearly all other primary-election laws were passed in the period of 1887 to 1892, immediately following or coincident with the success of the agitation for the Australian ballot. These subsequent laws have avoided the Kentucky plan, which provides for direct nomination at the primary, without a delegate convention.

The best feature — and not a universal one — of primary-election laws now in operation is the limitation of the franchise at the primary to the registration list. Even this wise provision is negated by unblushing frauds. For purposes of identification California has a registration law similar to the Bertillon police system. Not only are the name and residence made a matter of record, but the voter's height, weight, color of eyes, beard, and other extraneous characteristics are noted. The ordinary registration provides no such safeguard against fraud; and in the big cities, where a number of election precincts are gerrymandered into a single primary district, with venal judges and a complaisant police, fraudulent voters are counted by droves at the primaries under other men's names.

The prevailing type of primary-election law is like that which exists in Illinois, "under which there never has been a conviction, and even only one indictment which held water. It was framed by politicians to quiet public clamor, and contains a thousand loopholes for evading its ostensible penalties."¹

The Missouri law — applicable to St. Louis — was an experiment in a new direction. It provides for holding primaries under the supervision of the regular election machinery, with regular judges and clerks, and with the safeguards of the regular election law. A decision of the Illinois Supreme Court antecedent to the adoption of this law, set forth the self-evident proposition that the regular election judges and clerks could not be compelled to serve at primaries unless they were paid. Where was the money to come from? The Missouri law meets the emergency by requiring the party organization to deposit with the Recorder of Voters a sum sufficient to cover this expense. The law purports to be mandatory upon parties casting twenty-five per cent of the total vote, Republican and Democratic, but no party need call it

¹ *Chicago Tribune*, January, 1887.

primaries under this expensive plan unless it so desires, for there is no way to compel a party to put up this sum of money. Machines are not fond of contributing funds to reform movements to accomplish, perhaps, their own overthrow. Hence the Missouri law practically is inoperative.

The much lauded Kentucky law is a failure partly because it is not mandatory, and also because it is founded upon the impracticable system of nomination by direct vote.¹ It was passed by a Democratic legislature and has been used by the Democratic party to nominate its local candidates. The Republican party in the State virtually has ignored it.

Direct nomination at the primaries, where there are more than two candidates, — as there are usually in a free-for-all race, — has never given satisfaction.

When a plurality nominates, it enables a minority of the party to contest a majority. Minority nominations should be avoided. The voter casts his ballot in the dark without knowing what the reasonable probability is. In delegate convention selected under the law, enough of the future can be foreseen to guard against weak nominations. The paramount purpose is to let a majority control.²

This is the situation in a nutshell. The paramount purpose should be to obtain majority control.

Also, party success frequently depends upon geographical considerations, and certain natural divisions of the party. "Such questions of policy cannot be given their accustomed weight where the nominations are made by direct vote of the people."³

The party machine, with its secret caucus, effective organization, and well-developed plans of action, is able to control these direct nominations with the utmost ease. Thus the party begins the campaign by first stirring up dissension and strife within its own ranks, and producing the conditions leading to discontent, lukewarmness, and open desertion. How much better to choose responsible delegates under the safeguards of mandatory supervision by the regular election officials, and let the few fight it out, — for there must be a fight, — and have it all over, without necessarily embroiling the whole party, to its lasting damage !

It may as well be admitted with good grace that the idea of removing completely the "machine" from politics is impracticable. There must be organization within the party ; but this central power should be the servant, not the self-perpetuating master of the party and of

¹ Under the best auspices, direct nomination works well only in local affairs. Imagine nominating a President this way! Even in local affairs it falls far short, in my opinion, of being satisfactory.

² L. V. Sherman, to the Chicago Merchants' Club, March 6, 1887.

³, "Primary Elections."

the people. The primary election also is an essential feature of our institutions. But the delegates to conventions should be chosen at primaries regulated by law, providing for absolute secrecy and security, and insuring the completest expression of the will of the majority.

THE PRACTICAL REMEDY.

An efficient primary-election law must be mandatory. It must recognize political parties as quasi-public institutions, and deal with them as it does with boards of trade, building and loan societies, and corporations in general. The members of a political party have the same right to a voice in its management as have the stockholders in a railroad. The authority of the law should address itself to securing these rights, and protecting the individual members against fraud.

Municipal, county, or State control of primaries involves an increased public expenditure. If the primaries are to be held under the direct supervision of public officers, these officers must be paid out of the public treasury. It is impracticable to try to force political parties to deposit the money necessary for the purpose. There is no logical reason why the public should not meet the expenses of this public function as it does the expenses of the subsequent election.

The right of every citizen to affiliate with whatever party he may choose must be guaranteed, and his right to participate in the primaries of his party, and have his vote counted as cast, must be protected. An efficient registration law is the proper basis for determining party delineation. At the regular registration—as already provided in Kentucky—the voter should have the privilege of indicating which party he desires to affiliate with, and only those who have in such manner identified themselves with one party or another should be eligible to vote at the primaries of the party.

Primaries of all parties should be held upon an arbitrary date—a certain time previous to each election. All should be held together—a single polling-place for the primaries of all parties in each precinct—and under the supervision of one set of officials. The County Judge or other officer may indicate the distinctive color of ticket to be used by each party, and no one who has not previously registered his affiliation with a certain party should be permitted to vote the ticket of the color selected for that party. In the counting of the votes, all ballots not conforming to this or other provisions would be illegal, and must be laid aside.

There should be a separate primary in each election precinct. The autonomy of the precinct should be preserved at the primary: first, for the convenience of the voter; second, in order that the largest pos-

sible attendance be secured; third, so that the voter may choose his neighbor as delegate, and hold him responsible; fourth, to prevent the common fraud of gerrymandering.

No alternates should be elected.¹ It is a usual subterfuge to head a delegate ticket with the name of a man of known probity, and perhaps fill out the list with men of this character, when it is certain these men will not serve, and that unknown "alternates," or proxies, subservient to the bosses, will sit in the convention.

Certificates of election should be issued by the precinct judges to the person or persons receiving the highest number of votes, these certificates to be *prima-facie* evidence of the qualifications of the delegates as members of the convention.

It would be a simple matter to compel political parties to hold their primaries under such a law. An amendment to existing statutes regulating elections could provide that the name of no candidate should appear on the ballot printed at public expense, unless he be nominated in accordance with the aforesaid primary law. All parties having cast two per cent of the vote at the last preceding election should be entitled to have distinctive colors allotted to them for the purposes of the primary election, by application of the regular party committee to the proper official. And unorganized voters, by petition of two per cent of the vote cast at the last preceding election, should be given the same standing as a regular party. Thus no party would be discriminated against except by its own volition. The prerogative of a citizen to vote at the election for whomever he might choose, of course, would not be infringed. He could not have his ticket printed at public expense, however, unless he conformed to the law regulating nominations.

The necessity for drastic penalties is one of the utmost importance in giving such a law its full measure of vitality. Fines and jail sentences have few terrors for the evil-doer, particularly the ruffian who has a political "pull." Violations of the provisions of the law should constitute felonies, with penalties at least as severe as provided by the election laws.

WHAT LEGISLATURES ARE DOING FOR THIS REFORM.

A bill embodying the features just proposed was framed under the auspices of the Civic Federation of Chicago² and presented to the Illinois legislature this spring, with the indorsement of all the reform societies and political clubs of the second city in the nation.

It was too much to expect all at once, however, from a machine-ridden political assembly. The original bill never saw daylight after

¹ In Philadelphia the Republicans forbid proxies.

² The credit for the authorship of the bill belongs justly to Mr. G. F. Bush, with whom the some differences of opinion during its preparation, but in regard to minor features only.

its introduction. The delegations which went to Springfield to boost it along were given respectful hearing, but were told firmly and flatly that no Reform (with a big capital R) which would surely deprive the bosses of their livelihood could get through the legislature. Finally, a compromise bill was agreed upon which preserved many of the good features of the original plan, but fell far short of what was desired.

The compromise bill seems likely at this writing to become law. As an experiment in primary-election reform it will be the most interesting so far attempted, and if successful it will give shape and a clearly defined direction to future legislation. The control of the primary machinery will be wrested from the bosses. The law will be mandatory. The regular election judges and clerks will officiate at the primary, be paid out of the public treasury, and answer to the Election Board and the County Judge for their behavior. The credentials committee, that source of common and glaring frauds in conventions, is virtually abolished by the proposed law, for the right to sit in the convention is determined solely by the possession of delegate certificates issued by the officers of the primary, under seal of law; and any attempt to deprive a person lawfully presenting such certificate of the right to sit in the convention and participate in its deliberations is declared a felony.

Primaries of different parties are to be held on separate days instead of together. This was distinctly a concession to the politicians. There are to be two a year for each party, on arbitrary dates, before the spring and fall elections. Only those parties which have cast ten per cent of the vote at the last preceding election are to be entitled to the benefit of the law. This is intended to shut out all except the Republican and Democratic parties. Populists and other third or minor parties must continue to name their candidates in the old way. The reason alleged for this concession was the necessity of economizing after knocking out the general primary day and giving a separate one to each party. Otherwise the compromise plan would have proved too expensive. The same argument militated to destroy the autonomy of the precinct, the compromise bill providing for the consolidation of from two to four precincts in one primary district. By shutting out the Populists and other minor parties, and resorting to the old system of consolidating a number of precincts in one primary district, it is possible to obtain separate primaries for the Republicans and Democrats at practically the same expense which would have been involved by a general primary day for all parties with a voting-place in each precinct.

Unfortunately the concessions did not stop here. So much opposition developed to the idea of registration of party affiliation that this part of the original bill was eliminated. The registration of party

affiliation I regard as the best feature of the Kentucky law—its one successful feature. The Illinois politicians fought it savagely. They said it would be regarded by the workingmen, who claimed to have been coerced into voting for McKinley, as a scheme to keep their employers informed as to their politics. The gold Democrats also opposed it. There was nothing in the proposed law to compel a voter to designate his party, and certainly it is axiomatic that no one has a right to a voice in the party government who for any reason does not care, or even does not dare, to declare his party affiliation.¹ But the opposition to this provision was successful. This leaves it possible still for Democrats to vote at Republican primaries, and *vice versa*. All that is necessary is to get another man to swear in the vote. The man who swears it in can have no actual knowledge as to how the voter marked his ballot in the privacy of the Australian booth at the last preceding election, and the Democrat or Republican who chooses to commit perjury in order to help out the local boss of another party has entire immunity in doing so. Conviction is utterly impossible. This swearing-in feature of the primary is the most prolific source of fraud as well as the safest; hence the most dangerous. The politicians knew what they were about when they insisted upon this last concession—to “public sentiment,” they said, but in reality to save their own bacon.

Senator Pavey, who has introduced a Primary Reform bill in the New York legislature, regards the registration of party affiliation as its most important feature. Speaking of his bill, the Senator says:

It is made the duty of the general committee of a political party to procure a certified copy of the list of names of electors whose affiliation with that party has been recorded or specially registered in the election district or districts contained in the political subdivision in and for which a primary is to be held. Such a certified list shall constitute the official roll of members of the party in such subdivision. Any person whose name is upon that roll may vote at the primaries of that party.

The plan fits any form of party organization. It does not violate the constitutional provision for secrecy in voting. It gives no plainer indications of the ticket an elector will vote than actual participation in party work does now. It fixes by law the status of each elector, so far as the question of his membership in a party is concerned. It defines his right to the franchise at a primary. Supplemented by other provisions for the protection of the actual exercise of the franchise, it must eradicate or materially reduce the present evils which bring party management into such disrepute.²

Senator Pavey's bill, however, falls far short of the merits of the Illinois bill in its other provisions.

¹ In Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, no person is permitted to vote in a Republican caucus unless his name is enrolled upon the ward committee list. The Party-Affiliation provision in the Kentucky law merely enacts into statute this recognized principle. Furthermore, it prevents the machine's ward committee from saying who shall or shall not be enrolled. It insures the participation of a larger number of voters in the primary, and protects the voter in his right to a voice in the affairs of his party.

² *Harper's Weekly*.

The Kentucky plan is followed also in the bill under consideration by the Wisconsin legislature, with this important difference, that it is made mandatory, and provides for only one primary a year. The bill was introduced by Representative Lewis, but is known as the La Follette plan, after ex-Congressman La Follette, who has devoted much attention to the subject.

It provides that hereafter there shall be no nominating conventions in the State, but that all persons who shall aspire to hold an elective public office shall be voted for directly at a primary election, to be held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in September of every year. It recognizes political parties, and provides that the primaries of all parties shall be held on the same day, so as to prevent one party having the advantage of another. It also provides that all parties shall hold their primaries in the same booth in every election district. Anyone desiring to submit his name to be voted for as a candidate for nomination on the ticket of a party shall secure in his behalf the signing of a nomination paper. This nomination paper shall be signed by at least one per cent of the number of persons who voted with his party at the last preceding election, which number shall, in the case of a candidate for nomination for a State office, be not less than five hundred, if for Congress not less than three hundred, if for county or legislative offices not less than one hundred.

The one-primary-a-year idea embodied in this bill is defensible on only two grounds: first, its economy as compared with a primary before each election; and, second, the greater public interest which would be aroused, and the resultant large attendance at the primary. It is safe to say, however, that whatever its virtues, the one-primary-a-year idea will not prove acceptable to the people. The voters will object to choosing in September candidates for the spring election.

The most striking fact with which I have come in contact in pursuing this investigation has been the general lack of information on this important subject. Many who have written admirable monographs and magazine articles on the evils of the American primary-election system have stated conditions merely in a hopeless sort of way, without suggesting practical remedies or displaying an accurate knowledge of the sporadic yet important efforts now making in that direction.¹

Friends of good government rallied to the support of civil-service reform a few years ago and won a great victory. Reform of the primary is of far greater importance. There should be a national organization to collect information and statistics on this subject for the education of the people and of the lawmakers. Who will take the initiative?

¹ I must make an exception of Senator Dallinger, of Cambridge, Mass., who has published recently the only complete and practical treatise on the subject which I have seen.

RELIGIOUS TEACHING AND THE MORAL LIFE.

I. FIDELITY IN THE SOCIAL COMPACT.

BY JUDGE CHARLES R. GRANT.

OUR system of schools, supported by common taxation, is defensible only on the theory that a generally diffused education, at least in its fundamental parts, is essential to good citizenship and the conservation of the common weal. It proceeds upon the hypothesis that it is cheaper and better to employ teachers than to hire policemen, to equip schools than to arm soldiers, to build schoolhouses than infirmaries or prisons; and that so, at last, the people, upon whom the burden of taxation primarily falls, will come to their own again. Otherwise the entire scheme would be an unwarranted invasion of the domain of private right and an interference with the personal relation of parent and child. In view of the present attitude and temper of the public upon this question, and in the light of fairly ascertained results, the soundness of the theory can hardly be successfully attacked, and it is accordingly assumed that those who are charged with the correlative duty of executing this educational trust have only wisely to adapt the means so generously confided to them to the one end of the well-being of the state.

The universality of education among us is looked upon by our people as the one remedy for all the ills which can befall the body politic, as the unfailing safeguard against whatever evils may beset us, as the decisive circumstance which makes, and will continue to make, our government an exception to the republics which have gone before us and have perished. The century of our national existence, with its marvellous development, is appealed to, with a confidence apparently justified by results, — if indeed the latter can be linked to their assumed premise in the relation of cause and effect, — as an evidence that a pervasive education has been our safety hitherto, and as a prophecy of its abiding tutelage for the future. And so it is that we dismiss lightly all apprehensions of coming evil as pessimistic and unworthy of us; we reject the apparent teachings of history as having no lesson for a people whose birthright is the fruit of the tree of knowledge; and we resent all doubt of the wisdom or utility of our educational system as flying in the face of the central fact of our prosperity.

This wholesale sweep of optimism, bottomed upon a generally diffused information among the masses, seems to me to suggest some obvious limitations to its own usefulness. It postulates that the prob-

lem of self-government — by and for the people, and thus theoretically solvable solely by making rudimentary education a common possession — is, and is to be, surrounded by the same conditions which have environed it in the past. The hypothesis by no means squares with the case. To the fathers of a hundred years ago that problem was very simple; to us it is exceedingly complex. They were for the most part farmers. They had a virgin continent at their back. The resources of their country, although almost wholly undeveloped, were potentially wonderful. With them the conditions of life were neither high nor low, but surprisingly uniform, and they were strangers alike to affluence and to want, and also to the peculiar dangers and temptations of both. Legislation and immemorial custom encouraged the free alienation and interchange of land, and each man, being thus anchored to the soil by the close and certain tenure of personal ownership, had a stake in society and an interest in good government which was a guaranty of order. A jurisprudence reasonably symmetrical and wonderfully elastic was theirs by inheritance. While they were justly jealous of their rights, they were equally mindful of each reciprocal duty. Their system of education, both higher and lower, — in the college and in the district school, — at least in New England and at a time when New England was the germinating and sprouting seed-plot for the West, was essentially demo-theocratic. Strict morality was everywhere inculcated, but it was that morality which was referable to their one code of ethics — the Bible. The moulding and shaping power of the dominant church in educational matters, while mildly and unobtrusively exerted, was not for that reason any the less real; and the pastor of the parish — in the school as in the pulpit and at the town meeting — “taught as one having authority.” The tendency of the time and the environment of the people begat contentment, and contentment was the handmaid of an average thrift.

We of to-day face a condition very different from all this. Our then population has been multiplied by twenty. Agriculture, while retaining a respectable numerical following, is by no means the relatively dominant pursuit that it was a century ago. The desertion of rural life and the consequent crowding of urban pursuits have vastly complicated the most difficult governmental problem of our time — how to deal with our great cities. The rapid concentration of wealth in few hands and the aggregation of great private fortunes, characteristic of the years since the war, argues such an inequitable distribution of the output of industry as must justify discontent in time of plenty and create distress in time of scarcity. The following of politics as a distinct pursuit by sagacious and unscrupulous men at the head of organized cohorts of retainers, each armed with our theoretically on-

nipotent ballot, and disciplined through every gradation of political fealty and service, from the national committee to the lowest unit of the school district, or "block of five," has engendered a profound distrust in the godlike quality of the voice of the people as it finds expression on election day. Our great centres of population, — and hence of political influence, — whence are voiced and moulded the political thought and opinion of the country, are to-day controlled politically by the element which may not unfitly be characterized as the moral and political ignorance of Great Britain and continental Europe. With a nationality founded on the assumption of not only the right, but also — which is a far different thing — the capacity, not again of *some* men, but of *all* men, not indeed for government, but for *self-government*, which, still again, is quite another and more difficult matter, we are yearly absorbing into the mass of our voting and theoretically capable self-governing people myriads to whom this theory, carried into practice, is an utter stranger, and whose whole past has not only been no preparation for, but at cross-purposes with it. And whether our power of political digestion and assimilation is equal to our capacity for absorption may fairly be doubted.

The recent fierce competition created by throwing open to settlement a small strip of public land seems to suggest that our limit of comfortable expansion has been reached, and that, with free resort to cheap and fertile soil thus forbidden, the great corrective of otherwise frightful economic abuses will be taken away and the safety-valve for industrial discontents forever closed. Our constitutions and codes, admirably adapted to progress, have yet to demonstrate their power for conserving and staying the results of a century of energy. Our educational panacea is no longer compounded from the pharmacopœia of religion. The most formal and perfunctory devotional exercise in the public schools is denounced on the one hand as heretical and godless, and resented on the other as a relic of superstition. Each of these complaining parties has behind it many votes, and the school system, in addition to being the prey of politics, becomes the victim of religious rancor. Driven thus to hold a middle course, our educators seek to confine their labors to the domain of mere knowledge, to the acquisition of information as such, to the training of the head and the hand alone. It hardly needs the authority of Herbert Spencer to show that these ends, desirable in themselves, are not the prime objects of a true education, which, beginning in knowledge and culminating through culture in character, has its springs in a rightly instructed and directed moral sense, a quickened heart, and an undoubted allegiance to the universal regency of conscience.

This material trend of our educational forces is not less perilous

because it comports with the mercantile tendencies of the time, and is what a money-getting generation is pleased to call "practical" and "businesslike." Within well defined limits the mere hoarding of facts, the aggregating of concrete knowledge, and the nicest accuracy of technical training, without the compensating poise of correct moral notions, only fit their possessor to be a more efficient scoundrel than he could be without them.

Nor yet is the highest intelligence — no matter how generally diffused among those who mould and lead public opinion and popular movements — always, perhaps not often, a guaranty against the most atrocious and brutal crimes — crimes, too, not individual and isolated, but national and perpetrated in the name of the people and by the sanction of the omnipotent majority. The French Revolution of 1789 succeeded an intellectual revolution scarcely less marked, and all the knowledge bequeathed to France by Voltaire, and Rousseau, and Descartes, and the encyclopedists neither put off its coming, hastened its end, nor shortened the fearful scourge whereby it lashed to fury the worst passions known to man since the birth of the race.

The statistics of modern crime seem to show that those delinquencies which are most dangerous to the welfare of the state are not such brutal deeds as at first shock the moral sense of the community. They take the shape, rather, of embezzlements, malversations in office, peculations of various sorts, breaches of fiduciary relations, confidence operations, and, generally, what the late James Fisk, Jr., used to call "rescuing things out of somebody else." To knock a man down on the highway and rob him requires some courage, but the very violence of the act is in a manner a safeguard against its repetition. A successful swindle, on the other hand, needs trained and disciplined powers of mind, and to the many who can discern no broad landmark dividing the nebulous and ill-defined border-ground between business methods and stealing, the brilliancy of the achievement is positively alluring, and the moral obliquity of the transaction is lost sight of in the glare of its gentility.

Experience seems to show, also, that philosophic morality, or morality in the abstract, however beautifully expressed, or impressively inculcated, or oracularly taught, is of itself, and severed from all higher sanctions, in large measure inert to mould character and control conduct. Not to compare the theoretical morality of the Athenian philosophy of the age of Pericles with the morality of fact in the Greek everyday life of that time, it would be hard to find a loftier moral code or a more elevated plane of ideal life than was taught in Paris only a hundred years ago side by side with the orgies of the Revolution, and by the same philosophers who under the high altar of Notre Dame were

shipped a naked courtesan as the apotheosis of Reason. Within ear-shot of the atrocities of the Terror, in a speech to the assembled representatives of the people, Robespierre said: "The true temple of the Supreme Being is the universe; his worship virtue, his fetes the joy of a great people, gathered under his eyes to tighten the bonds of social affection, and present to him the homage of pure and grateful hearts"; and the Assembly solemnly decreed by a unanimous vote their recognition of the sentiment, thus uttered, of the soul's immortality, and the practice of the social virtues as the most worthy mode of worship. At the same time, eighty victims each day were marched out of the Conciergerie to the scaffold, and a universal reign of spoliation had obliterated in the minds of the people all perceptions of right and wrong.

It was a saying of Napoleon that, had there been no Rousseau, there had been no Revolution, and it is certain that the influence which that writer exerted in bringing on that vast upheaval of the body politic was most profound. His was in truth a diseased mind, and Mr. Lecky says of him, as another has said of Carlyle, that "he was the great alterative medicine of his time." But in his writings Rousseau bequeathed to his country very much that was pure and lofty in the domain of morals; and his sincere belief in the truths of natural religion cannot be doubted.

Voltaire was indeed the arch enemy of revelation, which he attacked with weapons drawn from every corner of his vast armory of intellectual resource; but he always insisted that religious belief is essential to the well-being of the state, that the difference between right and wrong is inherent and eternal, and that the choice of one or the other, with its consequences, is left free to every man; and when Condorcet and D'Alembert vented the bald atheism of their school at his table he responded by sending his servants from the room, saying he did not wish to be robbed and murdered in his own house—the natural outcome, as he conceived, of such teachings.

If the influence of Rousseau was potent among the *bourgeoisie* of the immediately pre-revolutionary epoch, so was that of Voltaire among the scholarly classes of the same time. Both sought to dissociate public morals from the religious sanctions with which they had been bound up. Had they but lived to see it, they would have been appalled at the result of their teachings. As the tie connecting morality and dogma was relaxed, both perished.

The history of that time has ever since been a storehouse of "doctrine and reproof" for the nations. Does it hold no lesson for us? In 1790 Edmund Burke published his "Reflections on the Revolution in France," in which the statesman spoke with the voice of prophecy.

said:

These enthusiasts do not scruple to avow their opinion, that a state can subsist without any religion better than with one, and that they are able to supply the place of any good which may be in it by a project of their own, — namely, by a sort of education they have imagined, founded in a knowledge of the physical wants of men, progressively carried to an enlightened self-interest, which, when well understood, they tell us, will identify with an interest more enlarged and public.

We are not strangers to language closely akin to this, uttered sometimes in high places and in support of a scheme of education wherein is assumed to lie the safety of the commonwealth. It will not be contended that I am producing a witness interested upon the footing of either nationality or faith, when I call Emilio Castelar in support of the position here taken. Said he in the constitutional assembly of Spain, in 1870:

The French democracy has a glorious lineage of ideas — the science of Descartes, the criticism of Voltaire, the pen of Rousseau, the monumental encyclopedia; the Anglo-Saxon democracy has for its only lineage a book of a primitive society — the Bible. The French democracy is the product of all modern philosophy, is the brilliant crystal condensed in the alembic of science; the Anglo-Saxon democracy is the product of a severe theology learned by the few Christian fugitives in the gloomy cities of Holland and of Switzerland, where the morose shade of Calvin still wanders. . . . Nevertheless, the French democracy, that legion of immortals, has passed like an orgie of the human spirit drunken with ideas — like a Homeric battle, where all the combatants, crowned with laurels, have died on their chiselled shields; while the Anglo-Saxon democracy, that legion of workers, remains serene in its grandeur, forming the most dignified, most moral, most enlightened, and richest portion of the human race.

If this divorce of morals from religion and its sanctions had any considerable tendency toward overturning institutions long established, or uprooting a venerable state, shall it not be feared in a government to which the authority of age is unknown, which cares little for tradition, which is bottomed on the negation of prescription, and where a fast-growing increment of really unearned and confessedly irresponsible wealth is surely sweeping away the safety and security to be found in a well-to-do middle class?

Our people have a sufficient, perhaps an exaggerated, appreciation of their rights. It is not equally certain that they have a like sense of the correlated duties. We patronize Providence as long as Providence smiles upon us. We refuse to our children, in the plan of public instruction, all adequate teaching of obligation to Providence, of interpreting its undoubted dealings with men and nations through the ages, and of deducing thence the unwisdom and the danger of ignoring its lessons lest the example of the past of others shall be emphasized and repeated in our present.

We eagerly trim our sails to every breeze of material progress; and we neglect to stow the anchors which at some time will be needed to hold the headway gained. We know that the bulk of life is made

up of conduct; that conduct, to be of value to the state, must be obedient to law, both positive and moral; and that to obey implies self-control, disciplined, watchful, and docile. A rule of civil conduct which is not armed with appropriate and adequate sanctions, which is not clothed with the power to repress the mischief aimed at, to advance the remedy provided by itself, to redress the wrong done, to vindicate its offended majesty, to enforce its own decrees, and to administer the penalty annexed to their infraction, does not rise to the dignity of a law; it is, at best, advice or counsel which the subject of it may or may not follow, at his own choice but not at his own peril, and which of course he will not obey when self-interest competes with duty.

The facility with which states invent pretexts to escape international obligations and to violate engagements entered into with all the solemnities which can appeal to the public conscience, in cases where the only coercive remedy lies in the hazards of war; the readiness with which vast masses of voters fall in with any plausible scheme of legalized spoliation, when the sole vindication of right must come in the tardy rebuke of public opinion; and the willingness of some peoples to break faith with the public creditor, where the ultimate vengeance of the latter, when overreached and abused, is to be found in his long memory alone;—all these are evidences of the looseness with which the chains of duty bind men to right conduct, especially where the redress of the wrong done is indirect, remote, and contingent.

So a rule of moral conduct stripped of sanctions is not entitled to the name of law. Law does not invite approbation; it commands obedience.

It is no part of my contention that obedience to law always proceeds from fear of punishment. Such a conclusion would be far too narrow, and would confound the law-abiding with the law-breakers. Sir Henry Maine acutely observed that while the fit sanction follows, like its shadow, every positive law, the operating element of fear is generally absent when men come to obey its precepts, except among the criminal classes. He attributes this result to a law-obeying habit, springing in part from early teaching, partly from religious opinion, and to a considerable extent, perhaps, from an inherited acquiescence in the administration of law by states and their agencies through long periods of time. "Unfortunately," he adds, "it has been shown in our day that the mental habit, so far as regards positive civil and criminal law, may be easily destroyed by connivance at violations of rule; and this is some evidence of its having a long descent from penal law once sternly enforced."

If then the inheritable quality of obedience has its source in the penalty originally annexed to the rule itself, we are to be vigilant, not

only in cultivating the intermediate agencies through which it may come to us unimpaired, but also in remembering the primary sanction. Desuetude here would be far from innocuous. Plainly the law-loving habit can exist in full vigor only as the stringent test of the original standard is appealed to in each case of doubt, and back to this the subject must again and again be brought as duty and inclination clash.

Measured by these criteria, can moral law, under our policy of absolute non-intervention in matters of religious instruction, be inculcated usefully and efficiently in our public schools? We may distrust as profoundly as we will the breadth of the suffrage among us; we may tremble at its levelling tendencies. It is here to stay, and is part and parcel of us and our future. Our only resource is to guide it to wise and patriotic ends.

The plastic and formative stage of public opinion, when it can best be moulded to good impressions, is to be found long before it wields the ballot. To him who weighs the profound influence of national recollections upon national character, and who estimates the hold with which patriotism clings to tradition, it will not seem prudent to cast aside the warning of Washington's farewell to his countrymen, that morality abstracted from sound religious principles ceases to be a prop of the state. To the man who reflects that in our courts oaths are constantly taken and appealed to, which without the annexed sanctity of religious belief would be inert and valueless, but upon which depend life, liberty, and property, it must be apparent, I think, that our dearest interests are wrapped up in conserving that sanctity in its purity and usefulness, and thus strengthening the confidence of the people in human veracity, without which no wrong can be righted, no remedy furnished, no justice administered.

That this can be done at no time so well as in childhood and youth, and by no means so efficient as the quiet teachings of the common school, — that truest of republics, — where correct notions of duty are planted with the best chance of survival and of unforced application in every relation of life, seems certain. That the present is a time when a sense of responsibility to the Fountain of all authority and the Author of all government may be inculcated among the young of our country with propriety and hope of useful results in an increased reverence for law and respect for vested rights, can hardly be questioned.

Looking forward to much of what has since occurred in the way of breaking up the older forms of government and a greater participation of the people in their administration, and seeking to reconcile the oncoming rule of popular opinion with the reign of law, the acute and excellent John Foster wrote these weighty words, as significant as full of moment for us as they were for the men of his time:

Undoubtedly the zealous friends of popular education account knowledge valuable absolutely, as being the apprehension of things as they are; a prevention of delusions; and so far a fitness for right volitions. But they consider religion (besides being itself the primary and infinitely the most important part of knowledge) as a principle indispensable for securing the full benefit of the rest. . . .

And religion, while its grand concern is with the state of the soul towards God and eternal interests, yet takes every principle and rule of morals under its peremptory sanction; making the primary obligation and responsibility be towards God, of everything that is a duty with respect to men. So that, with the subjects of this education, the sense of *propriety* shall be *conscience*; the consideration of how they ought to be regulated in their conduct as a part of the community shall be the recollection that their Master in heaven dictates the laws of that conduct, and will judicially hold them amenable for every part of it.

And is not a discipline thus addressed to the purpose of fixing religious principles in the ascendancy, as far as that object is within the power of discipline, and of infusing a salutary tincture of them into whatever else is taught, the right way to bring up citizens faithful to all that deserves fidelity in the social compact? . . .

Lay hold on the myriads of juvenile spirits before they have time to grow up, through ignorance, into a reckless hostility to social order; train them to sense and good morals; inculcate the principles of religion, simply and solemnly, as religion, as a thing directly of divine dictation, and not as if its authority were chiefly in virtue of human institutions; let the higher orders, generally, make it evident to the multitude that they are desirous to raise them in value, and promote their happiness; and then, *whatever* the demands of the people as a body, thus improving in understanding and sense of justice, shall come to be, and *whatever* modification their preponderance may ultimately enforce on the great social arrangements, it will be infallibly certain that there never can be a love of disorder, an insolent anarchy, a prevailing spirit of revenge and devastation. Such a conduct of the ascendant ranks would, in this nation at least, secure that, as long as the world lasts, there never would be any formidable commotion, or violent sudden changes. All those modifications of the national economy to which an improving people would aspire, and would deserve to obtain, would be gradually accomplished, in a manner by which no party would be wronged, and all would be the happier.

If this advice was thought important in the social and political changes then supposed to be exigent, how much more so must it be in our own times of unrest and of new and untried economic conditions which touch home every hearthstone and every interest.

It is not asserted that the inculcation of dogma, to any extent whatever, is the legitimate function of public school instruction. Here the educator may well heed the warning of Thomasius, "not to put his sickle into the field of dread Theology." But it is submitted that in studying nature in its phenomena the teacher may rationally and usefully refer the taught to the Author of nature and to the contemplation of His attributes. The scholar will study literature not less appreciatively for knowing how richly it has been endowed by the church, and how large is the debt which the republic of letters owes to Christianity for its preservation and perpetuity. Nor is the student likely to be less a patriot, or a worse citizen or neighbor, if while investigating history through its facts his attention is directed to the great Disposer of

Events and His dealings with men in the past, and to the inferences which may profitably be drawn from them.

On this plane the followers of every sect may stand, and so far at least the believers in every creed may go without quarrel; and the result can be only a clearer perception in mature years of the truths thus nurtured and cultivated in childhood, which by a general consensus of belief are held to be fundamental and necessary. For it is a fact that with the bulk of our people the essential principles of Christianity are still truths of the most solemn import —

Truths which wake to perish never;
Which neither man nor boy,
Nor all that is at enmity with joy,
Can utterly abolish or destroy.

To admit that these principles cannot be emphasized and enforced in our scheme of public instruction, unobtrusively indeed, but practically, by so mixing them with all teaching as to permeate with them the after life and conduct of the pupils, would be an impeachment of our educational system which its friends would be swift to resent and deny. The potential usefulness of this teaching it is not given to human sagacity to calculate, but in the times that are upon us it is sufficient to challenge the thought of the people and bring it back to channels which, although pursuing ancient ways, are still the paths of safety and peace.

AKRON, OHIO.

II. READING THE BIBLE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

BY ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

To clearly understand each other in the discussion of questions in regard to religion, writers must have some common ideas as to the ground covered by the science of religion. While some claim that it has nothing to do with theology, and others that it has nothing to do with morality, and still others that it covers both, it would be difficult to reach any conclusion as to where, when, and how it is to be considered.

"Morality touched with emotion" is Matthew Arnold's definition. In his view religion covers the moralities, all our duties in practical life. As individuals we are bound to secure the highest self-development, to cultivate pure thoughts and sentiments, lofty ideals, all the cardinal virtues. In our relations to others we have imperative duties to family, neighbors, and country which a religious conscience will awaken and quicken. This religion covers the whole realm of moral and social ethics, our duties in this life rather than our joys to come.

Theology covers the realm of the unknowable superstitions, world of imagination; our fables, my canons, dogmas and decretals, forms and ceremon bibles, that may prove so many blocks in the way undefiled. We must relegate the Hebrew mythol German and Greek, to the poets, soothsayers, and period to which they belong.

The time has come to study religion as a science in every human being, differing with climate is at least as important in education as astronomy psychology. But this science, covering the whole duties, cannot be learned in our schools by reading containing as it does a very revolting history of of arbitrary rulers, and of men and women who vices in ordinary life.

Dr. Andrew D. White, former President of Cornell his new work, "History of the Warfare of Science Christendom," shows that the Bible has been the way of progress. Why then continue to read it? Why make a fetish of a book that has thus retarded has led to the most cruel persecutions of scientists world has ever seen, — a book that makes the sun Universe a being delighting in war, tempest-tosses and malice, alternately blessing and cursing his people? Why frighten women and children with terrible forces of evil, one called God, and one called who with his omniscient eye penetrates our most actions, who condemns us generally as totally depraved sin, and brought forth in iniquity; "the other is and ever at hand to tempt us from the path of rectitude like a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour" rise superior to such visions, but the multitudes insane asylums, trembling before these imaginary present fears of children, appeal to wise people to gloomy theologies and to give to women and children edition of the "Holy Book." The stampede of children from one of our public schools in New York since, because some one said the devil was in the lesson to Bible teachers.

All thinkers will agree with Judge Grant that is better than taxation for jails and prisons; that schoolhouse are better than those of the street; that religion are the most important lessons to be taught

life, and in the marts of trade. To this end the text-books in our schools, the editorials in our journals, the sermons from our pulpits, the platforms of our political parties, the decisions of our courts, the secret councils of our financiers, should all glow with the principles of justice, liberty, and equality. If, however, we are to train our children in the moralities of the New Testament rather than the mythologies of the Old Testament, and to follow the example of Jesus and accept his code of social ethics, to love their neighbors as themselves, to share with them all the good things of life, this would wholly unfit them for our present civilization of selfish competition.

To teach them that the few had no right to enjoy the luxuries of life while the many were denied its necessities, would educate them for the community idea in social life and for socialism in the general government. Thus, to some thinkers, the philosophy of Jesus would be as objectionable as the mythology of Moses and the Prophets. Again, the reading of the New Testament is forbidden in some of our schools because the Jews object to it as history, and the Catholics object to it because it makes no mention of the Pope or of points of faith which they consider of vital consequence. Millionaires might object because of its denunciations of rich men; and women because it assigns to them a position of subordination in the church and state, and in social life to individual men. Neither in spirit, letter, nor example are children taught in either Book to reverence the mother of the race. In all the revisions of texts and discussions on translations the degraded position of women has thus far had no notice. I doubt whether a theological student ever arose from the study of the Scriptures with a higher respect for women than he found in ordinary life or in the laws and constitutions of the state.

Having listened every day, for a dozen years or more, to the terrible denunciations of rich men, Pharisees, and hypocrites, if our children understood what was read, — which, fortunately, they do not, — they would be surprised to find those classes whom God was supposed to hate, in the full enjoyment of all the good things of life, while the poor whom he loves are suffering in ignorance, poverty, and vice. When questioning, they are told that "the Lord loveth whom he chasteneth," and that the joys of heaven will compensate for their misery on earth. If the majority of people really believed in the teachings of Jesus, we should be in a continual revolution until we secured equal rights for all. "In Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek, bond or free, male or female, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus."

But, say the advocates of the Bible in the schools, our teachers are instructed to read the most harmless passages in the Old Testament, such as the stories of Joseph, Jonah, Samson, etc. But the children

if they take notice of what is read, will ask whether or not those stories are true. To tell them they are not, and yet teach them that the Bible is a Holy Book, inspired or written by the great Spirit of the Universe, is to confuse and confound their reason and common sense. The present contention among our clergy about the story of Jonah would not fill columns in our daily press if they had been taught in our schools that a man could no more live in a whale's belly three days than a bird could for that length of time in an exhausted receiver. To tell them that God can work miracles, that he is not bound by his own laws, is to make the immutable, unchangeable, inexorable One a mere prestidigitator. Parents and teachers are in duty bound to understand the science of religion before they cumber the minds of children with the absurdities of our theologies.

Judge Grant speaks approvingly of the Puritan fathers, as illustrating in their lives the moral effect of Bible-reading in the schools, and the observance of its ordinances in their daily lives. Yet they were the worst type of religious bigots. They persecuted the Baptists and Quakers, tortured and killed alleged witches, and made Sunday a dreary day for the young. A wit, speaking of the blue laws of Connecticut, said, "A man was not allowed on that Holy Day to kiss his wife, nor a hen to lay an egg." The more rigid saints did not even make their beds on Sunday, nor cook any food; some even fasted until the sun went down. Their descendants were the most cruel persecutors of the abolitionists. They stoned and dragged them through the streets of Boston with ropes around their necks, and sent the trembling fugitive slaves back to the house of bondage. They persecuted the advocates of temperance, and made the lives of some clergymen miserable because they protested against deacons of the church carrying on the distillery business and making the cellars of the churches the favorite places for storing wines. The celebrated trial of Rev. George B. Cheever for libel, as the author of "Deacon Giles' Distillery," is fresh in the memory of many still living. So also is the persecution of Rev. John Pierpont, who protested against the wine cellar under his church, whereupon all the liquor-dealers left the "sacred" edifice and nailed rough boards over their pews, thus defacing the interior of the building; and, by withdrawing their patronage, they broke up the congregation. These were leading people in Boston, — lawyers, bankers, trustees of colleges, — all strong advocates of Bible-reading in the schools and of rigid Sunday laws, and men who prayed in perfunctory manner in their families, morning and evening.

Judge Grant evidently thinks that reading the Bible in the schools would quicken the religious emotions of our children and move them later in life to do good works, whereas they take but little note of what

is read, and the teacher's chief care is to avoid all passages unfit for refined ears.

But why read the Hebrew mythology rather than the German or the Greek? Why teach the morality and religion of a people inferior to our own? We hear much talk of religion being the cure for all our social and political wrongs. If religion covers the moralities, it certainly has that power, but we must distinguish between religion and the theologies, as already suggested. Instead of the Bible, we should have text-books on morals and religion, comprising the most beautiful sentiments in poetry and prose from the best thinkers of our day. In all the sciences we have new text-books from time to time; why not in the science of religion and morality, which we consider the most important of all? There are no books in English literature more unfit reading for young people than those of the Old Testament.

Again, Judge Grant claims that the crowding of our people into the cities is an evidence of the decline of the religious sentiment. Is it not rather an evidence of the growing dislike of the isolation of country life? When farm life is composed of colonies owning large tracts of land together, whose farms branch from a common centre, with their houses, schoolhouses, churches, and halls for amusement in one or two broad streets lined with trees, fountains, and flowers, an increasing number of educated people will leave the cities for rural life, where they can rest their weary nerves and develop their muscles in useful labor. The religious emotions in man, based on reverence, imagination, and worship of something higher than himself, are as much a part of every human soul as the love of music, poetry, and song. The savage worships the sun, the moon, the stars, the grand in nature; the civilized man, the ideal intelligence behind all he sees, and feels, and knows; behind the scientific facts on which his own origin and destiny are based. As society grows more complicated from day to day, man's powers must be more highly developed to meet the exigencies of his generation. Now that the full light of science is being turned on all our fallacies and forms of life, and new discoveries are opening brighter fields of thought and more convenient modes of labor, we see that religion covers a broader and more practical sphere. Instead of being enjoined to have faith in abstractions, we are summoned to consider questions of economics, of domestic life, of education, and of wise legislation on all questions that pertain to this world. Men and women should at least make as holy a preparation of themselves for the duties of parenthood as they do to partake of the sacrament.

The religion of humanity centres the duties of the church in this life, and until the poor are sheltered, fed, and clothed, and are given ample opportunities for education and self-support, the first article

their creed should be, "The few have no right to luxuries until the many have the necessities." Merely to live without hope or joy in the present or future is not life, but a lingering death. Instead of spending so much time and thought over the souls of the multitude and over delusive promises of the joys to come in another life, we should make for them a paradise here. We are not so sure that the next sphere of action differs so widely from this. We may go through many grades before we enjoy "the peace that passeth all understanding." If the same laws govern all parts of the universe, and are only improved by the higher development of man himself, we must begin to lay the foundation-stones of the new heaven and the new earth here and now. Equal rights for all is the goal towards which the nations of the earth are struggling, and which sooner or later will be reached. Such will be the triumph of true religion, and such the solution of the problem of just government.

THE CHILDREN OF THE OTHER HALF.

THEIR HOMES, THEIR LIVES, THEIR PERILS, THE HELPING
HANDS HELD OUT TO THEM.

BY PROF. WILLIAM I. HULL, PH. D.

Of Swarthmore College, Pa.

ONE of the most noteworthy tendencies of modern civilization is the flocking of people into great cities. In 1790, only one-thirtieth of our country's population lived in cities of over 8,000 inhabitants; in 1890, nearly one-third. In 1790, there were only six cities in our country with a population of 8,000 or more, while in 1890 there were four hundred and forty-eight.

The causes of this great increase in urban population are of far-reaching importance to our social life both within and without our cities. But they are too numerous to mention or be dwelt upon here. Suffice it to say that, with the growth of city population, city problems and perils have kept pace. In our cities, too, are presented the most startling contrasts. The densest ignorance, the deepest poverty, the wildest intemperance, and the darkest crime serve as an effective background for great universities, for splendid palaces, for exalted homes, and noblest endeavor. The most beautiful of physical environments lie side by side with the most wretched; the highest types of manhood are jostled in the streets by the most debased. Never before in human history were there concentrated in so small a space such contrasts between men and homes and lives. Never before did so many grave municipal, industrial, and moral problems spring up in the path of advancing civilization and demand speedy solution.

But the problem which is my present concern is that of the children of the poor. I desire to tell you, first, of their homes in the tenement houses and shanties of New York and Philadelphia; secondly, of their life upon the streets; and, lastly, of the helping hands held out to lift them up from misery and crime.

Richard Watson Gilder has written a beautiful sonnet, whose lines, I doubt not, are familiar. In it he expresses his love and admiration of that part of New York City in which stands Washington's Arch:

This is the end of the town that I love the best.
Oh, lovely the hour of light from the burning West—
Of light that lingers and fades in the shadowy square,
Where the solemn fountain lifts a shaft in the air
To catch the skyey colors, and fling them down

In a wild-wood torrent that drowns the noise of the town.
 And lovely the hour of the still and dreamy night
 When, lifted against the blue, stands the arch of white
 With one clear planet above, and the sickle moon,
 In curve reversed from the arch's marble round,
 Silvers the sapphire sky. Now soon, ah, soon
 Shall the city square be turned to holy ground
 Through the light of the moon and the stars and the glowing flower, —
 The Cross of light that looms from the sacred tower.

Not far from this cross of light and arch of white, the one a symbol of Christian love and sacrifice, the other erected to the memory of him who did so much to make America a land of freedom and opportunity to the poor, there lies a quarter of the town which Mr. Gilder does not love so well, but which, as chairman of a Tenement-House Committee, he has studied carefully and reported on faithfully. It is to this quarter of the city that I now ask your attention.

"Mulberry Bend" in New York City has long been noted as the centre of New York's Italy. The tide of immigration setting in from southern Italy has reached its high-water mark here, and has left its stamp upon the houses and their tenants. For many years the Health Department fought bravely against the elements of physical and moral degeneration which it brought in with it; but overcrowding, crime, and disease continued to flourish here so persistently that the powers that be were at last aroused to decree the pulling down of the old tenements and the growing of grass and trees in their stead. This transformation of an ulcerous sore on the civic body into a healthy lung, a process commenced six years ago, is still dragging its weary length along.

Running off from the "Bend," like cross passages in a sewer, are scores of paths that are dark and crooked and lined with towering tenements. These are the homes of New York's other half. And what a motley crew they are! Every race, every land, almost every nation, tongue, and kindred is represented here. And so great has been the influx of strangers into our large cities, that they have made some parts of them foreign lands to their native-born inhabitants. In New York and Philadelphia, while the foreign-born in the city at large form thirty-four per cent of the inhabitants, the foreign-born in the tenement districts constitute sixty-two per cent; and while those of foreign parentage form sixty-nine per cent of the people at large, they constitute ninety-three per cent of the dwellers in the slums.

One of the most notorious of the short alleyways or passages running off from the "Bend" is (or rather was, for it is now a part of the park) "Bandits' Roost," which took its name, unfortunately, from the character of its inhabitants. There are many such alleys, tenanted by just such people. But, on the other hand, we must not be too hasty

in ranking all the denizens of such abodes in the bandits' class. The pity of it is that thousands of New York's honest wage-earners have no other place in which to live. The meagreness of their incomes, contrasted with the expense of transit from the suburbs to their places of employment, does not permit them to seek for homes at a distance from Bandits' Roosts. When we remember that seventy-six per cent of New York's workmen, and ninety-seven per cent of its working women, receive less than \$10 per week in wages, we must recognize their difficulty, and not marvel at their indifference to seeking better quarters elsewhere.

Thanks to the triumphs of modern engineering, we are enabled to build one city above another, and thus house seventy per cent of a city's population within a small fraction of its area. This fact is largely accomplished by means of towering tenement houses, known as "double-deckers." They are in many cases fashionable old residences, so cut up into rooms that without increasing their breadth or depth they accommodate two families on each floor, and eight families in all, instead of the original one.

In the houses built for purely tenement purposes the depth of the house is increased until it occupies from eighty-six to ninety per cent of the lot, and by splitting the rooms down the middle, each floor is made to accommodate four families. Then the house is run up to five stories in height, and gives shelter, though not much else, within its walls to twenty families, including frequently one hundred people, sometimes increased by fifty or more boarders and lodgers. For example, in a house in Crosby Street, there were found one hundred and one adults and ninety-one children; and in two houses on Mulberry Street one hundred and fifty boarders were found sleeping on the floors. When a single house is thus made to contain the population of a good-sized village, it may well be said that there are less square feet of the earth's surface allotted to each man, woman, and child in some wards of New York City than are allowed for them in the most crowded country graveyard. New York, at least, denies the truth of Bryant's striking lines, that "All who tread the earth are but a handful to the tribes that slumber in its bosom."

Not only have the old Knickerbocker mansions been changed into "double-deckers," but their former gardens, also, have been made to grow such fruit as gardens never grew before. It is here that the rear tenement has sprung up, and brought it to pass that ninety-three per cent of the lots is often built upon, instead of the seventy per cent which the law nominally prescribes. Surrounded on all sides as these tenements are by higher buildings, and cut off from air and light to such an extent that the tenants of the lower floors must resort to the use

of oil or candle at midday beneath a cloudless sky, it is no wonder that, like Saul, they have killed their thousands. In one ward of New York, while the death-rate of single houses was twenty-nine to the thousand, the presence of the rear tenements brought it up to sixty-two; and in twenty-four wards, where the average death-rate for houses standing singly on the lot was twenty-two, the average for front and rear houses was twenty-eight. To infants, in particular, the rear tenements have proved terribly fatal. While the death-rate of children under five years of age in single tenements in one ward was one hundred and ten, their death-rate in front and rear tenements was two hundred and five; in twelve wards, where their average death-rate in single tenements was ninety, in front and rear it was one hundred and four. If it were possible to make a comparison between single tenements and rear tenements alone, these startling figures would be still larger.

Death's warning finger has at last been heeded, and during the summer of 1896 the Health Department condemned eighty-four of these human slaughterhouses. This salutary action was largely due to the efforts of Mr. Gilder's Committee, who carefully investigated the condemned houses and showed that the result of unsanitary conditions was a death-rate in these tenements during the past five years of from 22.02 to 75.05 in the thousand, while the city's death-rate was less than 22.

When we find houses, seven stories in height, occupied by thirty-six families, and families of father, mother, twelve children, and six boarders, living in two-roomed homes, we may appreciate the startling fact that one district of the eleventh ward in New York contains 986.4 persons to every one of its thirty-two acres. Imagine it if you can! Boston, with only fourteen times as many people, occupies a space six hundred and ninety times as large; and even in its most densely populated quarter (Ward 16) Boston has only 184.16 persons to the acre, as against 986 in New York.

There was a time when the great tenements were supposed to be a decided improvement over the old rookeries and shanties, and from some points of view they undoubtedly were so. A number of these old wooden structures still remain. Many of the evils connected with the larger tenements are found here in an exaggerated form. Overcrowding is one of the worst. In these two-story-and-attic houses, which were built to hold one family, there are often found eight families. These shanties, too, in common with their larger fellows, are peculiarly liable to be set on fire. While less than one-third of New York's buildings are tenement houses, among them occur annually more than one-half of the city's fires; and, despite the efforts of a superb fire department, these fires have for years resulted annually, on

the average, in the death of sixteen persons, the serious injury of forty-nine, and the financial ruin of many a struggling family.

A rear tenement which is perhaps the most notorious in the sanitary and criminal records of New York is the famous Gotham Court. Its Quaker builder designed it to be a model tenement, and doubtless it was superior in some respects to the shanties which sheltered most of the city's poor in 1852 when it was built. It speedily became, however, only one more striking illustration of the evil effects of ignorant philanthropy. During the past five years its death-rate has been one hundred per cent higher than the city's, and last July (1896) the Board of Health prohibited it from future habitation. I visited the Court not long ago, and although the heat of the sun was tempered by the great stone walls on either side, it was a grewsome place to enter. The pavement, slimy with indescribable filth, was littered with garbage and refuse of every order; beneath it was a sewer, exuding its rank moisture and horrible odors to mingle with the dampness and odors of the court itself; above, from side to side of the alleyway, were stretched lines of newly washed clothing, dripping their water upon the children playing below. Many of them were Italian children, and fortunately in most places where Italians dwell a slight reminder of sunny Italy is to be found in the shape of boxes of growing vines and flowers placed on the fire escapes and struggling for life amid their desolate surroundings. These and the playing children were the only bright things in that dreary place. Outside, the torrid rays of the summer sun made the street almost unbearable. But here, too, was an evidence of God's love and man's charity; for not far away was a place for the free distribution of ice, and near it a settlement of noble young women who are devoting their time and strength to the alleviation of the suffering, and the elevation of the characters, of their poverty-stricken neighbors.

Although the average number of people in the most densely crowded ward of Philadelphia is only 7.5 to a dwelling, while the corresponding number in New York is 38.5, yet Philadelphia also has its slums. Here is a rear tenement on Monroe Street in the City of Brotherly Love. The ground on which it stands was once a pleasant garden; but rents are dear to the landlord's heart, and the garden gave way to the tenement. What a place is this for human beings to call home! Is it strange that crime should flourish in such environments as these, and that from this very tenement the Children's Aid Society in Philadelphia should receive into its charge a boy only *ten years old* convicted of assault and battery on a man?

In many cases the home is no better than the house and its surroundings. Dirt, darkness, and disease are the fatal trio ever pre-

in many tenement homes. Dirt may not be always a cause of discomfort, but it certainly promotes disease. Personal uncleanness is largely responsible for the diseases of the eye which are so common among the poor; it is an efficient promoter of typhoid fever and smallpox; by retarding the excretory action of the skin, it throws an extra strain upon, and often permanently injures, other vital organs of the body; and by thus reducing the physical strength of wage-earners it arrays itself as an additional enemy against them in their struggle for existence. But unclean habits are not due solely to the laziness or indifference of the tenants. When there are no apartments for bathing purposes separate from the common living rooms, and when all the water used has to be carried up three or four flights of stairs from a hydrant in the yard below, the landlord who refuses or neglects to provide bathing facilities must bear a large share of the blame. That such facilities are lacking in the vast majority of tenement houses is shown by the fact that only one-third of New York's tenements have water in them, and that only 306 persons out of a total of 255,033 investigated by Mr. Gilder's Committee have access to bathrooms in the houses in which they live! Nor has the city furnished adequate bathing facilities. Its baths are open only during the summer months, and although the aggregate number of baths taken is considerable, the number of persons who take them is comparatively small. That an environment of dirt is not preferred by the poor, is evinced by the salutary effect which asphalt pavements and an efficient street-cleaning service have on the persons, dress, and character of the people.

Turning now from the tenement house, which too often affords no true home to the children of the other half, let us glance at their life upon the streets. For most of them this street life begins in babyhood, and for many it lasts on through life, weaving many a thread in their characters for better or for worse. When contrasted with the dismal tenement home, it has its gleams of brightness, and sometimes leads to nobler lives and higher things; but much more often, alas, it leads to yet lower moral depths, and casting its fatal spell upon its devotees, proves the chief obstacle to adult reform. Its greatest attraction for the little child is freedom,—freedom from the narrow walls of home and relaxation in God's air and sunshine. For the "little mother," however, it means a still greater burden of care and responsibility, for to her are intrusted the younger children. It has been my privilege to know many of these "little mothers," and I think you can search the wide world over and find no nobler examples of patience and long-suffering than they afford. The manifold difficulties with which they have to deal develop in them a rare degree of watchfulness and readiness of response as well as patience, and fit them admirably for the walk of life

they often fill, — that of nurse-girl to the children of their more fortunate fellow men.

As yet, playfulness is natural in youth, and it is not wanting in the children of the poor. They have their sports, and enjoy them hugely, though they sometimes play them roughly. The hand-organ is not to them an instrument of torture, but forms the inspiring centre of many a gleeful ring of dancers or choir of singers; and the aristocratic waltz is danced gracefully by boys and girls, who the next moment join lustily in "Poverty Row" or "Paradise Alley." "King William Was," "The Mulberry Bush," and "Ring around a Rosy" are played as merrily in the poorest streets and alleys of our cities as they could be in parks where royalty rides and such things as roses and bushes are really found. The streets are these children's only playground, and although they have much true merriment there, thanks to their own irrepressible good spirits, it is a shameful reproach to our civilization that they have no others. Central Park and Fairmount Park are miles away from those who need them most, and the few small squares that exist "downtown" are too sacred to be trampled by children's feet — except on gravelled walks. With growing efficiency of administration, our streets, too, are becoming, from some points of view, less attractive as children's playgrounds; for now all empty trucks are banished from them, and these were once prime sources of amusement.

The boys delight in such games as "black man," "caddy," "marbles," and "leapfrog," and despite the vigilance of the police, indulge their delight in baseball and the flying of kites. The "shooting of craps" is a favorite game, but one which is not free from both moral and legal censure, for it is dishonest in itself, and cultivates in the boy that love of gambling which proves the ruin of so many men.

The girls, too, until the struggle for existence ties them to the factory, shop, or sewing machine, spend most of their time upon the streets. And when the cares of a "little mother" do not serve as a safeguard, they are led into all sorts of mischief, and contract tastes and habits which blast their own happiness in later life and unfit them for the task of making home "the sacred refuge of our race."

To the thousands of "little toilers" I can do no more than refer. In New York City alone there are said to be more than 100,000 laboring children. Their occupations are many and various, ranging from making dresses to running errands, and from keeping books to blacking boots. Bootblacking was once the easiest entry into the world of business for the poorest boys; but this industry, too, has felt the influence of foreign competition, and the adult Italian, with his comfortable chair and elaborate outfit, has almost monopolized the polishing business.

Thanks to the enterprise of our great daily papers, and to the ~~our~~

nivorous reading of them by our American public, the business of newspaper selling enlists thousands of city boys. Our ears, as we walk or ride downtown, have but too much reason to testify to the energy with which newsboys drive their traffic; and in spite of the small price of each paper, their profits are by no means inconsiderable. I have met some brisk little fellows in New York and Philadelphia, whose earnings from this source amount to seven, eight, and even nine dollars per week. Many of them have invalid parents, or widowed mother, and younger brothers and sisters, to whose support their earnings must be contributed. But many others, who are friendless and homeless, waste their substance in riotous living, having feasts now and then at Newsboy's Delmonicos, playing recklessly in policy games, or purchasing an evening with melodramatic heroes and heroines in the cheap playhouses on the Bowery.

From the theatre they go with but few cents in their pockets, to some cheap lodging-house to spend the night. A numerous class of these houses charge seven cents a night for what is called by courtesy a bed. Although these places are doubtless more comfortable, physically, than the sheltered doorway or sidewalk grating over some underground furnace, which were long the only alternatives for thousands of homeless wanderers, yet it may be readily understood how naturally vice and crime flourish in them. Their charges range from seven cents to thirty-five cents per lodging, and it is to be hoped that their moral character improves with more comfort and higher prices. In New York City on Sept. 30, 1896, there were one hundred and twelve of these houses, with a capacity of 16,275 people, a fact which gives us some idea as to the size of the army of homeless men and boys.

Another nursery of crime, still worse, perhaps, than the low lodging-houses, because more omnipresent, is the saloon. In some parts of our cities may be found a dozen or more saloons in a single block, and in many places, where streets intersect, these schools of crime are in full operation on each of the four corners. On Oliver Street there is a block in which there are thirteen saloons. There are nearly 8,000 saloons and barrooms in New York, and only four hundred churches; and while the churches are closed or unused the greater part of each week, the saloons are open and active at nearly all hours of the day and night, Sundays, until very recently, not excepted. All saloons pretend to do a legitimate business, but many of them are trysting-places of "crooks" and the hatching-places of crime. That they are not brought strictly under the régime of the law is due to the fact that they are the property of, or are shielded by, the political boss of the ward. And we are all of us but too well aware of the potent influence wielded by liquor-dealers in our Boards of Aldermen and in all depart-

ments of the municipal service. There is a saloon operated and owned by a former alderman for the Tenth Ward in New York City. I visited this saloon one Sunday night before Mr. Roosevelt's vigorous reforms were inaugurated, and although it was owned by one of the city's rulers, I found its side door, or family entrance, open and liquor being sold on the Sabbath in flagrant violation of law. Another noteworthy fact in regard to "Silver-Dollar Smith's" saloon is that its floors and counters are decorated with eight hundred silver dollars embedded in them. This is an evidence of the pains which are taken to make saloons attractive; and when we contrast the warmth and light and music to be found in them in winter, and the coolness and gayety in summer, with the dreary cold or torrid heat and crowds and dirt of the home or street, it is not much wonder that the saloon is fatally attractive. And its attractiveness means inevitable ruin, — especially to the children. In the words of Mr. Jacob Riis, "The saloon is a breeder of poverty and corrupter of politics; it brings suffering into the lives of thousands of innocent victims; it fosters crime and shields criminals; and, worst of all, it corrupts the children. From the moment when, almost a baby, the boy is sent to the saloon to carry thence the beer and whiskey for his parents, he is never out of its reach, and the two form a partnership that lasts through life." I have a picture that shows a whole family, including a three-year-old baby, dead drunk and being taken to the hospital, having eaten nothing for a week.

Coming from such homes as those I have attempted to describe, and encountering such stumbling-blocks and pitfalls as abound in the street, their only playground, in the lodging-house, their frequent shelter, and in the saloon, their omnipresent and fatally attractive ally, it is little wonder that thousands of children of the other half find their path in life cut short at some time sooner or later by prison bars. One of the cells for juvenile delinquents under the age of sixteen years is located in that one of New York's jails which is given the melancholy but appropriate name of the Tombs. Buried here lies many a glowing hope of ambitious boyhood, many a golden possibility of growing into a useful, honest manhood. If the young delinquent, just entered on the path of crime, meet here, as even now sometimes happens, criminals older than himself, he listens eagerly to their account of the great deeds that sent them there. Then, released after some weeks or months of training from this school of crime, he returns to the world with the jailbird's brand upon him, and, repelled from good by the coldness of honest men, and enticed to evil by the warm praises of dishonest ones, he pushes boldly on upon the criminals' path and lands *at last for life* behind penitentiary bars. Or if perchance he escape *the felon's doom of life imprisonment*, his career is made up alternate

outbreaks of petty crimes and of confinement within prison walls for varying terms, until at length, in premature old age, despairing of this life and the life to come, he plunges into the sullen waters of New York's harbor, and is carried thence by way of the city's morgue to Potter's Field, where nameless paupers' graves receive one-tenth of all who die in New York City.

Such is the evolution of the "tough." This last is surely a repulsive picture. One would scarcely believe that humanity could sink so low. But we must not be too ready to judge of possibilities for moral reform by external appearances alone. Beneath the roughest of exteriors there often exists some vestige of true manhood. Some gleam of the spark divine remains, which needs only the breath of brotherly kindness to fan it into flame. Let us not be discouraged then in the task of reforming fallen men and women. There must be some chord in them which will respond in harmony when touched aright.

But it is with children that the most promising and withal the most important work must be done. For, aside from the rescue of human lives from misery and human souls from death, we may not forget that these children of the tenements are to be our country's future rulers, and the parents of its future citizens. Even now the reclamation of the children often has great influence on the parents' reform. This would seem to be the solution of the problem of the slums: "A little child shall lead them."

Let me turn now from the shadows of child-life in the tenement districts, and allude briefly to the helping hands which are soothing its hardships and lifting it to a higher plane. In view of the multitude of charitable agencies engaged in the work of aiding children, it will be possible to refer to only a few of them, selecting some typical ones, without intending, of course, any invidious comparisons.

The shadow of a pauper or selfish parentage is cast upon many hundreds of infants, who are left at birth to the charity of strangers. Sister Irene's Foundling Asylum and Hospital in New York City has taken up this work, and nearly 25,000 homeless waifs, forsaken by their own mothers, have been cared for there by Sisters of Charity. As soon as the cradle stage is passed, the asylum children enter the kindergarten class, and there they lead a merry, happy life. The depressing features of so many other asylums are wanting here, and it is indeed a charming sight to see these children of misfortune laughing and singing at their games, or clustering with bright, eager faces and merry greetings around the visitor, and waving a forest of small hands in farewell.

Three years of sunshine follow the child's first stormy advent to his mother's crib, during which time the mother is privileged to claim

her own again; then the Sisters seek a suitable home for it in some place outside the city. The number of applications from those desiring to adopt these children is large, and some of them are quite amusing. For instance: "Will the good Sisters send my wife and myself a smart, stout, saucy boy of six — Irish parentage?" "We would like a little girl between three and five years old, with dark auburn or brown hair and blue eyes. She *must* have a pretty nose." "Your agent has promised me a nice little red-haired boy. I have a red-haired wife and five red-headed girls, and we want a boy to match!"

When the Children's Aid Society is mentioned, one inevitably thinks of its founder, Mr. Charles Loring Brace. Mr. Brace, while studying for the ministry about forty-five years ago, wandered through the downtown streets of New York City in search of boys to attend the Sunday-School meetings he had established for them. But so impressed was he by the multitude of forlorn children who, apparently, were thrown upon their own resources for physical, mental, and spiritual nourishment, that he determined to devote his life to them.

The first problem with which he grappled was how to provide comfortable beds for them, which should take the place of doorways, boxes, and empty carts in which he found them sleeping. Commencing in a modest way by fitting up a loft, he succeeded after twenty years in having erected the first Newsboys' Lodging-house. In twenty years more, six other lodging-houses were established; and in the forty years more than 200,000 homeless boys and girls have received supper, bath, and shelter in these homes.

The rudiments of an education are provided for by the Society in its twenty-one day schools, thirteen night schools, and seven reading-rooms; and not only has simple instruction been given in these schools to the 100,000 children for whom the public schools have not found room, but judicious gifts of meals and clothing have rescued them from shop or factory and enabled them to use the opportunity for mental growth held out to them.

But what the Children's Aid Societies stand for most of all, perhaps, is the sending of vagrant children from the city's streets and placing them in farmers' homes. They believe that the best of all asylums for the outcast child is the "home with the little 'h'," which Kate Douglas Wiggin in her charming story of "Timothy's Quest" has so well described: "The cosy little home, with the sweet daily jumble of lap-trotting, gentle caressing, endearing words, twilight stories, motherly tucks-in-bed, good-night kisses, — all the dear, simple, everyday accompaniments of the home with the little h."

Ninety thousand children have been sent to such homes throughout the country by the New York society, and the Philadelphia society

distributed its thousands too. Best of all, it is stated from careful records of each case, that eighty-five per cent of these have turned out well, and only two per cent have grown into evil men.

There are countless instances which go to prove the power of a good environment. Who can wonder that amid the circumstances of slum life Jimmie H——— should have grown to be what the judge pronounced him, an "incurable delinquent"? But experience has proved that it needed only a home of different environment to create in Jimmie obedient and industrious habits.

When the annual exodus occurs in summer from the hot streets of the city to the seashore and the mountains, thousands of children are left behind to combat the heat and squalor of their tenement homes as best they may. To amuse, interest, and instruct these children, the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor conducts six vacation schools. Until one has visited these schools and seen and felt the enjoyment and interest manifest in them, it may seem strange that they should be so popular in vacation time. And yet during the past summer, 4,423 children attended them. The meanness and poverty of home and street must be borne in mind in order to appreciate aright the attractiveness of the schools; but these have in themselves many sources of pleasure for the children of the poor. To many of them, a new and beautiful world is revealed through the kindergarten's games and songs and dainty devices. The sewing class appeals in a practical way to the older girls. The boys find fascination and often a latent talent in modelling forms of bird, beast, and fish, flower and fruit, in yielding clay. While the carpentry class calls forth the utmost energy and enthusiasm in even the hottest days of summer. It is not only the thought of a future livelihood and the friendly rivalry in the present that inspire with unflagging zeal the efforts of these youthful carpenters; it is the divine love of creating, which is felt as truly by them as by the scholar, the artist, and the poet; and such work cannot fail to benefit them æsthetically and morally, as well as physically and financially.

The suffering and tribulations of tenement children during the hot days of summer have called forth more sympathy than any of their other trials, and a great variety and amount of so-called "summer charity" is undertaken in their behalf. Among the most interesting and useful work of this kind is that done by the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, under the efficient management of Dr. William Howe Tolman. This Association, the oldest and largest relief-giving agency in the city, is well known for its public baths, vacation schools, labor bureau, and vacant-lot farms. Its summer charity includes three excursions weekly to west Coney Island, where 15,000

women and children have been taken during the past season, supplied with a simple lunch in the pavilion on the beach, and furnished with bathing suits for a plunge in the sea.

The Association maintains a Home for Convalescent Mothers and Infants, where ten days or a fortnight of rest and recreation have saved many a fragile life, and where simple lessons in sanitation and physiology are given to ignorant mothers. A Home for Convalescent Children is maintained also by the Association, and in the two were entertained during the past summer, one hundred and twenty-eight women and five hundred and twenty-one children for an average stay of eleven days. "Recreation plus Education" is the motto which has been placed in spirit, though not in letters, above the portals of the summer homes; and it is designed that all who enter there should not only leave behind them for a time the misery of a life of sordid poverty, but that they should shake off also the bonds of ignorance and vicious habits, and with widened intellectual horizons and higher morals ideals, should receive a knowledge of some simple truths which would be to them a source of lasting inspiration. The Homes' abundant resources of sea and land, of beach and meadow, and a corps of trained workers, are doing much to realize the Association's aim of establishing a "Chautauqua for the Poor." A fortnight's stay in a Home, neat, clean, and well supplied with food and furniture; practical talks by a trained nurse on the care of infants and domestic sanitation and hygiene; games and scrap-books, songs and recitations, under the lead of a kindergarten; expeditions for the capture of fish and crabs, the finding of shells and seaweed, and for the study of the multi-form flora and fauna of a meadow behind the beach, together with plain, simple talks by a teacher of natural history on the growth and habits of these creatures of sea and land; a cooking-teacher's lessons in the purchase of wholesome, inexpensive food, and the best and cheapest way of cooking it; and last, but not least, contact with higher ideals of human life and the cleansing, ennobling joys of the great salt ocean, — these are the means by which the Association has sought to convert "Fresh-air Charity" into "Recreation plus Education."

THE TALE OF TWO HORSES: A POLITICAL ROMAUNT OF THE THIRTIES.

BY HUBERT M. SKINNER.

HIS Serene Highness, the Sultan of Marocco, had an idea.

The fact of itself was not phenomenal; for this son of the Prophet, cousin of the moon and of other heavenly bodies, while not a prophet or a heavenly body himself, was a rather clever man as Barbary sultans go, and had made something of a success in the imperial line. After serving an apprenticeship as Governor of Fez, Muley Abderrahman had seized the throne of his uncle, Muley Solyman, in 1822, overthrown the false prophet Sidi Meheddi Sheradi, and caused all competitors *in posse* to reflect upon the pleasures of private life and the vanity of worldly ambition.

Although the industries of piracy and man-stealing were now in terms abolished, Muley governed, as far as possible, strictly on Mohammedan lines. The collection of taxes was farmed out to the most insatiate of human vampires. Jews were legitimate and delectable morsels for the appetites of excisemen. Christian "dogs" that were wrecked upon the coast still brought, occasionally, the highest prices ever paid for canines of any species, and were secretly hurried south (where they were warranted never to suffer from cold), to be disposed of in a manner which spared their friends any agonizing information as to their fate.

Gold and silver were not lavished in the extravagance of pure money, but were economically mixed with metals which were easily obtained. No treasure was wasted upon hospitals, almshouses, or jails. These were institutions of Christian dogs, who drank wine and gambled and fed upon swine in benighted nations of Europe, and they did not commend themselves to the pious Muley. Thieves were bastinadoed, unfaithful women were drowned, and now and then a Moslem heretic was thrown from the top of a tower, to be caught and disembowelled upon sharp, projecting arms of iron. People who were disposed to question the admirable character of the amiable Sultan's methods were hung upon hooks inserted below the lower jaw, or were simply bowstrung and dropped into the harbor to feed fishes.

While all was peace and order at home, His Serene Highness had to keep a sharp lookout abroad. He must have one eye on the Sultan of Turkey, who exacted some tokens of vassalage. He must send, each year, a present of money to that sublime potentate, with apologies

in the choicest and neatest Arabic for its limitation as to amount, and with some engaging bauble in the way of a horse or a female slave of exaggerated qualities, to make up for the deficiency.

He must have the other eye on the Christian dogs. The rulers of their lands were becoming bold. Several were in arrears in the matter of annual "compliments," and at the same time were pressing impertinent inquiries as to the disappearance of divers and sundry sailors, explorers, and other human flotsam and jetsam that had disappeared mysteriously after reaching his hospitable realm; and these same rulers were, moreover, incredulous as to the reported sinking of certain merchant ships in mid-ocean, when vessels marvellously like them, with some changes in the rigging, were sailing about in charge of Barbary crews.

Perhaps Muley seemed to foresee, even in his own time, a burst of Christian wrath upon Marocco,—like that which had fallen already upon Algeria,—when the Cross should supplant the Crescent in the Land of Dates, and the occupation of the Moorish pirate and enslaver of Christians should be gone.

His Serene Highness, I say, had an idea, and it related to the United States. And this is what it was about. A great war ship, the "John Adams," Captain Voorhees, had appeared in the harbor of Mogador, one beautiful November morning of 1833, flying a great flag of stars and stripes in red, white, and blue. The vessel had plenty of heavy guns, and her commander was not at all averse to using them. Volley after volley pealed over the waters and rolled back in thunder from the hills. The very earth seemed to shake with the detonations. All this, it was explained, was a salute of respect to the Governor. Evidently Captain Voorhees was a very respectful man. And if there was a man in the world who was entitled to respect, in his opinion, it must have been that very Governor.

Inquiry among the Sultan's wise men, who derived much of their wisdom from a delectable class of Spanish sailors, elicited the fact that the commander of the unwonted visitant was the representative of a terrific potentate of the Western World, whose sailors were beginning to swarm on every sea, and who had performed incredible feats of war. This ruler was no other than Don Yogson, the *Presidente* of the *Americanos*. Vagueness is recognized by rhetoricians as one of the elements of the sublime and the terrible. Muley Abderrahman was learned in the lore of Caliphs, Sultans, Shahs, Beys, Deys, Bashaws, Muftis, Cadis, Imams, and what not. He had dealt with Kings and Emperors, Popes and Princes. He had listened to tales of Czars, Rajahs, Begums, Ahkoonds, Mikados, Tycoons, and Lamas. But what, in the name of Mahomet's horse, was a *Presidente*? The title was unfamiliar, to say

the least. Evidently it meant something more than all the other Christians rulers; for had not this Yogson hanged men at will on the old Spanish-American coast,—Englishmen at that,—and in a time of peace between the nations? He was an invincible warrior. In his battle with the English, had he not mowed down the conquerors of “Bombardy,” with no mentionable loss to his own army, as Mahomet defeated the infidels at Bedr? The Prophet himself could not have done this had he not been aided in the nick of time by the angel Gabriel, who rode to the rescue on the horse Hyazum, backed by ten thousand angels. Perhaps Don Yogson was in league with the Djinns! Who could tell?

Like a true Moor, the Sultan had great regard for strength. His ideal Christian was “Bombardy,” whose real patent of sovereignty dated from the battle of the Pyramids. Even in that warrior’s humiliation at Elba, the Barbary corsairs attested their veneration for his inherent power, and lent their aid to his escape from the island.

Muley Abderrahman was not slow in connecting the display of American strength in his harbor with two men in his dominions who would bear watching. One of these was the British Consul, William Willshire, a trader at Mogador, and the other an irrepressible Yankee captain named James Riley, who had made a considerable noise in the world.

Captain Riley had nine lives. He had been wrecked upon the African coast at the beginning of the present century, seized as a slave, and driven under the lash into the Sahara. With remarkable daring he had managed to bring his case to the attention of Willshire by a ruse, the failure of which would have subjected him to infinite torture and to death. Redeemed by the bounty of the generous Englishman, he had returned to America and published a “Narrative,” which found more readers in his country than any other book previous to the appearance of “Uncle Tom’s Cabin.”

He had galloped on horseback from New York to the Mississippi and back again, and scraped up an acquaintance with every politician in the country. He had built a mill and founded a town (Willshire, O.) in the wilderness. He had stumbled into the legislature of a Western State, and there projected vast canal schemes. He had been chased by pirates on the sea, and had foiled land-pirates without end. He had been given up by the doctors, as fatally ill, on more than one occasion. But he always came up smiling and hopeful, and sooner or later found himself on the ocean again, headed for the Barbary coast, as if to tempt his fate.

Of all this the Sultan, of course, was not aware. But this he did know — that Captain Riley was again in Morocco, with a dangerous

way of picking up information about the country, and with the air of a man who seemed to say, "I should like to see them try to lay hands on me again." Under the circumstances it was highly desirable to win the friendship of the furious Don who was the *Presidente* of the *Americanos*. The formula for securing royal favor was very simple. There must be a present and a letter of rhetorical salaams, ceremoniously presented and addressed to the taste of the recipient.

His Serene Highness was under some limitations as to the selection of a suitable gift. The rulers of Christian dogs seemed to have no appreciation of female charms. He could have spared several Oriental beauties from his harem, — which seemed never to feel the pressure of hard times, — but evidently the *Presidente* had no more use for such a gift than Bombardy would have had.

What would prove most acceptable? Ah! he had it. It should be a lion. Don Yogson should have a lion. He was something of a lion himself. He would appreciate the significance of the compliment. Then, too, if any troublesome subjects should annoy him — and all great rulers meet with such — he could drop a hint that his lion was growing hungry, and of course they would know what *that* was intended to signify. Capital! A lion it must be.

But the enlarging heart of the Sultan did not stop with the lion. He would send an additional present. The guns of the "John Adams" must not make him nervous again. Was the *Presidente* fond of horses? The Barbary councillors, though they knew nothing of Jackson's picturesque career as a Tennessee racer, were certain he must be. He should have a horse. By the beard of the Prophet, he should have *two* horses, and they should be carried by Captain Riley himself. And accordingly, two superb stallions were selected from the royal stud.

Andrew Jackson, one of the four who are accounted greatest in the line of American Presidents, and the only one who ever received the highest number of popular and electoral votes in three successive Presidential campaigns, was a maker of highly readable history from his first appearance in public life. Personally and politically he was always in the storm centre — idolized by the masses, an object of the implacable hostility of a minority. He was depicted by his opponents invariably as a despot whose aim was to override all constitutional restraints, to control at once the nation's sword and purse, and to make his own individual will the supreme law of the land.

Strange to say, higher contemporary criticism held him at fault for precisely the opposite reason. In 1831 our country was visited officially by a distinguished student of civics, a Judge Advocate (whatever that may mean) of France, in the person of Alexis Charles Henri Clérel de Tocqueville, who came with credentials from the Citizen K

to inspect our punitive system, and who wandered about among our State penitentiaries, seeing in them, I dare say, little enough of good. While here he exercised the keenest of French perception in the study of American institutions, and embodied his observations in a great work which was destined to procure his admission to the very exclusive French Academy, as soon as he should acquire the proper age — for in 1831 this prodigy of civic writers was but twenty-six years old. One can imagine the surprise of a European reared under the Bourbons, to read in the inaugural of the American "despot" such words as these:

In administering the laws of Congress, I shall keep steadily in view the *limitations* as well as the extent of the Executive power, trusting thereby to discharge the functions of my office without transcending its authority.

After witnessing Jackson's triumph over the United States Bank, over Nullification, and over the army of Federal office-holders, De Tocqueville deliberately wrote:

Far from wishing to extend the Federal power, the President belongs to the party which is desirous of limiting that power to the clear and *precise letter* of the Constitution, and which never puts a construction upon that act favorable to the Government of the Union. . . . Whenever the government of the States comes in contact with that of the Union, the President is generally the first to question his own rights. He almost always outstrips the legislature; and when the extent of the Federal power is controverted, he takes part, as it were, against himself — he conceals his official interests and labors to diminish his own dignity.

The Democratic, or old Republican party was, in fact, the party of theoretical strict construction of the Constitution. Yet its first President, Jefferson, had stretched the Federal power "till it cracked," in the purchase of Louisiana from France; and Jackson was continually rebuked by the party of "liberal construction," with Clay and Webster at its head, for transcending in his acts even their own supposedly broad views of Federal power.

The explanation of all this confusion of ideas is simply this: Parties are not always consistent with themselves. It was the ruling purpose of the "Outs," whoever they might be, to hold rigidly to the constitutional limitations the Government by the "Ins," whoever *they* might be. If the party of Jefferson and Jackson did not always display consistency, neither did that of Clay and Webster. Yet probably both political organizations were quite as well possessed of this "jewel" as were the men who composed them. Jackson himself was one of the most charmingly human of mortals. Our Yankee Boswell, in the most complete, perhaps, of all American biographies, thus sums up the results of his study of the Jacksonian character:

Andrew Jackson, I am given to understand, was a patriot and a traitor. He was one of the greatest of Generals, and wholly ignorant of the art of war. A writer brilliant, elegant, eloquent, without being able to compose a correct sentence or to spell words of four syllables. The first of statesmen, he never devised, he never

framed a measure. He was the most candid of men, and was capable of the profoundest dissimulation. A stickler for discipline, he never hesitated to disobey his superior. A most law-obeying, law-defying man! A democratic autocrat! An urbane savage! An atrocious saint!

The fact is, Jackson was a most conscientious upholder of the limitations of the Constitution, but he was guided always by his own interpretation of that instrument. Indeed, he boldly declared that it was the duty of every officer to support the Constitution *as he understood it* — a declaration which was of incalculable service, in later years, to Abraham Lincoln in his opposition to the Dred-Scott decision.

Constitutional questions were constantly arising. Was the United States Bank (which had been twice chartered) constitutional? Jackson thought not. He therefore vetoed the bill to renew its charter, and subsequently ordered that no further deposits of Federal moneys be made in it — the ten millions or so on deposit in its vaults at the time to be drawn upon for the current expenses of the government. Did the Constitution recognize the "right" of nullification or of secession? Certainly not, said Jackson, in his proclamation to the Nullifiers. "The Constitution of the United States," said he, "forms a *government*, not a league. . . . To say that any State may at pleasure secede from the Union, is to say that the United States are not a nation." Had the President the Constitutional power to remove Federal officers? Upon this the contest was raging with fierce heat in the memorable year of 1834.

The storm burst on the 28th of March, when the Senate, led by Henry Clay, formally resolved:

That the President, in the late Executive proceedings in relation to the public revenue, has assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the Constitution and laws, but in derogation of both.

This was Clay's last triumph over his great opponent, and it was destined to be short-lived. Nothing else that Clay might have done could have been so wounding to the pride of this advocate of strict construction, this defender of Constitutional rights, as that formal historic impeachment, apparently destined to endure upon the nation's public record.

"The late Executive proceedings in relation to the public revenue," like charity, covered a multitude of sins. Among other things it included the dismissal of Secretary-of-the-Treasury William J. Duane, who refused to order the withdrawal of the deposits. It is to this day a legend at Washington (apocryphal, of course) that the President met Mr. Duane on Pennsylvania Avenue, and directed him to take the step; that the Secretary indignantly refused; that Old Hickory, in a towering rage, thundered at him: "You won't! Well, by the

Eternal, I'll remove *you*;" — and that the order for the Secretary's removal (on which the ink was barely dry) was found on the Secretary's desk on his return from his walk.

Whatever may be thought of the President's course in discontinuing the deposits in a bank which he believed to be unsound, the Senate resolution of censure was palpably repugnant to the Constitution. By that instrument the Senate is constituted the sole court of impeachment for the trial of a President, and here was a court of justice pronouncing in advance of any trial its judgment upon an impeachable offence! The President protested against the action in a message dated April 15th. Senator Poindexter, of Mississippi, protested against receiving the message. The President explained further in a second communication. Poindexter now insisted that neither message be received, and on the 7th of May the Senate actually passed resolutions to that effect.

In the midst of the intense excitement of the time came the announcement to the State Department of the Barbary sultan's present in a communication from the American Consul at Tangier, Mr. James R. Leib.

Jackson received the somewhat jocose congratulations of his third Secretary of State, Mr. Louis McLane; his fifth Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Levi Woodbury; his fourth Secretary of War, Mr. Joel R. Poinsett, and the second in order of his four Secretaries of the Navy, Mr. J. K. Paulding, — who at that moment constituted the kaleidoscope cabinet of the Jacksonian era.

So far as the horses were concerned, the present appealed most strongly to the President's heart. He was completing his second term, and already was looking forward to a return to his loved retreat at the Hermitage. His wife was not living. A library he never possessed. But he longed to return to his faithful servants and his horses at the old home in Tennessee. His recreations would be, as of old, in the open air. As in other days, he would dash along the road to Nashville, attended by a liveried retinue, and his equipage would be the admiration of the populace. Jackson possessed ample means for the purchase of the best horses in America. But it was not given even to the wealthy to have steeds selected by an emperor from the best strains of the Old World.

The sports of the turf were growing in popularity in the United States. The contest lay principally between the Messengers and the Bashaws, though for a time the Stars in their courses had prevailed against both. Probably all were of original Arabian stock. The Stars were slight of limb, and had a tendency to contraction of the feet. The stronger Messengers were more to be depended upon for long-dis-

tance trotting. The Bashaws came from Barbary, and were of near and unquestionable Arabian origin.

One of the most famous races in all the history of the turf was at this time fresh in the public mind. Hunting Park Course, in Philadelphia, was the scene, the time 1831. The actors were such notable flyers as Topgallant, Whalebone, Dread, Chancellor, Collector, Lady Jackson, Moonshine, and Columbus. The course was a three-mile track, and there were four heats. The horses were generally docked, and the riders wore gorgeous suits of silk. "Eight such horses," says Woodruff, "and such riders had never met before, and it is doubtful whether they will again."

Topgallant, a Messenger, was nearly twenty-four years old, and was spavined at that. Whalebone had no pedigree, and was minus one eye. Columbus was known as the first horse that had ever trotted the three-mile course in less than eight minutes. He had a record of 7:58. Collector won the first heat, Topgallant the second, and Dread the third and fourth.

The victor was a gelding. Up to this time all famous male trotters were doomed to be the last of their line. The era of trotting stallions was dawning. The rising hope of the Bashaws was a famous pacer who was destined to make a record of two miles in 5:18 at the Centerville (N. Y.) race in 1835. His name was shared with the great Democratic President, and reporters for the papers divided their space equitably between the two. Even a reference to Andrew Jackson the Bashaw was not sufficiently specific in those days, for the Barbary title was one by which more than one lady of the Cabinet circle had designated the Executive himself.

The Barbary horse was really the Arabian horse, that had removed with his master from the desert peninsula to northern Africa. The Arabs claim that the horse was first tamed by Ishmael, the son of Abraham, — or, as they style him, Ismaïl ibn Ibrahim, — and that their famous coursers of the present day are the descendants of the steeds of the Patriarch's family. Indeed, the Oriental horse-trader will not blush to present to you a written pedigree, if you require it, giving all the names of the sires in ascending line to the days of King Solomon. The less the traveller in Arabia is acquainted with the Arab character, the more he will be impressed with these "claims of long descent."

Your true Arabian steed stands fourteen to fifteen hands high, with large head and deep jowl, large and gentle eyes, light neck, high wither, muscular forearm, short back, round "barrel," narrow hind-quarter, and high-set tail. He is not always gray in color, as is popularly supposed. He is a constant galloper, a bold jumper, a docile, courageous, and lovable creature. He has improved in size by his

removal to Barbary, and, as a consequence, the Barbary type corresponds more to the American ideal. It does not appear to which of "the five great strains" of Arabic blood — the Kehílan, the Segláwi, the Abéyan, the Hamdáni, or the Hádban — the imperial span belonged, nor does it matter. They were just the horses for which American lovers of the turf were longing.

There was a plain provision of the Constitution which stood in the way of the President's receiving the gift. It was written:

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, *without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever from any king, prince, or foreign state.*

But Jackson needed no such prohibition to decide his course in the matter. His hatred for kings and princes exceeded his love for horses. Even the Citizen King, his great admirer, scarcely succeeded in securing a portrait of him in later years, after having despatched a famous painter on a trip of seven thousand miles for the express purpose.

A personal acceptance of the Sultan's present was out of the question. The matter, however, was one which required some delicacy in its management. Probably at the time the President gave it but little attention, trusting to the Secretary of State to make a suitable acknowledgment to the Moorish potentate. Certain it is that Secretary McLane wrote to Consul Leib (date May 20), acquainting him with the President's situation, and authorizing a disposition of the horses.

The letter of Secretary McLane having been received by Consul Leib, the embarkation of the royal beasts took place on the 28th of July, at Tangier, where Captain Riley's ship, the "William Tell," was riding at anchor. The cage of the lion was securely placed upon the deck, where doughty Leo could have the benefit of the fresh air and sunshine. The lordly stallions, destined to be the progenitors of a long line of American turf kings, were taken below, where the ballast had been covered deeply with cut straw for their accommodation.

The city was in a state of wild excitement. The preceding day had been a holy season of great interest to the devout in Morocco. All male children of eight years or less had been circumcised, and the city had been full of countrymen from all the hills and valleys around. A Moorish boy had religiously thrown a heavy stone against the house of a Jew. Failing to break a window, he had brought down, or at least struck, a statue of one of his own saints in the rebound of the missile.

However little the interests of true art might have suffered by visible damage to the statue, the matter was one of no little

moment to the non-Mohammedan population. It was at once evident to the devout that this was the work of Jews, who were naturally seeking an opportunity to be fined and imprisoned. Nothing could be plainer, the Governor said. To be sure, the deed of the Moorish boy was witnessed by a number of Christians at the French consulate, but of course this went for nothing, as all Christians were liars on principle, and their evidence could not be received in court on any account.

As an off-hand judgment, His Excellency decided that a "bonus" of two thousand dollars would compensate him for the laceration of his feelings, and that the Jews of the city should make up this amount with all due complaisance and celerity. About forty of the wealthier Jewish heads of families, failing to view the matter in that light, were in durance vile, chained to cell walls by neck and legs, at the time the imperial present was taken on board the ship. Among them was a venerable rabbi, whose wife besought the American consul, with many tears, for his release. The services of an American negro, the servant of a former consul, were brought into requisition. With many profound salaams, the sable orator made the effort of his life, in which the names of Allah, His Excellency, and the great American Don were freely used. The gift of His Serene Highness was extolled, and the rabbi was recommended to executive clemency. The venerable Jew was released ere the vessel sailed.

In the strong-box of Captain Riley, in the cabin of the "William Tell," was a folded paper which caused the skipper much quiet satisfaction, but the existence of which was not for a moment suspected by the Emperor of Morocco. It read as follows:

U. S. CONSULATE, TANGIER.

July 28, 1834.

Received of Captain James Riley, the sum of three hundred dollars, in full payment for two horses, late the property of the United States, and sold by order of the Department of State under date of May 20, 1834; he (James Riley) declaring his intention of transporting said horses to the United States, with a view of introducing the breed into that country; upon which assurance they have been thus sold, and this day shipped on board the brig "William Tell," now in the harbor of Tangier.

JAMES R. LEIB,

\$300.

U. S. Consul for the Empire of Morocco.

Captain Riley had previously agreed to transport the Sultan's present to the United States for the sum of one thousand dollars, paid in advance. This amount he had planned to invest in a cargo which would bring at least double that amount on his arrival at New York. Instead, at the consul's solicitation, he had purchased the steeds, and driven a good bargain, in his opinion. And proud indeed was the owner of the Barbary horses as he paced the deck on his homeward course.

On the 23rd of September the vessel entered the harbor of New York. Veracious reporters of the enterprising dailies came on board at once, to view the royal beauties and to record the history of the voyage. On the following day the shore was thronged by thousands upon thousands of sightseers, and the deck of the schooner was the most notable place in the city.

For four days the interest grew and the crowds increased. The shrewd captain was in no hurry to sell the horses, or even to avow his ownership of them. The visitors were free to express their opinion as to the money value of the sultan's present. The estimates expanded from hour to hour, until an enthusiast declared he would be willing to give the unparalleled sum of five thousand dollars for the imperial steeds. This was the moment for which Captain Riley was waiting. The money was never paid, however, for events had occurred for which the hero of the "Narrative" was wholly unprepared, and to which the student of American history turns with an interest disproportionate to the importance of the barbarian ruler's gift.

The Whigs in Congress had gone into the business of strict construction, with a determination to outdo the Democrats. Clay, their matchless leader, was smarting under the unprecedented humiliation of two defeats for the Presidency, and was ardently desiring a third candidacy, which he was destined to secure late in life, and in which was to be realized the climax of his disappointments.

Clay certainly appears in not the most favorable light at this period, when his principal incentive seemed to be a personal antagonism to his successful rival. Distinguished in Congress for a long unwavering opposition to the United States bank, he was now its chief defender and advocate. Nor was his course more consistent in reference to the disloyal action of South Carolina. He had been reckoned first among the upholders of an indissoluble Union of all the States. When nullification and approaching disunion reared their heads, Jackson met the issue with a solemn declaration which will echo forevermore, and which sank deep into the heart of the millions—a declaration which burned itself upon the memory of a young grocery clerk in Illinois, and was to be a lamp to his feet in the future years of our nation's darkness and peril. He seized the moment of fate to declare the United States a nation, with a nation's right to self-maintenance. Jealous of the frenzy of approbation which Jackson's proclamation elicited from the hearts of the millions, the great Whig leader was so weak as to allege of this glorious document that it was "too ultra," and that he could not "stomach" it; and to say of rebellious South Carolina, practically in arms against the government, "I do not wish to see her degraded or a member of this Confederacy." He devised a compromise

with the State in insurrection — a tariff bill which, while acceptable, and proper in itself, detracted somewhat from the moral effect of the self-assertion of the Federal government; and thus the opportunity for a practical test of the nation's strength was sacrificed.

However much we may deplore Jackson's course in the removal of office-holders, in view of the odious "spoils system" to which it gave rise, we must remember that he violated no law then written in effecting it, unless, indeed, the Constitution forbade him to make removals as his predecessors had done. Clay denied to him even the power to dismiss a member of his own cabinet, maintaining an extreme theory which, except in the mad period of Reconstruction, never has been upheld, but, in the words of an eminent contemporary, has remained in "innocuous desuetude."

Sometime in the summer, — I know not whether before or after the particular whirl of the kaleidoscope in which Mr. McLane disappeared from the cabinet, and John Forsyth, of Georgia, took the office of Secretary of State, — President Jackson stumbled upon a most painful and amazing discovery. It was nothing less than the fact that his administration had clearly, unmistakably, and inexcusably violated the plain letter of the Constitution. It seemed impossible, yet there was the indisputable evidence in black and white, in the correspondence of the State Department.

The government had both accepted and disposed of a present from a foreign prince, "without the consent of the Congress." The Constitution made no distinction between a personal and an official acceptance. One of the plainest of all the Constitutional prohibitions had been violated directly and without a shadow of excuse. Hitherto every act of the President had been strictly in accordance with his understanding of that sacred instrument, that Ark of the Covenant, of which he was the faithful guardian and which he had sworn to uphold. His bitterest opponents had never charged against him anything more than a *constructive* violation of it — an exercise of powers not (to them) clearly expressed or necessarily to be inferred.

Here was something positive, not negative; express, not inferential; plain, not doubtful or ambiguous. It was a fact and not an opinion that confronted the old hero — a fact most unwelcome at any time — doubly and trebly unwelcome at this particular period, when the fierce light of searching criticism fell upon his every act. To the devil with the Arabian horses and all connected with them!

The President had recourse to philosophy. The mind of Jackson may have been somewhat jesuitical in its manner of reasoning, but he was unconscious of it. To him the Constitution was a deity. The Constitution declared that the presents could not be accepted and *the*

posed of before the action of Congress in the premises. Congress had not acted, and, "by the Eternal," it followed that the presents *had not* been, *could not* have been accepted or disposed of. The animals should be turned over to Congress as soon as it should meet, wherever on land or sea they might be found; and Secretary Forsyth should fix the matter up satisfactorily if it should turn out that the consul had attempted to sell them.

It was no slight task upon which Mr. Forsyth entered when he accepted the portfolio of the Department of State. Jackson's foreign policy was characterized by a vigor undreamt-of in preceding administrations. It was not through accident that the "John Adams" appeared in Muley Abderrahman's harbor with its thundering guns. It was not a mere coincidence that a strong American fleet cruised about the shores of Portugal, Spain, Naples, and France when the old American claims for spoliation were pressed to an immediate settlement. These vessels had much to do with the surprisingly prompt adjustment of such claims.

Of the nations mentioned, France was at that moment a recalcitrant. The Citizen King admitted the justice of the American claim, and agreed to pay it. But the French Chambers refused to vote the appropriation necessary, and the old schoolmaster's throne was a very shaky affair, at best.

Louis Philippe privately intimated to the American minister that it might be a good thing for the great American President to press the matter with vigor. Alas! how little did this former teacher of young ladies understand the Tennessee frontiersman's notion of "vigor." Jackson at once proposed to Congress to authorize the prompt seizure of French merchant ships upon the high seas, until the booty thus captured should balance the claim outstanding.

An explosion followed immediately in the astonished and indignant French Chambers, and the new Secretary of State was launched upon a sea of warlike correspondence which terminated only with the intervention of "good offices" by the British government and the payment of the claim.

Of all the perplexing questions which confronted the new Secretary, perhaps the most annoying was the one which related to the horses and the lion. His solicitude in the premises was enhanced by the certainty that, in the coming session, the President's loyalty to the Constitution was to be subjected to further discussion and judgment. One of Jackson's firmest supporters was avowing at this moment his intention to have the Senate resolution of censure expunged from the records of the Upper House.

A proposition so utterly unheard-of, when it was repeated from

day to day, excited only laughter and jeers from the Whigs. But they little knew the man who proposed it. This was Thomas H. Benton, destined to sit in the Senate for thirty years, and to go down in history as "Old Bullion" and "The Expunger." It was then twenty years and more since Benton and Jackson had met in deadly encounter in a Nashville tavern, when Jackson's left shoulder was shattered and Benton was hurled backwards down a stairway in a rough-and-tumble affair; and the friendship of the two, cemented in this singular manner, had grown to be a David-and-Jonathan attachment. Colonel Benton was intensely in earnest. The constitutionality of the President's actions was to be vindicated at any cost. And a Congressional session of even greater excitement than had been manifested hitherto was anticipated by the administration. The Barbary scandal, involving as it did an impeachable offence, would cause a great emotion. No one could tell what might come of it. Plainly it must be suppressed as completely as possible.

When Mr. Holland Nicholl, a wealthy Knickerbocker merchant of Gotham, went on board the "William Tell," on the 4th of November, 1834, he was so delighted with the handsome appearance of the Barbary horses (which indeed must have seemed like steeds from another world to the New Yorker of that day) that he offered the incredible sum of five thousand dollars for the two majestic equines. Captain Riley was about to accept this princely offer — or perhaps had accepted it already — when a custom-house officer prohibited the landing of the animals.

Captain Riley, whose word was law on the "William Tell," immediately indicated a determination to dispose of his property without troubling the United States at all in the matter, and sent the officer right about. Two days later a solemn-looking individual came aboard and handed the doughty captain a paper. It proved to be a summons from the U. S. District Court to Captain Riley to appear and answer to the charge of "taking and unlawfully detaining two certain horses, the property of the United States."

Meanwhile, Captain Riley had written to the Department of State a long letter of explanation and expostulation. Secretary Forsyth immediately responded, claiming that Consul Leib had misunderstood and exceeded his instructions, and requesting Captain Riley to deliver the "certain" horses at once to the Collector of the Port of New York. The letter assured the captain that he should receive a fair compensation for the transportation of the animals, but said not a word about the return of the purchase money.

Like the man who "put up at Gadsby's," the irate skipper at once journeyed to Washington, that Mecca of men with a grievance, and

with the usual result. At the State Department polite attention, and invited to present a liberal portion of the emperor's gift, which bill he was accepted promptly by the collector of the port. Vague promises of a flattering government office were presented, and he was given to understand that profitable to the administration in future. The country services of a discreet person in the preparation of and Captain Riley was evidently a discreet man to talk. And the bewildered captain was smilingly to say that such cases are in every administration.

Until he had descended the steps to the ship, it did not occur to the captain that he had been treated as a diplomat. The captain was not a diplomat, and it was not as if he had been overcome by the genial manners and politeness of the Secretary. He had failed to make a good impression in court, and on returning to New York early in December found himself no longer the possessor of the animals.

He did the only thing that remained to do. He offered (\$2,500) for the transportation of the horses and animals for the consideration of the conscientious Mr. Swartwout, collector of the port. The bill was pigeonholed in that state until enough noise should be made to be audited. Like everybody else with a claim, Captain Riley was put to the trouble and expense of a second journey to Washington, which he did make, and of course, when there, he was laconically told whence he had come.

By the 2nd of February, the conscientious Mr. Swartwout proceeded in the matter so far as to write to the collector for instructions, and Captain Riley, like every one else, remained on expense at Washington, to await the result.

About two weeks later, the captain received from Mr. Swartwout an indefinite letter of encouragement to New York. Under instructions from the collector, the captain was allowed in all the sum total of \$832 for the transportation of his singular cargo, and this was all he was charged by the company owning half the amount of \$2,500 as their share of the vessel's expenses.

Of course, this bore rather heavily upon the captain, more so than Washington methods usually bear upon the government. It was simply the custom of the service.

On the 1st of March, 1885, Captain Riley

a sadder and wiser man. He had been absent from Washington during most of the time when Congress was in session, and was not there to make undesirable disclosures while the matter was under discussion by that body, — which, doubtless, was exactly what the Secretary of State had hoped for from the beginning. He had been absent from New York at the time when he might have made a defence and asserted the nature of his claim before the District Court. In fact, he had missed his opportunity all around. He had dreamed of acquiring wealth and fame as the owner of the famous steeds of the desert. A fortune *in prospectu* had vanished before the worthy captain's eyes. Yet his was not unlike the experience of thousands in every administration who fail to make allowance for the mistakes, the delays, the slow-going methods, the conflicting rulings of the government machinery.

Jackson's sense of justice was always keen. In one case which came to his notice he himself caused the salary of a clerk to be withheld to satisfy a board bill. He had been a judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, and he combined the jurist's sense of equity with a military commander's promptness and decision in acting upon any case where he could remedy an injustice. But it is far from likely that the case of Captain Riley ever was brought to his notice after the captain's first visit to the capital in relation to the matter.

In fact, it is singular how successfully the scandal of the sale of the horses was concealed. It would have been a most palatable morsel to the Whigs, as a clear case of infraction of the supreme law of the land by an administration whose boast was its faithful observance of that law. It might have proved even more delicious to them than the astonishing embezzlement and default of the conscientious Mr. Swartwout, which brought disaster to his party in a later year. Even the omnivorous Mr. Parton, whose vast biography seems to contain almost everything that was ever written or spoken about the most famous man of this time, makes no mention whatever of the sultan's gift and the perplexities which came of it.

When Congress met in December, 1834, the friends of the administration — still in the minority in the Senate — received an accession in the person of the new Senator from Pennsylvania, James Buchanan. Like Benton, Buchanan had experienced a previous "difficulty" with Jackson, though very different in kind from the Benton affair. The circumstances are worth relating here. When Clay, Jackson, *et al.* were Presidential candidates, in 1824, no one received a majority of all the votes cast (though Jackson had a plurality), and, for the second time in our history, the election was thrown into the House, of which Clay was the leading factor. Then, instead of voting for Jackson, like himself a Southern and Western man, a slaveholder, a man of the people

Clay amazed his friends by securing the election of a "blue-nosed" Yankee, a scion of the most unpopular family in the country; whereupon the "blue-nosed" Yankee, the younger Adams, immediately appointed the said Clay to the coveted post of Secretary of State. While the election was pending in the House, Buchanan carried to the excitable Jackson a cock-and-bull story to the effect that Clay's vote could be secured for him for a consideration—the promise of the Secretaryship. The cry of "bargain and sale" was raised at once concerning the Adams-Clay coalition. But when Mr. Buchanan was called upon to substantiate the story, that admirable gentleman instantly disappeared through a knothole,—to the great embarrassment of various statesmen,—and never afterward could be induced to utter a word on the subject.

For years Jackson had never a friendly word for "Jeems" Buchanan, as he called him. But though the mountain came not to Mahomet, Mahomet came to the mountain. Such an ally as Benton most needed in the scenes soon to be enacted was found in this very "Jeems," who took ostentatious pride in being known as a leader of the Jacksonians.

Both Benton and Buchanan were social icebergs, slow, ponderous, and impassive. Yet it was to be demonstrated that these glacial bodies could be transformed into incandescent masses.

On the 15th of January the matter of the Barbary horses and lion came before the Senate in the form of a joint resolution authorizing the President to dispose of the animals by public sale.

Mr. Porter, of Louisiana, objected to the bill that it specified no time for the sale, and moved to amend by inserting the fourth Saturday in February following, and the sale to be at auction.

Mr. Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, mortified at so boorish a disposition of the Sultan's present, moved an amendment authorizing the President to present the lion to the proprietor of Peale's Museum, and the horses to the Agricultural Society of New York. He commented with some asperity upon the want of dignity displayed in the Chamber, and was certain that his proposition afforded the best solution of the difficulty.

The mention of New York brought Mr. Porter again to his feet. If the animals were to be presented to any parties, he would look outside New York for a recipient. The Agricultural Society of Louisiana would be glad of them—particularly the horses.

Mr. Frelinghuysen called for a division on the question, to be taken on the lion first. Before this could be done, Mr. Benton rose and, in a dignified manner, expressed a decided preference for a presentation of the animals to some public institution or society.

Mr. Moore, of Alabama, was opposed to any proposition in the interests of New York. He would neither send a lion to that State nor receive one from it.

Mr. Clay now took the floor to make the most sensible proposition of all, to the effect that the President be authorized to dispose of the animals as he might see fit. This was suggested for an amendment.

Before Mr. Frelinghuysen could adopt the opportune suggestion, Mr. Poindexter, of Mississippi, offered an amendment in writing, that the lion be presented to King Louis Philippe. This playful allusion to a supposed secret affection of the Democrats for the Citizen King was met by Mr. Buchanan with a statement that such an act would be really a declaration of war with France — which the Whigs affected to fear.

Mr. Frelinghuysen here secured the floor, and acted upon Mr. Clay's suggestion, modifying his own amendment so as to permit the President "to present the animals to such person or institution as he may designate."

At this point arose Mr. Shepley, of Maine (who had voted against Clay's resolution of censure of the President), and inquired of the new Whig school of strict construction where they found in the Constitution any authority to give away property of the United States. If they had the right to make this donation, he said (following the general Whig line of argument employed against Jackson), they could so dispose of *any* and *all* the public property of the nation. The principle was the same.

The venerable Mr. Frelinghuysen rose to his feet for the fourth time, with the gravity which characterized him as president of Princeton College, but with perhaps a suggestion of a twinkle of college mischief in his eye, and entered upon what promised to be an interminable dissertation upon the common law.

"According to common law," he began, "in order to have a property in a thing, we must be able to hold it." (Here the Senators adjusted their persons in their chairs for a comfortable nap.) "Now, as all of us together could not hold the lion if we should try," — here the Senators were suddenly wide awake, — "it is better to get rid of him as soon as possible."

In the general laugh which followed this unexpected termination of an apprehended discussion, the vote was taken upon Mr. Frelinghuysen's amendment, as modified by Clay's suggestion. It failed, by one vote, to pass.

The Chamber was determined that the animals should be sold, not presented. Evidently Mr. Shepley's sarcastic argument really expressed *the majority's* apprehension of the unconstitutionality of a gratuitous

disposition of the present, for the Whigs of that day went to the full length of strict-construction folly in challenging the exercise of governmental powers.

Mr. Poindexter then urged that the animals be given to Captain Riley, to compensate him for his care and trouble in bringing them to America. This proposition was promptly rejected.

Mr. Ewing, of Ohio, moved an amendment to the effect that the sale take place in Washington, which was adopted, and the bill was ordered to the third reading.

A little later on, Mr. Strict-constructionist Clay pronounced a grand philippic on the unconstitutionality of the removal of a cabinet officer by the President, and added, significantly, that when the subject should be resumed he should "expect to see some of the leaders of the administration party come out, *with book in hand*, and show the text for this tremendous power."

It pleased the new Senator from Pennsylvania to believe himself the person aimed at, and he at once replied that, when the gentleman should think proper to take up the subject and attempt to prove that the practice under which this government had flourished, and which had been sustained by Madison, was not founded in reason and justice, was not necessary to the proper administration of the government, and was not consistent with the Constitution, he (Buchanan) would be ready to meet him.

"Thou shalt see me at Philippi," retorted Clay, in the language of Cæsar's ghost to Brutus.

On the very last day of the session was opened the two years' war of the expunging resolution, the most unique, acrimonious, and exciting legislative contest in the annals of modern nations; a contest marvellously theatrical from beginning to close.

Benton did not propose to obliterate from the Senate record the resolution of censure, but to have black lines drawn around it and the following words written across it: "Expunged by order of the Senate," together with the date of the action. The importance attached to Benton's resolution by the great men of that day is to us unaccountable. They professed to see in it the destruction of civil liberty and the overthrow of the republic. Yet their arguments seem as puerile as their predictions were bombastic.

The literalists rang the changes on the word *keep*, — for the Constitution requires that "Each House shall *keep* a journal of its proceedings." "*Keep*," said they, "means to preserve, as well as to write." In like manner the word *locust* may mean either a tree or an insect; but it cannot mean both at the same time. The old records of the Senate after their publication, had been sold more than once for waste

paper, and a double meaning of the word *keep* had not been thought of. As for a mutilation of the record, this surely would not follow from the drawing of the black lines about the offensive paragraph.

Benton and Buchanan went down, however, under the withering fire and fury of the Opposition. In all the Senate they could find but seven more supporters for the resolution of expunction. Even the strong adherents of the President quailed, for the most part, before the united eloquence of Clay, Webster, and Calhoun, who for once found themselves entirely agreed.

Did Benton accept this crushing defeat with due humility? *Minime, mehercule!* A year later, in 1836, he came a second time to the onset, hurling defiance for defiance, and scorn for scorn. His pertinacity had gained for his resolution more support, but not sufficient to stem the tide. The annals of no congress or parliament on earth can show such rancor, such passion of denunciation, such pyrotechnics of partisanship as this resolution elicited. A second time the excited Chamber howled its delight over the discomfiture of Benton and Buchanan, who, it seemed, were to be thenceforth subjects for Homeric laughter.

Benton stood for reëlection, and was returned to the Chamber, with the increased influence of a Senator having six years before him. Moreover, he persuaded more than one State legislature to pass resolutions favorable to the proposed expunction. With him, on his return, were enough new members to turn the majority over to the Democrats. From the day of the election, the Expunger seemed to have but one object in view—to triumph over the great trio and their satellites.

In the winter of 1836-7 the administration of Jackson—with its strong lights and deep shadows, its dauntless courage, its continuous succession of victories over all forms of opposition at home or abroad, its baleful place-hunting, its civic and commercial crises, its ardent attachments and deep resentments—was drawing to its close. Already his successor was chosen, and he was beginning to pack his personal effects for a removal to the Hermitage. Those hateful words upon the Senate record, guarded day and night by the Whig warriors, continued to hold their place, and burned into the souls of Old Hickory's vast army of worshippers. In the soul of Benton burned the scorn, the irony, the contempt of the Senate gods. But a day came when the citadel of the Opposition was stormed as by fire.

Benton marked and chose his men in secret. He canvassed his party, and organized victory. The timid he sustained, the strong he directed.

On the night of Saturday, January 14, a secret preliminary meeting was held in Washington, where the plans were all laid and

faith of the Democratic senators was plighted to a struggle of physical endurance. On Monday, ere the session began, the committee rooms were stored with lunches to sustain the party in the siege that must follow this last effort that could be made ere the administration closed.

With the meeting of the Chamber came the knell to the onset. The Whigs were taken altogether by surprise, but turned as before to their great leaders. Benton had counted his host. He knew his followers to a man. That Chamber should not adjourn until the expunction should be accomplished, though men died in their chairs. The most dramatic scene in the history of the American Senate was about to be enacted.

Certain of victory now, Benton took the floor. Flushed with angry triumph, he seemed to hurl his words like missiles upon the devoted heads of his opponents. Every word carried with it the memory of invectives which had been poured upon him in the past.

"Solitary and alone," he began, "and amidst the jeers and taunts of my opponents, I put this ball in motion. The people have taken it up and rolled it forward, and I am no longer anything but a unit in the vast mass which now peoples it. In the name of that mass I speak. I demand the execution of the edict of the people. I demand the expurgation of that sentence which the voice of a few senators and the power of their confederate, the Bank of the United States, has caused to be placed on the journal of the Senate, and which the voice of millions of free men has ordered to be expunged from it."

"Black lines! Black lines!" shrieked Clay. "Sir, I hope the Secretary of the Senate will preserve the pen with which he may inscribe them, and present it to that senator of the majority whom he may select, as a proud trophy, to be transmitted to his descendants. And hereafter, when we shall lose the forms of our free institutions, all that now remain to us, some future American monarch, in gratitude to those by whose means he has been enabled, upon the ruins of liberty, to erect a throne, and to commemorate especially this expunging resolution, may institute a new order of knighthood, and confer on it the appropriate name of '*The Knight of the Black Lines*.' But why should I detain the Senate, or needlessly waste my breath in fruitless exertions? The decree has gone forth. It is one of urgency, too. The deed is to be done—that foul deed, like the blood-stained hands of the guilty Macbeth, all oceans' waters will never wash out. Proceed, then, to the noble work before you, and, like other skilful executioners, do it quickly."

Mr. Buchanan followed, in an exhaustive and logical speech of endless duration. The hours dragged on, and the lamps were lighted. The Democrats, from time to time, slipped out to avail themselves of refreshments. The Whigs became hungry, thirsty, and weary, but continued the hopeless struggle. The evening passed amid furious warfare of epithets. The scene took on a character unprecedented. Almost the entire membership of the Lower House crowded the outer spaces. The populace filled the galleries to suffocation, and every corridor, every approach to the capitol was densely packed with excited citizens.

As midnight drew nigh, Calhoun discharged a torrent of invective, alluding to the deed to be done as one befitting the hours of darkness—night—a crime too foul for the light of day. At length Webster

spoke, as a final gun is discharged by a sinking ship. He harped upon the word *keep*, as it appears in the Constitution, in connection with the journals of the two Houses. "We stand," said he, "upon the plain *words* of the Constitution itself. A thousand precedents elsewhere made, whether ancient or modern, can neither rescind nor control nor modify these *words*." To that worst form of strict construction, a mere verbal juggling, was it reduced at last.

No Whig followed the Sage of Marshfield. All seemed now to see, as it were, a handwriting upon the wall. Blistering invective, jeremiad, pathos, bathos, *argumentum ad hominem, ad forum, et ad alia omnia*, Ossa piled on Pelion, Calhoun on Clay, and Webster on Calhoun, — all were seen to be of no avail. After thirteen hours of an epic which reads like the "Inferno," thirteen hours through which the reader of the old *Globe*, with the delirium of a Berlioz, seems to hear the bass and Belphegor in the "Damnation of Faust," the inevitable was accepted.

But what of the claqueurs, that band of brave howlers who, through the whole seven years' war of the Bank, and often with hands upon weapons, had cheered or groaned from the gallery as the interests of the corporation rose or fell? Till now these gallery gods had sat in sullen silence, dark with atrabilious rage. Now like the rumble of thunder arose a roar that was deafening. The black crowd surged around to the left of the circular gallery, and concentrated immediately over "Old Bullion." Two or three senators hastily withdrew from the room to procure weapons, and on their return the friends of the great Missourian gathered closely about him. Mrs. Benton, always brave, pushed to the very centre, and remained by her husband. Was the expunction to be resisted by violence? Was the blood of senators to stain the floor? In alarm at the awful uproar and the mad gesticulations of rage above the Expunger's head, the presiding officer ordered the galleries cleared.

Ere this could be effected, Benton again rose to speak, and there was silence in the chamber. Even the claqueurs quailed before the mad lion, and heard in silence the hot words that leaped from his white lips:

I hope the galleries will *not* be cleared, as many innocent persons will be excluded who have been guilty of no violation of order. Let the ruffians who have made the disturbance alone be punished! Let them be apprehended! I hope the Sergeant-at-Arms will be directed to enter the gallery and seize the ruffians, ascertaining who they are in the best way he can. Let him apprehend them and bring them to the bar of the Senate! Let him seize the Bank ruffians! I hope that they will not now be suffered to insult the Senate *as they did when it was under the power of the Bank of the United States, when ruffians, with arms upon them, insulted us with impunity. Let them be taken and brought to the bar of the Senate. Here is one, just above me, that may be easily identified.*

The claqueurs seemed to have heard something drop. Instantly a hush fell upon them, and they were meek as lambs when bold John Shackford, the Sergeant-at-Arms, advanced into the thickest of the mob and dragged the leaders ignominiously to the bar. The vote having been taken, the black lines were drawn, and the expunction was accomplished. The hero of New Orleans stood at length triumphant over the last of his foes; and as all his friends had been rewarded, his political accounts were balanced. His exit from public station was made in a blaze of iridescent glory. The scene in that chamber of triumph was a fitting *finale* for the most brilliant administration in American annals.

But the horses—I had nearly forgotten them. They were disposed of at Washington in accordance with the determination of the Congress.

Like a green bay tree flourished in the Federal city the trade of the auctioneer. The seasons came and the seasons went, but to the Knight of the Hammer all were the same, for all alike were his. Among the varieties of movable property there was always a more or less choice assortment of human souls—dark-skinned mothers, maids, and babes, men and boys—the victims of a peculiar institution of certain American States. There were the wrecks of fortunes of stranded statesmen, broken, often, “on the headlands of freedom.” The innumerable caravan of discharged Whig clerks that moved to the pale realms of political shade left behind an interminable line of trunks and boxes of personal effects for the satisfaction of unpaid bills, for the vice of living beyond his means was as common to the government clerk of the thirties as to the more fortunate beneficiary of the civil service of to-day; and when the political axe descended, accommodations at ten per cent a month could not be depended upon to delay the inevitable.

Then there were the relics of persons having claims against the government, who, certain of speedy success in collecting them, rolled proudly into the capital in their splendid equipages, and never rolled out again, but walked home, leaving their horses and carriages in charge of the constabulary.

Yes, the business of the auctioneer was lucrative and engaging, and was destined to grow grandly and to overspread the entire republic in short order, though the government was wholly free from debt, and its accumulated treasure (there was no proper *treasury* then) was simply a burden. Ah me! the baleful significance of that red flag! Ah me! the hearts that were breaking in Washington! But little recked the philosophical auctioneer, who, from his far height in the thin, cool atmosphere of nonchalance, surveyed the follies and the resultant agonies of men.

The auction was an unobtrusive affair, for the statesmen were

becomingly modest in their estimate of this exhibition of political magnanimity. The fact did not promise well for financial results, but inured to the advantage of adventurers with ready money and political influence.

Despite the maidenly diffidence of all concerned — even of the ordinarily aggressive auctioneer — a motley crowd were gathered at the sale. A number of the reader's friends were present, notwithstanding the anachronism involved in the case of some of these. More real than the subjects of biographies, and adjustable as to time and place, are the characters of standard fiction. Major Jack Downing, the ubiquitous Yankee, and Petroleum V. Nasby, the mean White, were there in very life. Zacharial Martin dropped in, out of curiosity, and there met Elijah Pogram and (horrors!) Ebenezer Barncastle. Colonel Mulberry Sellers was on the ground, full of enthusiasm and of information, but indisposed to make a purchase in which there was a suggestion of cash payment. Judge Pynchon and Colonel Belcher, happening to be in the city, took occasion to inspect the wonderful animals from the sultan's stud.

Halley was there, seeking another Uncle Tom and another little Harry. Ex-clerks of Whig proclivities, blest now with elegant leisure, and contemplating, generally, a long journey in some direction, gazed listlessly upon the spectacle, with a new realization of the value of the horse as a means of locomotion.

Mr. Holland Nicholl was not present. In fact, there was a painful lack of interest in the matter on the part of men of wealth in other cities who ordinarily would have been fierce competitors for such a prize.

It was a tame affair. The master of the occasion, as previously intimated, was seized with the feminine reserve which sometimes comes to auctioneers most unexpectedly, and announced the terms of the sale in simple *vox humana* tones, unsuggestive of aggressiveness. The bidders were few, and wanting in animation. The first horse sold brought only \$1,205, when the hammer fell, and the event was marked among the spectators with a prevalent optical function known to physiologists as nictation. The second horse was knocked down at \$860, and the *crico-arytenoidus posticus* muscle was observed to relax in the system of many a bystander as the result was announced.

The horses went dog cheap at \$2,065. It matters not who bid them in and paid for them. Probably the real buyers were not present, having pressing engagements elsewhere at the time. But at least the country was largely the gainer, for the splendid stallions of Muley Abderrahman were thenceforth truly an American possession. In their descendants to this very day they add prestige to the American race.

course, which leads the world in speed. They haunted the memory of Captain Riley until his earthly mould, in 1840, was tenderly consigned to Davy Jones's locker, in lat. 28 N., lon. 67 W. Like the spectral steed of Dana's "Buccaneers," they glared upon the President in 1835, when a British subject, James Smithson, the natural son of the Duke of Northumberland, bequeathed to the United States his large fortune "for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men;" and no coin of the legacy was touched, even as with a poker, by the Administration until its formal acceptance was declared "by the Congress."

If it be true, as Wesley seemed to think of horses, that the Barbary coursers were endowed with immortality, let us hope that they dwell now in some blessed Houyhnhnm land, where maize and oats and hay abound, and where the narrowness of literalism and the puerilities of word-play — so unsuited to the dignity of the Houyhnhnm soul — enter not into their statecraft.

PLAZA OF THE POETS.

“O LIFE, O BEYOND!”

BY JAMES WHITCOMB RILEY.

Strange — strange, O mortal Life,
The perverse gifts that came to me from you!
From childhood I have wanted all good things:
You gave me few.

You gave me faith in One
Divine — above your own imperious might,
O mortal Life, while I but wanted you
And your delight.

I wanted dancing feet,
And flowery, grassy paths by laughing streams:
You gave me loitering steps, and eyes all blurred
With tears and dreams.

I wanted love, — and, lo!
As though in mockery, you gave me loss.
O'erburdened sore, I wanted rest: you gave
The heavier cross.

I wanted one poor hut
For mine own home, to creep away into:
You gave me only lonelier desert lands
To journey through.

Now, at the last vast verge
Of barren age, I stumble, reel, and fling
Me down, with strength all spent and heart athirst
And famishing.

Yea, now, Life, deal me death, —
Your worst — your vaunted worst! . . . Across
my breast
With numb and fumbling hands I gird me for
The best.

A BALLAD OF SWEETHEARTS.

BY MADISON CAWEIN.

Summer may come in sun-blond splendor,
To reap the harvest that Springtime sows;
And Fall lead in her old defender,
Winter, all huddled up in snows:
Ever a-south the love-wind blows
Into my heart, like a vane a-sway,
From face to face of the girls it knows —
But who is the fairest it's hard to say.

If Carrie smile or Maud look tender,
Straight in my bosom the gladness glows;
But scarce at their side am I all surrender
When Gertrude sings where the garden grows:
And my heart is a-bloom, like the red rose shows,
For her hand to gather and toss away,
Or wear on her breast, as her fancy goes —
But who is the fairest it's hard to say.

Let Laura pass, as a sapling slender,
Her cheek a berry, her mouth a rose, —
Or Blanche or Stella, — to each I render
The worship due to the charms she shows:
But Mary's a poem when these are prose;
Here at her feet my life I lay;
All of devotion to her it owes —
But who is the fairest it's hard to say.

How can my heart of my hand dispose?
When Ruth and Clara, and Kate and May,
In form and feature no flaw disclose —
But who is the fairest it's hard to say.

TO MADELINE.

BY JAMES NEWTON MATTHEWS.

The stars that at my casement shine
Pale in thine eyes, O Madeline, —
Thine eyes, within whose depths I see
A light of love that lureth me
To quest the seas beyond the line
That separates thy soul from mine,
O Madeline !

Not any silks of Samarcand
Are softer than thy snowy hand ;
Not any lily-flower afloat
Can mate the whiteness of thy throat,
Nor any floss, however fine,
Compare with that brown hair of thine,
O Madeline !

The timid apple-blossom dyes
That laugh into the warm May skies,
The tender crimson tints that dwell
Within the windings of a shell, —
These mingling hints of cream and wine,
These tempting hues thy cheeks combine,
O Madeline !

The pouting grapes that bend the vines
What time the still September shines,
The softened scarlet on the peach
That glimmers just beyond our reach, —
These but suggest in colors fine
The sweetness of those lips divine,
O Madeline !

Yet all the graces, all the charms,
Of eyes and hair, of lips and arms,
Are but the outward signs that show
The life, the light, the heat, the glow,
The flames of love that leap and twine,
Where I would warm this heart of mine,
O Madeline !

AYESHA TO KALLICRATES:

A RECOLLECTION OF "SHE."

BY WINWOOD WAITT.

She loosed the misty veil that shrouded her ;
 Unclaspt from her slim waist the snake of gold ;
 And down about her, showering musk and myrrh,
 Her torrent tresses rolled.

All beautiful she stood, clad only in
 The splendid twilight of her falling hair,
 Like Eve, o'ershadowed by the curse of sin,
 Yet most divinely fair.

"Kallikrates!" — the silence gathering up
 The limpid music of her golden tongue,
 Poured it into our hearts, as from a cup
 With honeyed roses strung, —

"The centuries of the dead, stupendous Past,
 With their unutterable griefs, behind me throng ;
 And Time returns thee to mine arms at last,
 O Beautiful and Strong !

"Now is it done, O Love ! come storm, come shine,
 Come good, come ill, through all the years to be,
 By this wild kiss — my wifehood's seal and sign —
 I give myself to thee !

To thee dominion over earth and air,
 And all therein, my love exulting gives ;
 And this immortal boon with thee I share,
 To live while Nature lives !

"Here in her cavernous womb exhaustless leaps
 The very fount and spring of life sublime,
 The source of that impetuous tide that sweeps,
 Rejoicing, through all time.
 Draw near ! Behold the pulse of Being beat !
 Inhale this rosy heat with every breath —
 The bright elixir of the life complete
 That mocks at change and death !

"The crashing thunder-wheels from far away,
 Bearing the Mystic Fire, are rolling down ;
 Come — ere thy swooning courage fail — for aye
 Take thine immortal crown !
 Come, stand within the whirling cloud of flame !
 Bathe in its brightness, drink its essence fine,
 Till every kindling fibre of thy frame
 Glows with new life divine !

" If on the awful verge of endless years
 Thy dazzled senses shrink and hesitate,
 Thy heart, grown faint with shuddering doubt, yet fears
 To grasp and master Fate,
 Bethink ! all life, all love, I offer thee ;
 Drink of the cup that Death cannot alloy,
 Nor Age exhaust, nor dull Satiety
 Embitter or destroy.

" But first put every grovelling thought aside ;
 Cleanse and uplift thy heart ; shake loose the wings
 Of thine exalted Self, and, glorified,
 Dream on diviner things !
 So, from the quickened germ of what thou art,
 The Flower of Perfect Good shall spring sublime,
 And, waxing ever, bear within thy heart
 Rich harvest for all time."

BETRAYAL.

BY HELENA MAYNARD RICHARDSON.

Wistfully the breeze was sighing,
 Sighing, — sighing through the trees ;
 Breathing soft a pleading murmur,
 Rising, falling, — from crescendo
 Down a long diminuendo, —
 Restless wanderer ! ne'er at ease.

 Wooed he then the fluttering leaflets,
 Fluttering, fluttering in the breeze ;
 Bolder grew the whispering tempter
 Of the leaves to new endeavor,
 " Would ye tarry here forever ?
 Let's away ! Fair summer flees."

 Leaflets danced with joy then faster,
 Faster, faster in their glee ;
 Chanting gayly in abandon :
 " We have sighed full long to wander,
 Flying here and there and yonder.
 Yea ! sweetheart, we'll go with thee !"

 Wantonly the breeze then caught them,
 Caught them, — taught them to be free ;
 Lent them wings. They flew together,
 One wild dance a moment leading,
 Till the mocking breeze receding
 Left them strewn beneath the tree !

THE HEREDITY OF RICHARD ROE.

BY DR. DAVID STARR JORDAN,
President of Leland Stanford Junior University.

"Vom Vater hab' ich die Statur." — *Goethe.*

WHEN Richard Roe was born, "the gate of gifts was closed" to him. Henceforth he must expect nothing new, and must devote himself to the development of the heritage he has received from his father and mother. He must bring its discordant elements into some sort of harmony. He must form his Ego by the union of these factors. He must soften down their contradictions. He must train his elements of strength to be helpful to some one in some way, that others in turn may be helpful to him. He must give his weak powers exercise, so that their weakness shall not bring him disaster in the competition of life. For somewhere, somehow, in his life it will prove that no chain is stronger than its weakest link. Other powers not too weak, nor over strong, Richard Roe must perforce neglect, because in the hurry of life there is not time for all-round development. In these ways the character of Richard Roe's inheritance is steadily changing under his hands. As he grows older, one after another of the careers that might have been his, vanish from his path forever. The man he might have been can never be. On the other hand, by steady exercise a slender thread of capacity may grow so as to become like strong cordage. Thus Richard Roe learns anew the old parable of the talents. The power he hid in a napkin is taken away altogether, while that which is placed at usury is returned a hundred-fold.

Now, for the purposes of this discussion, thou, gentle reader, "who art an achievement of importance," or I, ungente writer, concerning whom the less said the better, may be Richard Roe. So might any of your friends or acquaintances. So far as methods and laws are

Stature from Father and the mood,
Stern views of life compelling;
From Mother I take the joyous heart
And the love of story-telling.

Great grandsire's passion was the fair;
What if I still reveal it?
Great granddam's pomp and gold and show,
And in my bones I feel it.

Of all the various elements
That make up this complexity,
What is there left when all is done,
To call originality?

— Goethe, *Zahme Xenien*, VI; Bayard Taylor's translation, in part.
1062

concerned, Richard Roe may be your lapdog or your favorite horse, — or even your *bête noire*, if you cherish beasts of that character. Any beast will do. With Algernon Fitz Clarence De Courcy or Clara Vere de Vere the case would be just the same. Let Richard Roe stand at present for the lay figure of heredity, or, if it seem best to you to humanize this discussion, let him be a *Man*.

The man Richard Roe enters life with a series of qualities and tendencies granted him by heredity. Let us examine this series. Let us analyze the contents of this pack which he is to carry through life to the gates of the Golden City. In this analysis we may find help in the use of the formulæ of algebra, a science which, like heredity, deals with unknown quantities standing in definite relations to each other.

First, from his parents Richard Roe has inherited humanity, the parts and organs and feelings of a man. "Hath he not eyes? Hath he not hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer" as you or I or any other king or beggar we know of? "If you prick us, do we not bleed? if you tickle us, do we not laugh? if you poison us, do we not die? and if you wrong us, shall we not revenge?" All this, the common heritage of Jew or Gentile, goes to the making of Richard Roe. His ancestors on both sides have been human, and that for many and many generations, so that "the knowledge of man runneth not to the contrary." Even the prehuman ancestry, dimly seen by the faith of science, had in it the potentialities of manhood. Descended for countless ages from man and woman, man born of woman, Richard Roe surely is. We may go farther with certainty. Richard Roe will follow the race-type of his parentage. If he is Anglo-Saxon, as his name seems to denote, all Anglo-Saxon by blood, he will be all Anglo-Saxon in quality. To his characters of common humanity we may add those proper to the race. He will not be Negro nor Mongolian, and he will have at least some traits and tendencies not found in the Latin races of southern Europe.

But his friends will know Richard Roe best, not by the great mass of his human traits nor by his race characteristics. These may be predominant and ineradicable, but they are not distinctive. To them he will be a Roe rather than an Anglo-Saxon. He must be known by his peculiarities, — by his specialties and his deficiencies. Within the narrowest type there is room for the broadest play in the minor variations. For almost any possible one of these Richard Roe could find warrant in his ancestry. Only his combination of them must be his own. That is his individuality. Color of the eyes and hair, length of nose, hue of

skin, form of ears, size of hands, character of thumb-prints,—in all these and ten thousand other particulars, some allotment must fall to Richard Roe.

He must have some combination of his own, for nature has "broken the die" in moulding each of his ancestors and will tolerate no servile copy of any of her works. By the law of sex, Richard Roe has twice as many ancestors as his father or mother had. Therefore these could give him anything they had severally received from their own parents. The hereditary gifts must be divided in some way, else Richard Roe would be speedily overborne by them. Furthermore any system of division nature may adopt could only be on the average an equal division. Richard Roe's father could say, "With half my qualities I thee endow," his mother furnishing the other half. Nature tries to arrange for some partition like this. But she can never divide evenly. Besides, some qualities will not bear division. Richard Roe's share forms a sort of mosaic, made partly of unchanged characters standing side by side in new combinations, partly a mixture of characters, and, in part, characters in perfect blending.

The physical reason for all this, science is just beginning to trace. The machinery of division and integration it finds in the germ-cell itself—the egg and its male cognate. At the same time it finds that nature's love of variation is operative even here. She has never yet made two eggs or two sperm-cells exactly alike.

The germ-cell, male or female,—and the two are alike in all characters essential to this discussion,—is one of the vital units or body-cells set apart for a special purpose. It is not essentially different from other cells, either in structure or in origin. But in its growth it is capable of repeating, "with the precision of a work of art," the whole organism from which it came. The germ-cell is made up of protoplasm, a jelly-like substance, less simple than it appears, not a "substance" at all, in fact, but a structure as complex as any in nature. In connection with protoplasmic structure all known phenomena of life are shown. Inside the germ-cell, or in any other cell, is a smaller cellule called the nucleus. In connection with the nucleus appear most of the phenomena of hereditary transmission. In the higher animals its structure is a complicated arrangement of loops and bands, the substance of which these are made being called chromatin. This name, chromatin, is given because its substance takes a deeper stain or color (in Greek, *chroma*) than ordinary protoplasm or other cell-materials. In the chromatin, it is supposed, are the determinants of heredity, and these preside in some way over all movements and all changes of the protoplasm.

In the fertilized egg, the mixed chromatin of the two cells which n fused into one may be said to contain the architect's plan

after which the coming animal is to be built up. In the mixed chromatin of the cell which is to grow and to divide, to separate and integrate, till it forms Richard Roe, the potentialities of Richard Roe all lie in some way hidden. How this is we cannot tell. We know that the structure of a single cell is a highly complex matter, more complex than the Constitution of the United States, with a far more perfect system of checks and balances. When we can understand all that takes place in a single cell we shall "know what God and Man is." It is not, like the Constitution of our nation, a simple written document with definite powers and definite limitations. It may rather be compared to the unwritten constitution of civilization, and a single cell may hold in potentiality even all that this supposed constitution may embrace.

It is not easy, for example, to understand how Richard Roe's tone of voice, or the color of his hair, or his ear for music, or other hereditary qualities can be thus hidden. But so they seem to be, and if science should stop whenever she came to a mystery, the growth of knowledge would be hemmed in very narrowly indeed.

When nature is getting the germ-cells ready this hereditary material is increased in each one, and then again divided and subdivided, till in the ripened cell but half the usual amount is present. The cell is then ready to unite with its fellow of the opposite sex to form a perfect cell. From this, under favorable circumstances, the great alliance of cells which constitute the body of Richard Roe is built up.

Nature makes her divisions evenly enough, but never quite equally. She is satisfied with an approximate equality, better satisfied than if she could make a perfect division. She knows no straight lines; she never made a perfect sphere, and she takes the corner away from every angle. It satisfies her desire for likeness to have her children almost alike. Exact symmetry would exclude variation, for which she cares still more, and for good reason. If her creatures are left unlike, it is so much the easier for her to find places for them in the crowded world of life. Moreover, unlikeness gives play for selection. She can save her favorites and discard her failures.

So in the chromatin of his two parent cells Richard Roe finds his potentialities, his capacities, and his limitations. But latent in these are other capacities and other limitations, handed down from earlier generations. Each grandfather and grandmother has some claim on Richard Roe, and, behind these, dead hands from older graves are still beckoning in his direction. The past will not let go, but with each generation the dust or the crust grows deeper over it. Moreover, these old claims grow less and less with time, because with each new generation there are twice as many competitors. Besides this, as we

shall see beyond, these past generations can make no claim on him except through the agency of his own parents.¹

Out of these elements Mr. Galton frames the idea of a "mid-parent," a sort of centre of gravity of heredity, which in language, not algebra, would represent the same set of ideas. But, as Dr. Brooks has observed, "It may be well to ask what evidence there is that the child does inherit from any ancestor except its parents, for descent from a long line of ancestors is not necessarily equivalent to inheritance from them, and it is quite possible that the conception of a 'mid-parent' may be nothing but a logical abstraction." The parents of Richard Roe were his father and mother, not his grandfather or grandmother, nor yet the whole human race, in one of the chains of which he forms a single link. When a son inherits his maternal grandfather's beard it is really his mother's beard which he acquires. It is the beard which his mother would have had, had she been a man.²

The personal peculiarities recognizable in the father are different

¹ We may sum up Richard Roe's inheritance in algebraic formulae as follows:

Let A be the aggregate of species and race characters inherited from the father. Let A' be the species and race characters inherited from the mother. Then $\frac{A + A'}{2 + 2}$, as $A = A'$, will be simply

A. A forms the greater part of Richard Roe in numerical aggregate, but in the Anglo-Saxon race it is an invariable quantity, and therefore not of importance in making up the characters by which we know him from his fellows.

Let B be the recognizable peculiarities of the father, and B' the recognizable peculiarities of the mother. How shall these be divided? Obviously not more than $\frac{B + B'}{2 + 2}$ could go to Richard Roe,

for his body cannot be made up exclusively of peculiarities. We may infer from Galton's studies, that these figures are in excess of the fact. In each process of generation, half these qualities, already once divided, are lost or rendered unrecognizable. To each parent, Galton assigns about

twenty-five per cent of these personal qualities. Accepting this as approximate, $\frac{B}{4} + \frac{B'}{4}$ would be

nearer the actual fact, and we may so take it. But the latent influence of the grandparents must come in, these represented by C, C', C'', and C''', respectively. In this case the divisor may apparently be 16, which corresponds to Galton's estimate of 6½ per cent. Should we wish to go farther back, the influence of the great-grandparents, D, D', D'', etc., eight of them, could be added, each with 64 as its divisor.

It is evident that these divisors are all proximate only, and varying at each cleavage of the germinal chromatin. The unknown and fluctuating element in this division we may designate as

$\pm n$. Hence $\frac{B}{4 \pm n}$ would represent the direct heritage from his father to Richard Roe. Then

$$A + \frac{B}{4 \pm n} + \frac{B'}{4 \pm n} + \frac{C}{16 \pm n^2} + \frac{C'}{16 \pm n^2} + \frac{C''}{16 \pm n^2} + \frac{C'''}{16 \pm n^2} + \frac{8 D \text{ etc.}}{64 \pm n^3} + \frac{16 E \text{ etc.}}{256 \pm n^4}, \text{ etc., will be our}$$

first rough draft of the hereditary framework of Richard Roe.

² In that case the formula given in the above note would be modified to this extent: the value of C, D, E, etc., would be limited to the hereditary characters latent but undeveloped in B, etc. Their value would be less than B, for some part of B would have to be subtracted from each of them. For it is evident that the inheritance from the grandparents and from far-off ancestors came through the parents. If not active in them, these hereditary qualities must have been latent, and, in either case, they came from them to Richard Roe. In strictness the inheritance of C, D, E, etc., are included in B, as are also the race qualities and the qualities of the species. To what extent Richard Roe will show personal individuality depends on the value of A as compared with B, B', etc.; in other words, on the lack of uniformity in his pedigree. If B, C, D, and the rest were very closely alike, as is the case with "thoroughbreds," the differential elements will be small, and the complete Richard Roe will be very like the rest of them. If B, C, D, are small quantities, and

half similar to A + D, the addition of $\frac{C, \text{ etc.}}{16 \pm n^2}$ will count for but little in the aggregate.

from those seen in the mother. The son cannot inherit all from both sources. Certainly not more than half could come from either source, for the new generation could not be built of peculiarities alone. The old large common heritage must always have precedence. Galton has made a calculation based on wide observations, that on the average twenty-five per cent of the individual peculiarities are directly inherited from each parent. On the average, each parent exerts the same force of heredity. Half the characters come from each, but in each half it would appear that about one-half is lost or rendered unrecognizable by other variation or by contradictory blendings. The first division of qualities in half is necessary and natural, for there are two parents. The second division in half is an arbitrary assumption which seems to find its warrant in Galton's studies. We might assume without theoretical difficulty a third or a fifth as being preserved intact among possible variations and combinations. One-half, however, seems nearer the fact, and to find the fact is the only purpose of theory. To the characters received from the parents we must add the latent influence of grandparents, great-grandparents, and the long series of dead hands which, however impotent, can never wholly let go. As the smallest wave must go on till it crosses the ocean, so the influence of every ancestor must go on to the end of the generations of life. Each of us must feel in a degree the strength¹ or weakness of each one of them. To each grandparent Galton assigns $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. There are four grandparents, and two stages of generation separate them from Richard Roe. Half the force of each, twice lost, seems to give to each grandparent one-fourth the potency in heredity the father or mother has. In the same way, to the great-grandparent we must assign the relation of $1\frac{1}{16}$ per cent (one-sixty-fourth), and so on.

The "bluer" the blood, that is, the more closely alike these ancestors are, the greater will be the common factor, the less the amount derived from the individual. In perfect thorough-breeding, the individual should have no peculiarities at all. This condition is never reached, but it may sometimes be approximated. In such case the addition of an ancestral sixteenth or sixty-fourth could make no visible change. This may be true among the very bad as well as among the very good. Weakness or badness is more often thoroughbred than strength or virtue. The bluest of blood may run in the veins of the pauper as well as in those of the aristocrat who boasts that $\frac{W}{2,147,473,648}$ in his formula stands for William the Norman. And for Richard Roe's own sake let us hope that he is not too thoroughbred, and that he has no record of W and W", nor even of E. Too narrow a line of descent

¹ "Lo, these large ancestors have left a trace
Of their strong souls in mine, defying Death and Time." — H. H. Boyesen.

tends to intensify weaknesses. Vigor and originality come from the mingling of variant elements. Nature does not favor "in-and-in" breeding. There is no loss to the individual if decided and different qualities come from father or mother. Contradictory or even incongruous peculiarities are better than none at all.

Ancestry, too, like wine, becomes stale if it remains too long in the sunshine. An ancestry which is readily traced has lived too long in easy places. Great men are developed in obscurity. A few generations of successful dealing with small matters may prepare the way for the power to deal with great ones. Wisdom is knowing what to do next, and wisdom may exist in humble places as well as in conspicuous fields of action.

Again, at the time of Richard Roe's birth, the formula of his father was slowly changing under the reaction toward activity or to idleness, resulting from his efforts and his circumstances. It is no longer what it was originally. Changes constantly arise from the experiences of life, the stress of environment, the reduction of "mental friction," the formation of automatic nerve-connections or habits, the growth that arises through voluntary effort, the depression coming from involuntary work or idleness, the degeneration through the vitiation of nerve-honesty caused by stimulants or vice, the deterioration due to spurious pleasures that burn and burn out. Each of these may have come to the father of Richard Roe, and each one may have left its mark on him. The fairy's wand and the fool-killer's club each leaves an indelible trace whenever it is used. Through these influences¹ every man is changed from what he was or what he might have been to what he is.

Lamarck's much disputed "Fourth Law" of development reads as follows: "All that has been acquired, begun, or changed in the structure of the individuals in their lifetime is preserved in reproduction and transmitted to the new individuals which spring from those who have inherited the change."

"Change of function produces change of structure," so Herbert Spencer tells us; "it is a tenable hypothesis that changes of structure thus produced are inherited."

But though this may be a tenable hypothesis, the opposite hypoth-

¹ Let X be the aggregate of gains and Y of losses due to these acquired qualities. In the case of the mother these may be X' and Y'. In this case X and Y and X' and Y' represent large factors, but excessively diverse and varying, affecting in some degree all the qualities contained in the symbols B and B'. Richard Roe's father would then be $A + B + X - Y$. His mother $A + B' + X' - Y'$. These added numbers mark the change from what these two ought to have been or would naturally have been toward what they are. How much of this is inherited? How do these characters affect Richard Roe? How much of X and Y shall we place in his formula of life? Some learned investigators, notably August Weismann, say that these changes count for nothing in heredity. X and Y spend their force on the generation that develops them. Acquired characters are never inherited. Other investigators, equally wise, Herbert Spencer for example, do not admit that any gain or loss to the individual is without its effect on succeeding generations, and thus on the species. X and Y must as B or B' may be.

esis has not been clearly shown to be intenable. It seems to be true that any great physical weakness on the part of Richard Roe's parents would tend to lower his constitutional vigor, whatever the origin of such weakness might be. If so, such weakness might appear as a large deficiency in his power of using his equipment. His vital momentum would be small. It may be, too, that any high degree of training, as in music or mathematics, might determine in the offspring the line of least resistance for the movement of his faculties. Perhaps mental friction in the offspring is less in the directions indicated by the mental efforts of the parent. Perhaps Richard Roe would find mathematics easier had his father devoted his life to exercise of that kind. But we are not sure that this is so. We do not know yet on what terms X and Y and X' and Y' are passed over to Richard Roe, or whether they are passed on to him at all. In the view of Herbert Spencer X and Y are inherited¹ just as A and B are. According to Weismann and his followers these are not subjects of heredity at all.

I cannot pretend to say what will be the final decision of science in regard to this vexed question. I venture to suggest that in Lamarck's law and in the theories of many of his modern followers, too high value has been set, not on X and Y, but on $\frac{X}{Q}$ and $\frac{Y}{Q}$. On the other hand, if these fractions are really equal to zero, if acquired characters are absolutely of no value in heredity, some problems in biology we have thought easy become tremendously complicated. We must rewrite a large portion of the literature of sociology. We must give a new diagnosis to Ibsen's "Ghosts." We must, in fact, do this in any event, for inheritance such as the Norwegian dramatist pictures belongs not to heredity at all, but is to be sought for among the phenomena of transmission and nutrition. In the same realm are probably the "spent passions and vanished sins" that certain psychologists find trace of in heredity.

One more element, likewise of doubtful value, must be added to the inventory of Richard Roe. This is the element of prenatal influence on the part of his mother.

In the process of evolution, the development of the female has brought her to be more and more the protector and helper of the young. She gives to her progeny not only her share of its heredity, but she becomes more and more a factor in its development.

In the mammalia, the little egg is retained long in the body, and

¹ Let us assume that they are inherited in some degree, and let us represent this inheritance of acquired characters as $\frac{X + X' - Y - Y'}{Q}$. The divisor Q, affecting acquired characters of the parent, is an unknown quantity of large and perhaps variable value. If large, the value of the fraction will be correspondingly small. In Weismann's view, Q should equal infinity, in which case $\frac{X}{Q}$ or $\frac{Y}{Q}$ would be nothing at all. This would be the symbol of non-inheritance.

fed, not with food yolk, but with the mother's blood. The "gate of gifts" among mammals is not closed with the process of fertilization as it is in the lower forms. If the help of favorable environment can be counted as a gift, this gift continues so long as the influence of the mother remains. By the growth of the human family, the gift of environment becomes a lifelong influence. The father as well as the mother becomes a part of it. In Walt Whitman's words:

His own parents (he that had fathered him and she that had conceived him in her womb and birth'd him),
They gave this child more of themselves than that,
They gave afterward every day, they became part of him.

It has long been a matter of common belief that among mammals a special formative influence is exerted by the mother in the period between conception and birth. The patriarch Jacob is reputed to have made a thrifty use of this influence in dealing with Laban. This belief is part of the folk-lore of almost every race of intelligent men. In translations published by Carmen Silva, that gifted woman whom kind nature made a poet and cruel fortune a queen, we find these words from a Roumanian peasant woman:

My little child is lying in the grass,
His face is covered with the blades of grass;
While I did bear the child, I ever watched
The reaper work, that it might love the harvests;
And when the boy was born, the meadow said:
"This is my child."

In the current literature of hysterical ethics, we find all sorts of exhortations to mothers to do this and not to do that, to cherish this and avoid that, on account of its supposed effect on the child to come. Long lists of cases have been reported illustrating the law of prenatal influences. Most of these records serve only to induce scepticism. Many of these are mere coincidences, some are unverifiable, some grossly impossible, and some read like the certificates of patent medicines. There is an evident desire to make a case rather than to tell the truth.¹ The whole matter is much in need of serious study.

Dr. Weismann ridicules all these claims, and believes that all forms of mother's marks, prenatal influences, and the like are relics of mediæval superstition. Other authorities of equal rank, as Prof. Henry F. Osborn, are convinced that these supposed influences exist, and are occasionally made evident. Doubtless most of the current stories of prenatal influ-

¹ For example, Dr. Fearn cites the following case: "A mother witnessed the removal of one of the bones (metacarpal) from her husband's hand, which greatly shocked and alarmed her. A short time after, she had a child who was born without the corresponding bone which was removed from the father." (Report of Med. Assoc. of Ala., 1880, as quoted by Dr. S. B. Elliott in *THE ARENA*, March, 1894, p. 424.) If this statement is true, our ideas of the formation and dissolution of parts of the skeleton must be materially changed. We must believe either that the metacarpal bones are formed just before birth, after all the rest of the skeleton, or else that bones once formed may be absorbed under the influence of nervous shock or hysteria.

ence are products of self-deception or of plain lying. Probably the period of gestation is too short to produce far-reaching changes in hereditary endowments. On the other hand, doubt and ridicule are not argument, and there may be some reality in influences in which the world has so long believed. But these phenomena, if existing, belong to the realm of abnormal nerve action, as affecting prenatal nutrition, not to heredity. They would be least likely to occur at all in the life of the healthy mother. The less worry given to them the better.

Besides these, there are many phenomena of transmitted qualities that cannot be charged to heredity. Just as a sound mind demands a sound body, so does a sound child demand a sound mother. Bad nutrition before as well as after birth may neutralize the most valuable inheritance within the germ-cell. Even the father may transmit weakness in development as a handicap to hereditary strength. The many physical vicissitudes between conception and birth may determine the rate of early growth, or the impetus of early development. In a sense, the first impulse of life comes from such sources outside the germ-cell and therefore outside of heredity. All powers may be affected by it. Perfect development¹ demands the highest nutrition, an ideal never reached. Thus the child may bear the incubus of Ibsen's "Ghosts," for which it had no personal responsibility. "Spent passions and vanished sins" may impair germ-cells, as they destroy the organs that produce them.

The plan of Richard Roe's life as prepared at birth admits of many deviations. Every wind that blows will change it a little. These elements themselves are of varied character. They do not belong together, nor are they held in place by any "ego," except that made by the cell alliance on which they depend. Experiences of life will tend to reduce or destroy some of these elements. Some of them will be systematic-

¹ The value of the prenatal influences acting upon Richard Roe we may indicate as Z, giving the symbol an indefinite and, if you please, a low value. We must then represent the perfection of transmission by T, and T is a fraction, large or small, but always less than unity. It would stand as a reducing agency, and as such in algebra it would be best represented as a divisor or fraction.

The whole formula may be multiplied by $\frac{1}{T}$, a process, like the process Z, which, if it exists, is an extension of T, intervening between conception and birth. Thus at birth we may designate Richard Roe by the formula $\frac{1}{T} \left(A + \frac{B}{4 \pm n} + \frac{B'}{4 \pm n} + \frac{C}{16 \pm n^2} + \frac{C'}{16 \pm n^2} \text{ etc.} + \frac{D}{64 \pm n^4} + \frac{D'}{64 \pm n^4} \text{ etc.} + \frac{E}{156 \pm n^4} \text{ etc.} + \frac{F}{1024 \pm n^5} \text{ etc.} + \frac{X}{Q} + \frac{X'}{Q} - \frac{Y}{Q} - \frac{Y'}{Q} + Z \right)$.

This formula may be translated into intelligibility as follows: Richard Roe has the sum of species characters: race characters; one unequal fourth of father's peculiarities; one unequal fourth of mother's peculiarities; one sixteenth of paternal grandfather's peculiarities; one sixteenth from maternal grandfather; one sixteenth from each grandparent; one sixty-fourth from each great-grandparent, etc.; an unknown part of the gain through the father's activity; an unknown part of gain through the mother's activity; an unknown part of loss through the idleness or non-development of each; an unknown chance through prenatal influences received through hysterical conditions of the mother; the whole multiplied or divided by the influences arising from transmission or early cell nutrition. But this at birth he actually is not. These symbols indicate only potentialities. These make up the architect's plan on which his life is to be built.

ally fostered or checked by those who determine Richard Roe's education. The final details will be beyond prediction. The Ego, or self, in the life of Richard Roe is the sum of his inheritance, bound together by the resultant of the consequences of the thoughts and deeds which have been performed by him, and perhaps by others also. Thus each day in his life goes to form a link in the chain which binds his life processes together. The vanished yesterdays are the tyrants of to-morrow. The greater heredity is the heredity made by ourselves.

The art of life is in a large degree the process of "holding oneself together." The Ego is the expression of the result of this process. Just as "England" exists only as the coöperation of all Englishmen, so does the mental Ego exist only in the coördination of nerve-cells. The theory that the Ego is a separate being which plays on the organs of the brain as a musician on the keys of a piano belongs not to science, but to poetry. As well think of England as a disembodied organism that plays on the hearts of Englishmen, leading them to acts of glory or of shame. This, too, might be poetry. It is not fact.

The unity of life, which is its sanity, depends on bringing the various elements to work as one force. Duality or plurality in life, the "leading of a double life" of any sort, is an evidence of some kind of failure or disintegration. "Science finds no Ego, self, or will that can maintain itself against the past." In other words, from the past, its inheritance and its experience, the elements of the present are always drawn. The consciousness of man is not the whole of man. It is not an entity working among materials foreign to itself. It is rather the flame that flickers over embers set on fire long before, and whose burning may go on long after the individual flame has ceased to be.

"The soul," says Dr. Edward A. Ross, "is not a spiritual unit, but a treacherous compound of strange contradiction and warring elements, with traces of spent passions and vestiges of ancient sins, with echoes of forgotten deeds and survivals of vanished habits." Moreover, "science tells us of the conscious and subconscious, of higher nerve-cells and lower, of double cerebrum and wayward ganglia. It hints at many voiceless beings that live out in our body their joy and pain, and scarce give sign — dwellers in the subcentres, with whom, it may be, often lies the initiative when the conscious centre thinks itself free."

Of course, some of the above-quoted phraseology is figurative, and could not be applied literally to the personality — Richard Roe. His consciousness arises from the coöperative action of his higher nerve-cells. That it arises from many, not from any particular one, is the source of the feeling that the consciousness exists apart from them.

But this is only a semblance, and the elements of which his per-

sonality is made have been in one way or another used before him by many others.

With all this, we may be sure that the stream of Richard Roe's life will not rise much above its fountain. He will have no powers far beyond those potential in his ancestors. But who can tell what powers are latent in these? It takes peculiar conditions to bring any group of qualities into general notice. The men who are famous in spite of an unknown ancestry are not necessarily very different from this ancestry. Fame is a jutting crag which may project from a very low mountain. Far higher elevations do not catch the eye if their outline is not unusual. Even under the plebeian name by which "Fate tried to conceal him," Richard Roe may receive a noble heritage. Doubtless it may be passed on to the next generation, not the less noble because it has not been exposed to the distortions of fame. Real greatness is as often the expression of the wisdom of the mother as of anything the father may have been or done. As society is now constituted, the great hearts and brains of the future may be looked for anywhere. They will not fail to come when needed, and in most cases they will appear unheralded by ancestral notoriety.

I said just now that Richard Roe had twice as many ancestors as his father or his mother. This is self-evident, but it is not literally true. There is a vast interlocking of families. Over and over again strains of blood have crossed, and the same person, and therefore the whole of this person's ancestors, will be found in many different places in a single pedigree. The lack of old records obscures this fact. That crossing and recrossing must occur countless times is evident from a moment's consideration. We can show mathematically that the child of to-day must have had at the time of Alfred the Great an ancestry of 870,672,000-000 persons. In the time of William the Conqueror (thirty generations) this number reaches 8,598,094,592. This is shown by the ordinary process of computation — two parents, four grandparents, eight great-grandparents, and so on. As the number of Englishmen in Alfred's time, or even in William's, was but a very small fraction of these numbers, most of these ancestors must have been repeated many times in the calculation. Each person who leaves descendants is a link in the great chain of life, or rather a strand in life's great network. The blood of each single person in Alfred's time who left capable descendants enduring to our day is represented in every family of strict English descent. In other words, every Englishman is descended from Alfred the Great; as very likely also from the peasant woman whose cakes Alfred is reputed to have burned. Moreover, there are few if any who do not share the blood of William the Conqueror. Most ancestral lines, if they could be traced, would go back to him by a hun-

dred different strains. In fact, there are few families in the south and east of England who have not more Norman blood than the present royal family. The House of Guelph holds the throne not through nearness to William, but through primogeniture, a thing very different from heredity.

Mr. Edward J. Edwards, of Minneapolis, has recently sent me some very interesting studies in genealogy yet unpublished. These concern the lineage of his little daughter, my niece, Mary Stockton Edwards.

Mr. Edwards finds that the little girl, like millions of others, is descended through at least two different lines from William the Conqueror. The lineage of one of these leads in thirty-two generations through the family names of Jordan, Hawley, Waldo, Elderkin, Drake, Grenville, Courteney, de Bohun, and Plantagenet to William the Conqueror. Sir Humphrey de Bohun married Elizabeth Plantagenet, daughter of King Edward I. In the ancestry of King Edward are the Saxon kings Cedric, Egbert, Alfred, and Ethelred, while intermarriage with other royal lines brings in Hengist, Hugh Capet, Charlemagne, Otho the Great, Duncan, Rurik, Igor, San Fernando, and a host of other notables of whom one would have less right to be proud. The Courteney, earls of Devon, are again descended from the royal lines of France (Hugh Capet) and Russia, but not from William the Conqueror. To Courteney and Plantagenet again the Edwards lineage has been traced along another and quite different line.

The seventy family names, more or less, traced in the first series, containing perhaps a thousand representatives, are only so many out of billions, if there were no duplications. If there had been no repetitions, there would be instead of the thousand known ancestors, four billions of persons between Mary Stockton Edwards and William the Conqueror. This genealogy is therefore but a strand from an enormous network, which if written out in full would cover the earth with names. Only through the family pride of the Courteney and Drakes this fragment of personal descent and personal history happened to be preserved. By mere chance, the plebeian record of the plebeian descendants of the Puritan John Drake of Windsor forms a junction with the sacred annals of the English peerage.

Most of the English people named in these records lived in Devon and Sussex, from which region their descendants came to America. The subordinate lines traced out lead to the feudal lords of these two counties. The interesting fact, however, is that in this there is nothing exceptional. These people in America were New-England farmers for the most part, squires, and shipwrights, with a lineage or character in no respect singular. Their sole important heritage was "the Puritan conscience."

Studies of this kind show clearly that *primogeniture* is mainly responsible for the difference between Roundhead and Cavalier, between Royalist and Puritan. Roundheads and Puritans were descended from daughters and younger brothers. The "blue blood" flows in England only in the veins of the eldest son. But the eldest sons of the eldest sons form but a very small fragment of the whole. Galton's remark to the effect that the character of England has suffered through the segregation of her strongest representatives as nobility, exposed to the deteriorating influences of ease and unearned power, is scarcely justified. A few individuals have suffered perhaps, but not England. The nobility are only the conspicuous few. The rest have joined the mass of common men whose greatness makes England great.

One of the many daughters of some king marries a nobleman. Later a scion of nobility is joined to some squire. Some daughter of a squire is married to a farmer. The farmer's children thus have royal blood in their veins. Or, by reverse process, plebeian blood may enter — and to its advantage — the bluest of nobility. The thirty generations of Englishmen since William's time each contains a far and wide mixture of blood. That the descendants of the old nobility are alive to-day indicates that in the main each individual has a sound heredity. For a rotten link means the breaking of the chain. Even royal blood is not necessarily degenerate. That which became so has been strengthened by plebeian strains. There can be few if any Englishmen or Americans to-day that have not royal blood in their veins. There is probably not a king living who has not somewhere in his ancestry the bar sinister of the common peasant. For of one blood, after all, are all the nations of the earth, as well as the men that make up these nations.

Another necessary conclusion is this, that race characteristics imply direct personal relationship among those who exhibit them. The Englishmen of to-day are English in temperament because they are related by blood. They are the variously intermingled descendants of some few robust families of a thousand years ago, a hundred thousand of them all at the most. "Saxon and Norman and Dane are we." From these families, Dane, Norman, and Saxon, the weak, the infertile, and the unfortunate are constantly undergoing elimination, leaving the strong and fecund to persist. The withered branches are only continued through the charity which enables the pauper to subsist, or through bad social conditions which propagate the criminal. Pauperism, criminality, and folly have their lineage, but it is not a long one; and wiser counsel will make it shorter than it now is.

This persistence of the strong shows itself in the prevalence of the leading qualities in the dominant strains. To these ruling ancestors every line of genealogy will be found to lead, when we come to

low it backward. We may reach these from one to a thousand times each in the following up of different ancestral lines.

The growth of colonial types of Englishmen comes from the narrowing of the range of crossing and from intermarriage with lines not English. This occurs most frequently outside of England. "What do they of England know who only England know?" This is especially frequent in the United States. But already these varied strains are uniting to form a "Brother Jonathan" as definite in qualities and as "set in his ways" as his ancestor, the traditional "John Bull."

Race types thus arise from the "survival of the existing," its best results being modified and preserved by the "survival of the fittest." Actual presence in a country of certain ancestral types is the first element. Their characters become workable, durable, and at last "ineradicable" by the survival of those persons in whom these traits blend to form an effective character.

THE TRUE EVOLUTION.

BY THE EDITOR.

NO subject is of greater importance than that which considers *the Natural History of Life*. The question in some sense underlies the philosophy of our age, and constitutes its most essential theme. The laws and processes whereby our world and the plants and animals that possess it have come into being are of the profoundest interest, not only to the scholar, but to every right-minded man and woman.

I shall here present a brief review of the doctrine of evolution; not that I expect to throw new and original light on the nature of the laws by which the organic forms of the natural world have come into existence; not that I have myself enlarged by observation and experience the domain of scientific knowledge; but it is my hope rather to mark with some distinctness the stage at which the doctrine of evolution has now arrived as it relates to our globe, the animals which inhabit it, and the institutions which mankind have created.

It is now thirty-eight years since Charles Robert Darwin published his "Origin of Species." That work produced a great agitation in the upper circles of human thought. It became the source of a vast controversial literature. A mere catalogue of the books to which the Darwinian hypothesis gave rise is enough to astonish the inquirer. Thirty-six octavo pages in Spengel's "*Darwinische Theorie*" are occupied with the simple titles of the works elicited by the "Origin of Species." Nearly four hundred guns, great and small, have been opened from the philosophical redoubts of the world to demolish the modest book which offered the first strictly rational explanation of the diversities of life on our globe.

The question discussed by Darwin was fundamental. If the hypothesis of evolution should be accepted as true it was perceived that there must be a revision of several long-accepted opinions. But to revise an opinion, to alter it, to give it up for another, has always been one of the most difficult and painful tasks imposed on the human mind. How hardly indeed do we give up the well-loved old errors of thought and belief, substituting for them unfamiliar and distrusted opinions suggested by the daring of the age!

As has often happened under like conditions the attack on the new disturbing doctrine was made from many quarters. Darwinism (for the term was soon invented) was confronted by several antagonists who

went forth to battle on *scientific* grounds. It was held that the "Origin of Species" was not a work of science, but a speculative treatise, which might or might not contain some grains of truth. It was urged that the author of the book, though admitted to be a painstaking observer of certain groups of facts relating to animal life, was wanting in the power of induction; that his generalizations were hasty, partial, and inaccurate.

In the second place, the new theory of living forms was combated by a class of persons called philosophers, as distinguished from scientists. By these it was alleged that Darwinism has no *philosophical* basis on which to rest. It was said to be the vagary of an eccentric mind, unskilled in discovering the causes and relations of things, and rash to build up a fictitious system of thought, the principal value of which was its novelty.

In the third place, the theologians rallied to the onset. They denounced Darwin and his system in quite unmeasured terms. They attacked his hypothesis as inimical to the God-idea in nature. Without having—in many instances—read his book or really scrutinized the character and tendency of the new doctrine, they laid about them with an activity and acrimony the energy of which was inversely as the discretion. The spectacle which the zealots of the seventh and eighth decades present in the light of the afterfact is as little creditable to their understanding as it is complimentary to the spirit in which they made battle on the great naturalist and his teaching. They held up the Darwinian theory as the great demoralizing force of the age, and were fain to pour upon the kind of investigation to which the naturalist had devoted his life all the waters of the ancient odium. They declared that the new philosophy was intended to dethrone God and to extinguish every beneficent thing within the realm of human thought. All this was done in the face of the fact that Darwin himself, in the closing paragraph of the "Origin of Species," had entered a modest, sincere, and final protest against the possible misconstruction of his theory and interpretation of nature.

In the course of the full lifetime which has now elapsed since the Darwinian hypothesis was formally promulgated, the doctrine of evolution has steadily made its way. It has proceeded in the face of every species of opposition; and it is now safe to say that that doctrine, in its essential features, has triumphed over all other explanations of the natural history of life. Gradually it took possession of a few of the leading minds in the different civilized countries. From the greater intellects the light was reflected among the second class of thinkers—men who follow rather than lead. By these, in turn, the theory has now been
d among the masses, until, at last, its influence has been felt

even in the halls of American colleges! This last conquest may be regarded as the certain proclamation of the acceptance of the new interpretation of nature; for whenever an innovation in the intellectual world breaks through the bulwarks of an institution of formal learning, there is needed no further evidence of its omnipotence and universality.

What the Newtonian law of gravitation is to the understanding of the physical structure of nature, that the law of evolution has become to the natural history of life. The one is no more fundamental than the other. The one is hardly more firmly established than the other. The folly of the alleged physicist who would attack the Newtonian law is scarcely surpassed by the folly of the reputed naturalist or philosopher who would assail the general doctrine of evolution as applied to man and nature. But while this is true, it should not be forgotten that there is a false evolution as well as a true. There is an evolution which does not evolve, a development which does not develop, a struggle for life which does not struggle, a natural selection which does not select, and a survival of the fittest which does not survive. It is my purpose and hope in this article to indicate in a manner easily understood the lines of division between the true and the false in the doctrine of evolution, considered as an expression of the *modus operandi* of universal nature.

What, then, is the false evolution as distinguished from the true? What is that part of the hypothesis which has gained footing in human belief, but which better thinking and closer observation of the processes of nature have led us to reject? How shall we draw the line so as to eliminate from the theory so much thereof as cannot stand the test of right reason?

In reply I would say that two fundamental errors have been mixed in with the doctrine of evolution and by their commingling with the truth have greatly prejudiced the new doctrine and have delayed its acceptance by the intelligence of cautious men. These errors are:

1. That the doctrine of evolution accounts for, or has ever presumed to account for, the ultimate origin of life. The notion that the new hypothesis has assumed to deal with this most mysterious question and that it would fain explain by physical laws the beginning and source of life and the very act of that beginning, has somehow gone abroad on the tides; thinkers in every part of the civilized world have started up in alarm at the audacity of a doctrine which, if accepted, would remove all mystery from the world and make that great fact called Life amenable to the common laws of physics.

This view of the doctrine of evolution is wholly erroneous. So far as I know, none of the great philosophers who have accepted the

doctrine have assumed to solve, or even discuss, the question of the ultimate origin of life. On the contrary, nearly all of them have entered a distinct disclaimer of any purpose to explain either the *beginning* or the *end* of that group of phenomena which we call by the name of Life.

The True Evolution looks at the great fact of organization as Mirza looked at the river-tide rolling through the valley. The source of the river lies hidden in an impenetrable cloud, and the stream, after passing before the beholder's vision, enters again the thick mist which overhangs the lower part of the valley. It is thus that the current of life passes before the gaze of the evolutionist. He cannot penetrate—does not seek to penetrate—the *source* whence it issues or the *end* to which it tends.

With the true evolutionist the whole question is this: Given the *fact* of life, to know its *processes*. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the evolution hypothesis deals with the *modus operandi*, and not with the *vis creandi* of nature. Evolution proposes to account for all the phenomenal aspects of the world; to show the antecedents and consequents of every given fact; to note with admiration the beautiful laws of differentiation and growth by which the world and its inhabitants have come up from primordial conditions to their present stage of development, and even to sketch in outline the tendencies of nature and the indications of future results. But the true evolution does not assume, and has never assumed, to go beyond the facts, laws, and processes of organic being, to consider those transcendental questions which relate to the origin and the end of life.

The endless allegations which ignorance and owlish half-wisdom have made with respect to the scope and purpose of the doctrine of evolution are wholly gratuitous. The true evolutionist hears such charges with a smile. He remembers that every advanced step which science has hitherto made from the beginning until now has been opposed and misrepresented in like manner by those jealous and foolish people whose weakness it is never to learn that knowledge and belief are themselves in a process of constant evolution, and that the truth, as it is expounded in one age, can never be enforced by authority on another age. That kind of evolution which would transcend its legitimate field, leaving the questions of fact, of growth, of law, and of process to grope, half-blinded, in the mists which overhang the origin and the ultimate end of organic being is a false evolution and not a true.

2. The second general error which has found footing in public opinion is that the doctrine of evolution teaches that the various forms of existing life on the globe have been derived from other forms of life

different in *kind*, as well as in *degree* of development. It will ever remain one of the strange mistakes of this age that the evolutionists have been made to teach what they do not teach and have not taught, namely, that the higher orders of animals and plants in the world have been derived from lower orders of *a different kind*. To be sure, the higher forms of life have been deduced from antecedent lower forms, and so on back and back to that primordial condition in which the various germs of life were not yet discriminable by scientific tests the one from the other. But let the difference be clearly perceived between the true evolution by which each present high form of life has been deduced from its primordial germ, maintaining forever, from the far beginning until now, its own identical life and integrity, and that crude pseudo-development which would make the present perfected organisms of the world to have been miscellaneously derived from a chaos of antecedent organisms different from themselves in essential kind and potentiality.

Herein is the difference between the two ideas — the one true, and the other false — expressed by the words evolution and development. The word evolution is the true term by which to express the fundamental law of nature. The word development, on the other hand, is misleading and withal unscientific. The one expresses and the other does not express the great process by which the organic forms of nature have come into being. The word development ought never to have found a place in the vocabulary of natural science. The term tends to create and perpetuate the crude and ridiculous notion that the higher animals and plants have somehow been grafted by nature on stocks of a kind different from themselves. The term in question is largely responsible for the absurd views which, for thirty-eight years, have been disseminated from the platform and rostrum and pulpit to the effect that the evolutionists are teaching that man has the simians for his ancestors.

This foolish assertion has perhaps been the most precious morsel which the ignorance of the nineteenth century has rolled under its tongue. The true evolution does not teach, and has never taught, that man is the offspring of a monkey, or that any higher form of life is developed from a lower form different from itself *in kind*. Such a crossing of the lines of life as is implied in this spurious process of development would introduce so utter a confusion into the whole realm of nature as would make the return of original chaos a welcome event to every seeker after truth. That sort of process which would introduce this perpetual crossing and recrossing and divergence of the lines of life is precisely the kind of development which does not develop — a species of evolution which does not evolve.

Let us, by a fictitious example, illustrate the difference between

the true and the false evolution. Suppose that the readers of **THE ARENA** should make an excursion into the hill-country, and that while they are standing in a grove a tremendous bald eagle, his fierce eyeballs glancing right and left, should pass on rapid wing above. One of our number might take up the theme and say: "Six months ago I saw that great bird, and he was less than one-half his present size. He was incapable of extended flight and could only sustain himself in an irregular way on wing for a few rods at a time. Two months previously I saw him, and he was only the size of a quail. He was covered with down instead of feathers. He could not fly at all, but lay with one or two others like himself in a nest of sticks, up in his eyrie, on a cliff. Two months previously I saw him, and he was imprisoned in a shell of chalk. He was no larger than a catbird. His organs were rudimentary, and his life was sustained with a supply of pabulum which he had never swallowed, but which was nevertheless in his crop! Three weeks previously I saw him, and he consisted of a palpitating spot smaller than a pea, and swung by a few almost microscopic filaments in a mass of oil globules and albumen!"

This statement of the stages of eagle-life might well be thought astounding by those unacquainted with the facts. But for the well-established facts in the premises, such a statement would be received with utter incredulity. Some would say that it was unscientific; others, that it was subversive of philosophy; others, that it was inimical to religion and the moral order of the world! True enough, such assertions are not made, for the sufficient reason that the alleged stages in the evolution of the eagle are subject to verification. None of the stages are lost by distance in the past or inaccessibility of situation.

But now suppose, secondly, that our readers, returning from the excursion, should find in a journal or magazine the following paragraph: "It appears that the attention of **THE ARENA** family has been recently directed to the theory of development. During an excursion into the hill-country, a discourse was delivered by a prominent member of the Association for the Promotion of the Natural Sciences, suggested by the flight of a bald eagle overhead. It was said by the learned speaker that a few months previously he had seen the same eagle, and that he was not an eagle, but an ordinary crow — *corvus Americanus*. Two months further back, the speaker had examined the bird which had just passed overhead, and he was neither eagle nor crow. Indeed, he was not at that stage of development a bird at all, but a small rodent quadruped — a rat. The professor went on to say that at a previous stage of the development he had examined the same creature, and it was not an eagle — not a crow, not a rodent, but an amphibian croaking on the pond — a frog. Finally it was said by the scholarly gentle-

man that a short time previous to the last stage mentioned he had examined the same creature which had recently passed overhead in the form of a bald eagle, and that it was a bit of protoplasm, floating in the green scum of a bayou. From all of which it appears that the rise of the bald eagle from the frog-pond has been a process as jagged and divergent as it is incredible."

From this supposititious example it is easy to discover the radical difference between the true and the false in science. The crude notion of evolution has been that one form of life springs from another form of life of a lower order, and a *different kind*. As a matter of fact, evolution does teach that the perfected form comes from a lower form, and that from a lower, but not from a form different in kind. Evolution does not teach, and has never taught, that the bald eagle was once a crow or a frog. It teaches that the eagle was always an eagle, that the germinal potency of the protoplasmic cell from which the eagle has been evolved looked ever eagleward, and never crowward or frogward at all. The primordial germ of this eaglehood had in it the qualities and potencies of the fully developed eagle, and of nothing else whatsoever. That germ was impressed with no other quality or potency.

Every species of living creature in the universe has, we think, maintained its integrity from the beginning until now. The lines of life, though in the primordial stages of existence they lay closely bound together, have never crossed at all. They will never cross—can never cross—while the frame of nature stands. The individuality of every species of living creatures is a thing as sacred and inviolable as is the integrity of the individual life. True, the species differentiates, just as the individual displays his varying powers and attributes; but in both cases the identity is preserved. A given animal at his present stage of evolution must be regarded as *the same* specifically that he always was; but he is the same in this sense that he has been evolved through a long series of antecedent changes, each of which, from the protoplasmic state, has been a nearer and still nearer approach to his present character and perfection. This process of organization has gone on through untold ages from the time when the earth was barely sufficiently cooled to support the beginnings of vital phenomena; and it shall continue in the same order, until our earth shall sink to a temperature at which living beings can no longer maintain their existence on its surface or in its atmosphere or waters.

That which is now called Man was always *man*. However closely he may have been bound in organic relationship with the higher primates—however indiscriminable his body and mind may at one time have been from the barely sentient creatures of his companionship in the primitive state—he nevertheless had in him ever, potentially, a

the powers and attributes which he now displays or will ever display in all the tides of time. True, the ancestors of the man animal have been characterized by ignorance and weakness. Doubtless his animal frame was once less noble and beautiful than at present. Doubtless he was once covered with hair, and lived in dens and caves of the earth. Doubtless he existed in still lower forms. But mark this well—he was always man. He had in him, even in his most primitive form and aspect, all the potency of his still half-perfected nature. And what is true of man is true of every other form and fashion of life within the confines of nature. Every species of living organism has, as I believe, come up by a like process of evolution from its own primordial germ. Each has obeyed its own law of growth. Each is at present the result of the wonderful antecedent forces which were impressed upon it in the hour and act of its beginning.

What then is the bottom principle of the True Evolution? It is this: The life of the *individual* is the epitome of the life of the *species* to which that individual belongs. The history of every species of living organism is summarized in the history of each of the several individuals which compose it. The very same process of growth which we behold in every organic life, from its germinal state to its complete development, has gone on and still continues in the species. The individual begins with the germ. The rest of his career is determined by the laws of evolution. He grows from a protoplasmic condition to the full measure of his power. His organs expand. He enters the stage of consciousness. From going prone on all fours, he rises and walks. He looks about him and beholds the panorama of nature. The phenomenal aspects and conditions of the external world react upon his faculties and senses, and thought begins in his brain. He becomes a thinker. He acquaints himself with the laws of his environment. He learns the story of the past. He observes the life of infancy in others, and conjectures that his own was the same. He reasons, imagines, and dreams. He grows old and dies, and the record closes with an epitaph. Such is a summary of the life of the individual, or at least so much of that life as is amenable to scientific investigation.

This life of the individual is the life of his species epitomized. Every species of organism in the world has had its own germ. Perhaps the same germ, parting into many germs in successive stages of the evolution, gives rise to many lines of life, each pursuing its own tendencies and reaching toward its own results. But the original germ was impressed with certain primary laws of growth, and all the rest is the work of evolutionary processes. So far as the *modus operandi* of nature is concerned, evolution expresses it all. Every form of vegetable and animal life, as well as those myriad forms

that have become extinct; all the aspects and energies displayed on the great globe; all the methods and means which the various races of living beings have adopted to maintain their existence and promote their welfare; all the social and political institutions of the human family; aye, the earth itself and her sister planets,—have obeyed, and will ever continue to obey, the one great law of evolution which has shaped and grouped and brought to completeness whatever is, and which holds all nature in its grasp.

Gradually and laboriously the human mind has risen to that height from which at last it is able to survey and understand the one great process of the natural world. The discovery has been like the opening of a vast landscape on the vision of the traveller patiently toiling toward the mountaintop. We now perceive that nature is nowhere distracted with cross-purposes—nowhere vexed with capricious whims and irregularities of action. All her work, from the beginning until now, has been constant in purpose and uniform in method. Nature has been as patient as she is persistent in working out the grand results of organic life. Her single pleasure has been expressed in her motherly affection and *preference for the higher form*. Her partiality is shown in nothing except in her beneficent provisions for the welfare and perpetuation of the noblest and most beautiful things which appear in her great garden of life. In carrying out her purpose, she employs a single unvarying method. It is simply to evolve a higher form of organic structure from the lower, by the process of growth and decay.

It is indeed one of the strangest things in the world that the law of universal growth has been so little appreciated as the prevailing principle in nature. Growth is the one great process of the natural world. Everything which we behold in field or brook, in forest or sky, aye, even in the mysterious depths of our own natures, has come to pass by this beautiful movement which we express by the general name of growth. It is well-nigh beyond comprehension that thinkers the world over should for so many ages have wasted their energies in discussing vain assumptions and balancing idle conjectures with respect to the methods of life, when the one great method of the universe has been crying out for utterance in every ephemeral insect and every blade of grass. The blindness of men to the one prevailing law of nature can be accounted for only on the hypothesis that the human mind in its present stage of development has a strong innate weakness to leave the obvious and to grope in the shadows of mystery. I sometimes think that just as children are pleased with marvels and phantoms and are with difficulty interested in clearly revealed facts, so the intellect of man, still in its half-infancy, prefers to deal with imagination

and possibilities rather than with the obvious and unmistakable lesson which nature has appointed him to learn.

Looking over the whole field, it appears to me clear as it respects the processes and methods by which the organic forms of nature have come into being, that the whole may be expressed by the law of evolution. All living structures seem to have been evolved from lower grades of structure by a process of growth, of which we have a complete epitome in the life of the individual. Nor is there in this theory of nature anything subversive of noble views of life and the highest possible estimate of ourselves. There is nothing in it against the belief in an immortal soul, the preservation of personal consciousness after the wreck of death, and a glorious estate beyond the dark ordeal of the tomb. On the contrary, it is the only really grand and ennobling concept of the order and method of the world. To suppose that the species begins in one way and the individual in another way, is fundamentally illogical, if not absurd. To allow that the individual is first germinal, then embryotic, then rudimentary, then half-developed, and finally complete in powers and consciousness, and at the same time to allow that the species of which the individual is the unit and brief example is—or was—born full-grown and full-blown is, if reason may be trusted, to allow that God is not a methodician, but an experimenter, and that He has an inconceivable preference for confusion instead of regularity of plan.

As a matter of fact, the individual is, from one point of view, a far grander object than the species; for we may allow that the species is transitory and subject to death and extinction. But hardly so the individual. If, in the case of the individual, nature is able to make a Laplace or a Leibnitz out of a protoplasmic germ by the simple processes of assimilation and growth, she is equally able, by the same simple and beautiful method, to bring forth a race and a universe. Her known preference for uniformity and her abhorrence for caprice in all those realms into which the inquiring spirit of man has been able to penetrate lead us with overwhelming force to the conviction that she has not adopted *two* plans in the universe where *one* is obviously sufficient. As a matter of fact she has not done so. In this, as in all things else, she has been uniform and consistent. She has produced every species of organic life in the world by a method precisely analogous, aye, identical with that which she employs in the production of the individual. It is simply the method of evolution by the natural processes of assimilation and growth.

What, then, does the True Evolution imply? What does it teach? What is the meaning of it as respects the various races of animals and plants which inhabit our globe, the conditions under which they live,

the modifications which they are able to produce in their surroundings and in the planet itself, which is for a season the stage whereon the drama of life is enacted?

I answer in brief that the true evolution teaches that all these vital phenomena have appeared, and do now exist, under the simple general law of growth. The theory also indicates that these organic forms will cease at the end, and be resolved by the same process of decay which attacks and demolishes the structural life of the individual. A few specific applications of the doctrine may suffice to complete so much of the subject as may well be presented in a single article.

1. *The World grew.* This planet was not, as we long supposed, rolled up in a ball and flung from the equator of the sun phenomenally into space. The matter which composes our orb was not heaped up on the solar rim and thence hurled away to its present position by centrifugal force. On the contrary, the earth was formed right in the path of its present orbit. It grew precisely where it is. Such is the decision of all the great recent astronomers. In the process there was no great commotion, no astounding cataclysms. There was a time when our earth did not weigh ten pounds. It was the vaporous nucleus, the *germ* of a planet. Upon this nucleus there was a gentle rush of surrounding matter, as if planetary snowflakes were descending upon it. The movement was gentle, for the gravity of the infant globe was not yet sufficiently great to induce a violent precipitation; gentle also from the high heat and great elasticity of the materials which were rushing together. The first interplanetary matter which was precipitated on our new-born globe descended as softly as thistledown alighting from the air. Afterwards there was a rush. The process went on with increasing rapidity. The small but growing planet drew from the surrounding space an ever-increasing aggregate of matter. The world grew great. With each succeeding revolution it swept from the neighborhood of its pathway vast divisions of that matter which we are still carrying with us on our endless journey through space.

Great were the heat and activity displayed in the body of our youthful planet. Then the earth became adult. With the giving off into space of its superfluous heat and a general condensation of its mass, the earth at length entered the Epoch of Life. Its growth still continued, but less rapidly than in the heated days of adolescence. At last came the manhood of the world. Noble creatures appeared on its surface. Some swam in the waters. Some bathed in the upper air. Some walked with dignity on the solid ground. Earth teemed with living forms. Still her energies are unexpended. Still the planet grows, slowly, now almost imperceptibly, by the occasional descent of meteoric matter. But the sky has been swept clean of the old organic materials.

which once abounded thickly in space. How long our mother, the Earth, smitten with the affectionate flash of the sunlight, may yet display her powers and fecundity, it were useless to conjecture. After a while she will grow old and cold. With her the epoch of life will end. Atrophy will appear in her organs; wrinkles on her brow; pallor on her desert features; rigidity in her structure. Then no more will the loving sunshine awaken with its kisses the springing grass and fragrant blossoms. The earth will enter the epoch of death, and the great drama in which we innocent ephemera have taken a momentary part will end forever.

2. *The Plants grew.* All species of vegetable life have come to pass by growth. How it was that the germs of plant-life, impressed with their several powers of increase and differentiation, found their way to the surface of our young planet, it is not the province of science to determine. That *coming* of life — whatever may have been its method — was creation. Science deals with laws and processes. True science approaches the beginning of things only with unsandaled feet. Science assumes the fact of beginning. It is evident that there was a time when, on account of the glowing heat, no plant-germs existed, or could exist, within the confines of our globe. The germs of the vegetable kingdom came *somehow* from *somewhere*. Then they grew and flourished. Given life, and evolution will explain the rest. From its germinal conditions the vegetable kingdom burst forth with an infinity of forms. Nature displayed her power and her glory. From the cryptogamous mould which lines the cellar wall to the giant pines of Mariposa, and from the microscopic blossom of the conservatory to the blazing heliotrope of the tropics, nature illustrated her wealth of forms and infinity of colors. The earth was robed as a queen; every thread in her magnificent vesture was woven in the loom of sunlight and starlight by the noiseless shuttles of growth and decay.

3. *The Animals grew.* Here again, as in the case of the vegetable kingdom, we are met at the threshold with the *How* and *Whence* of the origin of life. There was a time when no single germ of animal life existed in our planet. Now the earth teems. Myriads of animal forms pervade every element, as if they would suck up all the vitality of the world. There was, therefore, a time when animal life on the earth *began*. Here also it remains only for us to say: Given life, and evolution will explain the rest. Be assured that animals did not appear full-grown on the surface of our planet. They began from germs and rudimentary suggestions. We know this from the indubitable story of the rocks. But the germinal forms grew. This is said of them, not as individuals, but as species. They were at the first crude, rudimentary, imperfect; but they improved. Out of the lower form, the higher was

evolved; but each in its own order. There was no crossing or grafting of one stock on another stock. That would have been monstrous. That kind of development would have peopled the world with *things* instead of *creatures*. That kind of growth would have brought in a chaos worse confounded than the primeval. But it was not so. Each animal species had in it all the potencies and possibilities of its own kind—no other. Along the right lines of the true evolution every species grew—grew towards the perfection of its own kind. One creature tended ever to become a goat; another to become a wolf; a third for many ages approximated the little *Hipparion elegans*, or primitive horse. Beginning with that diminutive creature, as we find him in the geological formations of the Upper Missouri Valley, we are able, as has been recently shown in an article in *Scribner's Monthly*, to trace the entire history of horse-evolution without the loss of a link, from the geological hipparion to the magnificent clydesdales and dappled giants of the pastures of Normandy.

Slow indeed has been the process. Tedious, well-nigh everlasting, appears to have been the struggle of nature reaching out for the higher forms of life. Great have been the travail and sorrow of the common mother in the long ages of the past; but the miracle is at last accomplished. Consider to-day the perfected animal. Behold the agile roebuck or the sleek gazelle. Think of the genealogy of that beautiful being; then be struck with wonder. Let not wonder lead to incredulity, for be assured that the swift-footed creature has, as an individual, been brought to perfection—as we know—by a process just as miraculous in its method and as occult in its origin as has the species of which the individual is a part and product.

The animal races of the world began from germinal conditions and rudimentary forms. Low and vulgar were the first aspects of animate being on our planet. Afterwards the living creatures improved. They improved by growth, by the evolution of the higher from the lower. The better in each species survived; the worse perished. The strong triumphed, the weak went to the wall. Such is the law of nature; and all the powers of the human race combined and set against this law are more impotent and foolish than for one insane to stand on the shore of the Pacific and say to the infinite floods, "Be thou dried up to the bottom, O Sea!"

4. *Man grew.* This is said of him, not as an individual (for that is obvious to all), but as a species. His career as an animal has been in its methods and processes in perfect conformity with the general laws of organic growth. On his animal side, man has had a history in no wise different from that of his fellows of the lower orders of life. As a species he was once germinal. His individual life begins with

a germ; and so did his specific life. As a species, he had a long epoch of unconscious existence. As a species, his physical structure was for many ages rudimentary and tentative. Afterwards he had his childhood and adolescence. We see him in that far dawn of his consciousness a rude and imperfect creature, barely risen to the erect attitude, small in stature, unsymmetrical in parts, savage in appetite. It was in the *potentiality* and *possibility* of his nature that all his greatness lay. Viewed in himself, he was in neither body nor mind to be desired, or even looked upon with favor. He was the cave-man of archaeology. He was the fellow of the cave-bear, and the cave-hyena, and of several other species of animals which nature has since rejected. His method of life was not admirable. With his long and powerful arms he broke the bones of what animal soever he caught in the chase, and ate the marrow. His jaw was the jaw of a savage; he carried the Neanderthal skull on his shoulders.

All this considered as the history of our species has appeared exceedingly repugnant to a certain class of thinkers and, I believe, to the great majority of men—even to ourselves. To most people the announcement of such a genealogy for the human race has seemed in the last degree degrading. But why should an idea of our ancestral lineage appear so abhorrent to the sentiments of any? How it is that a man, after reflecting on his own individual career, can be shocked at the career of his species is a thing the good sense of which is not apparent. Is it ignominious to have been an infant? Can any rational being feel a justifiable flush of shame when he recalls the abasement of his own unconscious state as he lay under the absolute dominion of nature, or crawled, after the similitude of a frog? Why then should one be sensitive about the more remote and impersonal fact of a weak and degraded infancy for his species?

The fact is that this sentimental abhorrence, real or feigned, relative to our descent as a species is a thing wholly without reasonable grounds. It is habitual only, not rational. If, as individuals, we look back to our own germinal state and slow development in infantile and preinfantile conditions,—if we look to this with equanimity, then to consider with shame the far-off lowly origin of our species is ridiculous. Still, it is true that, for the sake of this sentiment and against the most patent indications of science guided by right reason, men have been anxious to exempt themselves from the dominion of nature's one great law.

The fear that human pride may suffer and human arrogance be humbled by the association of our structural life with that of the animal races, under the dominion of a common law for all, has done much to delay the acceptance of the truth as it respects the prehistoric gene-

alogy of man. To many it has seemed necessary to the moral order of the world that our species should be set apart, considered by itself, made exceptional, placed under dominion of some peculiar law, or no law at all, — rather than run the hazard of classifying ourselves biologically with the animals, and considering our lineage as analogous to theirs. It is in this artificial and withal irrational sentiment that ignorance has found the most available stumbling-block to throw in the pathway of a scientific concept of the history of our kind. Men have been willing to disbelieve the sublime uniformity of nature rather than to accept a belief in the humble though obvious origin of the human species.

To my mind it appears clear that man, so far as the development of his bodily and structural life is concerned, is the result of a long process of evolutionary development, reaching back almost infinitely into the past. Thousands of years have been required in the process; perhaps hundreds of thousands. Other thousands may be required before nature and the Supreme Power over nature shall be satisfied with the product. Nor can I well understand how there is anything degrading in such a concept of the history of our race. To me there appears in this view of the origin and method of our organic life something peculiarly grand and ennobling. This concept of the human race is more hopeful than any other. It gives promise of a higher and nobler life to come. It supplies all the elements of a generous optimism, which looks ever with sympathy and delight upon the opening vistas of the future. It hints of a time when every peasant shall see his big-eyed boy a Cuvier, and every mother shall clasp an infant Shakespeare to her breast. All that supersensitive folk who affect a sentimental horror at the lowly origin which the True Evolution assigns to the human family should pause to remember that Plato was once hardly discriminable from an infant crocodile; that Julius Cæsar once had less intelligence than a puppy; that Napoleon in his babyhood went on all fours like a frog; and that Lincoln for the first year of his life knew less than any calf! Remembering this and accepting it, such frightened folk will shudder no longer at the apparition of any scientific truth respecting the ethnic origin of mankind.

5. *Institutions grow.* The social forms which men have instituted obey the same general law of evolution which prevails in the natural world. To my mind it seems clear that the whole subject of sociology is a branch of natural science. Civilization is a *product*. It is evolved from the mental and physical activities of men. It results from antecedent forces, which operate by methods of assimilation and growth precisely analogous to those which determine the movements of the natural world. I think it evident that every existing institution in the

world began from a germ. In this case the germ is an *idea*. The idea becomes a thought; the thought, a purpose; the purpose, an action. The fittest action survives; the unfit perishes. Then come the unconscious infancy and half-conscious childhood of the institution that is to be.

An institution is only the organic form of thought. Two men meet and converse. The subject is the proper interpretation of the phenomena of the outer world. That conference is the beginning of some ancient system of mythological lore. Two others meet and converse, and it is the foundation of a state. From feeble and perhaps repellent social facts and forces arise those forms and aspects of human life which in the aggregate go by the name of history. The historical drama of the world is in its mode of operation as much the work of evolution as are the species of plants and animals; and he who would understand the movements of history must understand its primary law, or remain perplexed and ignorant forever. He who aspires to know the true nature and tendencies of social phenomena and to interpret the same to the understandings of others, must accept with unflinching fidelity the primary law of human society, or give up the problem as hopeless. That primary law is the law of progress, of betterment by the survival of things fit and the destruction of things unfit, of the substitution of the new for the old social forms that no longer subserve the necessities of man. Without the recognition of this law, the facts of history remain a mere chaotic mass at which the human understanding gazes in the extremity of despair.

The true science of history relates to the discovery of the laws of causation working among the actions and institutions of mankind. When the true historian discovers a new social form, he knows that the same has a lineage and genealogy. He makes the thing in question the subject of a study, just as the scientist would do with a fact in natural history. The method of the historical inquirer is this: To discover and know in their proper order the antecedents of the fact or institution which he is considering, back and back along the right lines of development to the time when the thing in question existed germinally in the concept of some brain more luminous and prophetic than the obscurity of the age.

What is a given war or a given political party but a growth? The one is the violent crisis of some social evolution; the other is the agent of some social movement or design; and both the crisis and the movement or design have been brought about by the action of general causes reaching far into the past. This is the view which the historian must take of human events, or else he must not pretend to a

knowledge which he does not possess, or presume to teach a thing which he does not understand.

To write annals is mere child's-play. Millions can do it. To speak of facts as related to each other and compose small patches of narrative sufficiently coherent to bear up the writer and a few friends, as if on a fragment of floating ice in the current of a great mist-covered river, is a thing somewhat more difficult. A few hundreds — perhaps thousands — can do it. To unite such fragments into a coherent whole, to see the relations which the major bear to the minor parts within a wide horizon, requires a still higher grade of genius and profounder acquirements in discipline and study. It may be that fifty can do it. But to look at a historical event with the all-penetrating eye of true philosophy; to see the event as it is; to behold it rising out of some other event or events that have preceded it as its cause; to watch the remoter evolution of consequent from antecedent and of that antecedent from another; to look afar, shading the vision, as if with the hand, that the power of discernment be not lost by distance; to watch the lessening fact as it drifts on the whirling tides of remote ages until at last it is seen to issue as a filament of cloud and fire from some mind more creative than its epoch, flashing out its light and heat in the cheerless chaos of barbarism, — is the highest achievement of the human genius, the profoundest interpretation which the mind of man is able to propose for the mysterious phenomena of life. Perhaps not one in the world can do it! Should such ever appear, he will be the first and greatest of historians.

What was the Roman Law, that great canon of the ancient world, out of which, as from a quarry, have been taken so large a part of the materials of modern jurisprudence? It was a growth. It came by evolution. It stood in its structural completeness as a great tree whose tremendous trunk and branches had been built up by the centuries of assimilation and ages of development. Justinian's lawyers did not make it. More true would it be to say that they were made by it! As a matter of fact, both it and they were the products of the past, evolved by the vital force of preceding ages. Take the Constitution of the United States. It was not made; it grew. What kind of foolishness is that which teaches that our Constitution was created by the Wise men of Eighty-seven? Are men indeed so short-sighted as to imagine that the members of that Constitutional Convention were the creators of our fundamental law? Indeed they were no such thing. So strong at that epoch was the operation of general causes struggling to bring forth a new frame of government that the work was retarded as much as it was accelerated by the Wise men of Eighty-seven. So conservative were they and so hampered by the existing political forms of the century

that had they not themselves been overmastered by forces stronger than themselves, the whole work must have ended in miscarriage and confusion.

The true history of the American Constitution extends over centuries of time and continents of space. It involves the consideration of the political organisms of many states and nations. The great instrument was evolved out of the structural forms of the past. It is to-day the embodiment of a political life which has abode on foreign shores, passed through infinite vicissitudes and struggles, survived the shocks and contentions of a hundred wars, and crossed stormy oceans, to find a fitting soil for further growth in the land this side of the Atlantic. Time was when the germ of our American Constitution was warmed in the bosom of Hellas. Its youth may have been passed among the municipal republics of the Middle Ages. It was a soldier militant, battling under the banner of old Ziska, when he and his Taborites fought for the rights of man in the Hussite wars. In the long struggle of the Netherlands for independence the bloody pikes of Alva and Requesens were levelled against the breast of the American Constitution as much as against the breast of the Dutch soldiery. In the era of the English Commonwealth the same principles which were to be embodied in our political frame stood up and fought, and before them the House of Stuart ultimately fell down, like the stump of Dagon, and perished.

It was this inheritance from the past that came alive into the Constitutional Convention of 1787. It entered every committee room, and dictated every resolution. For four months it walked arm-in-arm with the members of the Convention, and entered into the spirit of their cogitations. The members of the Convention did not make the Constitution, but were rather made thereby. Both the instrument and the assembly were produced by antecedent forces long working among the affairs of men; and the method of the production was that universal Law of Growth and Betterment which directs and determines alike the processes of the natural world and the order and organic forms of human society.

THE EDITOR'S EVENING.

A Lesson in Cause and Effect.

ATHENS had no poorhouses. The reason why she had none was that she did not supply the material with which poorhouses are filled. Rome had as many prisons, *pro rata* of her population, as Boston. The reason why she had as many was that she supplied the material with which to fill them. Rome thought she was doing well when she apprehended her criminals and put them in the Mamertine caves; Boston thinks so also. Rome and Boston have both flattered themselves with the notion that they "protect society" by first producing and then caging their criminals. Paris has as many almshouses as New York, and both Paris and New York have *made* the wretches who cry at the doors or drift in shoals along the streets. The reason why Paris and New York have invented the almshouse is because they first invented the beggars. It is no doubt a fine thing to make paupers and then to feed them!

Observe how it works: The magnificent ladies of Fifth Avenue hold a charity fair; they put thousands of dollars into the coffer to be used in feeding the squalid wretches in their husbands' tenement houses. They sleep that night on their husbands' breasts thinking how good they are! The great merchants and greater gamblers organize a *mont-de-piété* in which the poor and half-starved bankrupts may pawn their goods in order to get the money to pay rent to the very men who invented the big shop. I know of nothing more beautiful; it is positively romantic!

Let us consider this matter a little. Note first the fact that a hypocrite is always anxious to prove how good he is. A hypocritical society is just as anxious — and for the same reason. The individual and the social order in which he revolves are alike eager to get the credit of being good by doing a little to alleviate the evil results of their own work. A burglar may very well contribute something to repair the safe. Monte Carlo may very well make a fund to bury the suicides. A gentleman of the profession may well give his victim enough to get home with. The cashier in Canada drops a liberal and holy shilling into the box, and sheds a tear. The chief trustee waters his sugar stock a hundred per cent in order to build an asylum. Even the policeman sometimes divides with the poor devil whom he has *protected* — though this is rare!

What does all this signify? It signifies that certain influences

dominant over man-life, and certain organized powers in society, have come down to us from the Middle Ages, and that these influences and powers are so depraved that they must in self-defence do something to remedy the results of their own abuses. They must trammel up the consequences a little to the end that they may *continue* to despoil mankind. They must make a practical apology to the human race by furnishing doubtful antidotes for the very diseases with which they have inoculated the sons of men. They must save their forfeited reputations by taking up and fondling the poor wretches whom they themselves have first begotten and then disowned!

Monarchy is a brute of this kind. It is a monster that crushes down some millions or billions of human beings, enslaves them, robs them of their liberties, takes away the fruits of their toil, consumes the residue in war and lust, — and then goes to work to make the condition of the slaves so tolerable that they may still live and have children!

A mediæval church, with its gothic towers and marble palaces, with its swarm of on-hangers and its fat men in fashionable raiment, is another creature now busily engaged throughout the world in trammelling up the consequences of its own work. From filling the world with paupers and slaves this splendid reminiscence of darkness and despair now turns in self-defence to take care of its own progeny. The great reminiscence *ought* to do as much; for it has never been regarded as particularly meritorious to feed one's own. How fine it is for the fruitful mother of outcasts and beggars to give them a little counsel and coffee!

Plutocracy that snatches the wealth of the world from the hands of them that produce it is another such monster—plutocracy that sponges up the ocean in order to water Sahara with six drops! One drop is a library; one is a college; one is a hospital. The library is to perpetuate the memory of the sponge; the college is to teach the system of political economy by which the sponge sucked up the ocean; the hospital is to receive the broken bodies of those to whose families the sponge might otherwise have had to pay damages.

Here endeth the first lesson.

A Sad Case.

Old Doctor Economics down at Washington has again got out his hypodermic. He is going to give our Uncle Samuel another dose. The look on our Uncle's face as he lies there is a study. That he is a sick man let nobody doubt. The patient himself understands that he is an invalid. He has been at a Gold-cure establishment for more than three years; he has taken so much that he is as yellow as saffron.

His look and rosy complexion have wholly disappeared. One

can but observe the look of profound discouragement on his erstwhile cheerful countenance.

The story of Samuel's life for the last few years is melancholy. Time was when he was a most prosperous personage, living well, accumulating in a modest way, enlarging and clearing new lands, adding to his family, enjoying the best of health, and whistling. In an evil day he mortgaged his farm. He had had a trouble with some recalcitrant sons whom he had established in the cotton business, and had incurred some debt which he could easily have discharged; but he was persuaded to go into bank — with the usual results.

On account of his folly Samuel fell into hard luck. His losses were great. Though he worked hard and took nothing stronger than cider he became more and more involved. His health was impaired. He was induced to send for Old Economics, who gave him an injection of *morphiæ sulphas*, and put him to sleep. In his unnatural slumber he dreamed that a syndicate of hyenas was sitting on his epigastrium. And it was so!

After years of this sorrow our beloved Uncle, now a tenant on his own lands, has again got down, and the mortgagees of his estates have decided to put him once more under the influence of the drug. Samuel himself has a strong desire to try another treatment; but he has lost the mastery of himself, and is in the hands of the faculty. Doctor Economics (the same old Quack) has loaded his barrel and sharpened his needle. Our Uncle's half-withered arm is bare, and one may see the fatal scars of the work done on that good arm years ago! Economics Medicus is now going to *protect* him again in the same old way. Under the administration of the *morph. sulph.* perhaps our Uncle will get up and dance. Victims of the habit have been known to do that. But the finale is inevitably fatal. Old Economics knows this himself; but the proprietors of the establishment, including the Superintendent, have told the Doctor that, though his patient die, he must keep him ready for another galvanic spurt in 1900! It is a sad case.

The Composite Image.

I find in the composite photograph the suggestion of something more beautiful than the picture itself. Here are many faces in one. The identity of each seems to be lost in a generalized result. The result is more beautiful than any individual face — and more spiritual. Whoever has examined with care and sympathy one of these composites must needs have been impressed with the peculiar Raphaelite expression which appears in it, and which becomes more and more distinct as the faces in the type are multiplied.

If, for example, as many as forty fair average faces be reproduced in the composite it becomes more and more an idealized and sublimated result, the like of which cannot be found in any single component part of the picture; indeed, it cannot be found anywhere in nature. Nor does it make much difference from what sources the individual faces are collected. It may be a bevy of college girls or a company from the ballet. It may be a group of politicians, commonly called statesmen (from the fact that the state supports them), or it may be a committee of railway magnates stopping at a Western city to consider the best methods of promoting the interests of the people. The group may be gathered from the street, but the result will be the same as if the human parts of it were taken from a synod or a conclave of Knights Templars. Ten candidates for the senate will make a composite not startlingly different from that produced by the faces of ten brethren of the profession! How can such a fact be accounted for? How does it happen that a group of many faces in one becomes not only typical but more and more ideal as the number is increased?

The result seems to be reached in this wise: Every human face and form has its idiosyncrasies. These are simply so many departures from the standard of the ideal in man. Two faces can agree only in so far as they conform to an ideal type. It is only on the line of agreements and not on the line of idiosyncrasies that a composite photograph can be produced. Every feature which does not accord with the like features in the other members of the group is rejected from the result; for it can leave on the sensitive plate only so slight an impression that no more than the shadow or hint of it can be found in the picture. Every departure from the ideal type is thus eliminated from the result or only faintly traced therein. But all the features in which there is an agreement of many become emphatic in the negative, and all the more as the agreement extends to all.

The ideal in man is thus centralized and fixed in the picture. About the ideal as expressed in the composite hangs a dim penumbra of imperfections. This sorrowful halo is the result of the idiosyncrasies of the individual parts. If only two faces be combined in a composite the result will be almost as little ideal—almost as *individual*—as if there were separate pictures of the two. If twenty faces be put into one the departures in each from the ideal become indistinct, while the ideal itself becomes emphatic. With two hundred faces combined, the imperfections hang only as a slight cloud about the picture, while the ideal becomes intense and lustrous. If two thousand faces should be reflected in a single image the idiosyncrasies would remain in a still fainter nimbus around the rising angel within; and it may be, if the human race should have its picture taken, the resultant face, shining

in the circle of our harmonies, and surrounded only with a translucent atmosphere of imperfections, would be the face of — Love.

Francesca and Paolo.

The awful story of Francesca da Rimini is brought once more to mind by a great painting now on exhibition in Boston. Mr. E. M. de Marini, of Paris, has exposed to American criticism what is doubtless the most remarkable product of his genius. In his painting he has portrayed most vividly what we think is the saddest historical episode of the Middle Ages, ever fertile in sorrows and crimes. The reader may have forgotten the story, or possibly may not have heard it.

About the middle of the thirteenth century a certain Malatesta, descendant of an ancient stock of bandits, made himself *podesta*, or tyrant, of the city of Rimini. This was the old Roman town of Ariminum. At the time of which we speak Italy was rent with the bloody feuds of the Guelfs and Ghibellines. Petty wars, most desperate, were the order of the day.

The Podesta Malatesta had two sons, Lanciotto the Lame, and Paolo the Handsome. The father, trying to strengthen his party and confirm his power, planned to unite the house of Ravenna to his interest. To this end he solicited for his son Lanciotto the hand of the beautiful Francesca, daughter of Giovanni di Polenta, who represented the Guelfs of Ravenna. The compact was made between the heads of the two houses, and Francesca was betrothed and then wedded to the Prince Lanciotto. But she was wedded most unwillingly. She was laid on the altar with a horrible revolt in her soul; for she, having seen Paolo, the younger brother of Lanciotto, had fallen desperately in love with *him*—and he with her. But under the cruel edict of the two fathers she bowed her proud head to her fate and passed under the rod.

Paolo in despair went to the wars. For ten years he fought bravely with the enemy, but could not fling his life away. He brooded in melancholy over his hopeless fate. At last, returning to Rimini, he saw at the palace and in the gardens only the pallid brow, the bloodless cheek, and the compressed lips of Francesca; she saw only him. Nature broke out in unlawful insurrection, and they fell. Lanciotto, with the roused demon of jealousy in him, followed his brother and his wife to a bower in the summer-house and impaled them both with one thrust of his sword; they died with the sword-blade through them.

Dante took up the story — for it was well suited to his unwholesome genius. In peopling the *Inferno* he bethought him of Francesca and Paolo. What should be *their* punishment in the underworld of endless despair? He would punish them by making them eternally dead to the higher love, but clasped in each other's embrace! So he

describes them as locked in horrid death-grip forever! His thought is that they should be eternally dead in spirit love, but eternally alive in consciousness and remorse — perhaps in aversion!

It is this awful concept of sin-glory, dead-alive to eternity with interlocking of body-clasp and soul-revolt, this infinite paradox of love and hell embracing, — that Marini has seized and reproduced in one of the most significant pictures I ever saw. There is an indescribable fascination about it. You weep, and say nothing. The artist has humanized and more than half-redeemed the vision of Dante, and the beholder wits not whether to think the scene a section of the poet's awful dream or to transfer it to Paradise. There is a flying, uplifted cloak of drapery, or hood, about the two figures. The red sword-stab bleeds below Francesca's shoulder. Eternally alive, they clasp each other in death. They are floating or wind-blown through fathomless space. The form of Francesca and the face of Paolo are indescribable — unthinkable. They are living in sense, but dead to the spirit-life! They are happy but lost. They float in a nether heaven where all is still and deep. They are in a sunless realm lighted only by themselves. The unutterable sorrow of it is overflung like a cloud of everlasting twilight. All this Marini has thrown into a picture which, if a layman may have an opinion, is hardly second in impressiveness and hopeless beauty to any other painting in America. I wish I had not seen it!

Dante.

A man in Florence walked with downcast face
Smileless as bronze! He went apart and stood
Under the olive trees. The happy brood
Of dancing children shuddered from the place!
He muttered words, and then began to trace
The story of the infernal neighborhood
Vergil had shown him underneath the wood
Where men are damned for endless time and space.

The greatest of our bards American
Unto our harsher English rhythm has set
The Comedy Divine — and it is well;
Britain's Essayist has portrayed the man
With his so matchless energy — and yet
I like him not, because he sang of Hell!

BOOK REVIEWS.

[In this Department of THE ARENA no book will be reviewed which is not regarded as a real addition to literature.]

James Whitcomb Riley.

The cycle of James Whitcomb Riley's poetry becomes an orbit. He swings out into space and returns to us at intervals, ever brighter and warmer. Riley's muse is born out of the sweet virginity of this New World, where Love is still tolerated and God is a possibility.

The publication of "A Child-World"¹ brings us to another phase in the evolution of the best-beloved. There is in this volume an absence of much that has endeared the Hoosier poet to the American people, but there is also a revelation of much that has been hitherto unknown. Towards the close of this article I shall say something in fuller exposition of "A Child-World" and its merits; but in the body of the review I desire to dwell somewhat at length on Mr. Riley as a personality whom it can but inspire the ARENA family and all the world to know and know still better.

James Whitcomb Riley is out of the West — the abjured West. I will try to describe his country and his genesis.

The Ohio valley is shaped like a maple-leaf. It has two great thoroughfares. God made one, and man the other. The first is *La Belle Rivière* herself; the second is the National Road. In the latter, Henry Clay competed with nature in making a way for civilization into the Great West. It was one of the most rational and beneficent of human works.

The great road, creeping from Virginia, found a gap in the Alleghanies. It made its way through Ohio and Indiana, and tentatively at least to St. Louis. Along this route, not only liberty, but art and letters and all humanities, with the warmth and splendor of a new intellectual life, were to come. They were to disseminate themselves through a region of more than two hundred thousand square miles of the most beautiful country in the world.

One of the primitive villages on the National Road, twenty miles east of Indianapolis, was called Greenfield. Like all the rest, it began with a tavern where the stage-coaches stopped at night, where the emigrant wagons halted and camped, where the first store had shoes and sugar, bullets and whiskey, hardware and hats, to sell to the few inhabitants of the perfectly level, heavily wooded country stretching for miles away.

The old National Road is the main street of Greenfield. Every pleasant day fleets of cyclers of both sexes come whirling out from Indianapolis and back again. As they pass down Main Street, they sometimes stop, opposite the Pennsylvania Railway Station, to see that their rigging and dress are *à la mode* before rushing into the crowded part of the town about Court House Square. Just where they stop is a little white frame house, on

¹ "A Child-World," by James Whitcomb Riley. One volume, small 8vo, pp. 320. The Bowen-Merrill Company, Indianapolis and Kansas City; Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1897.

the north side of the street, with square windows above and below, and two brick chimneys rising through the "comb" of the roof. It is the birthplace of James Whitcomb Riley! The reader of "A Child-World" may turn to the frontispiece and see the original home of the poet. The house is two stories high, and stands so close to the sidewalk that there is little room for a yard. The neighbors pay no attention to it. The neighbors never did pay attention to anything. We are always imagining that the great and interesting thing is far off! So it is with the birthplace of Riley. So it is with the shrine of Delphi, which is now covered with a goat-house!

The date of Riley's birth is not generally known. He is past forty years of age, but he still looks young. The boy was not old enough to go to the war; but his father, Reuben Riley, and his eldest brother, John A. Riley, were soldiers. The father was a captain. He was a talented and highly respected man, a lawyer by profession, with a touch of the philosopher in his character, quite original in his ways and habits of thought.

The mention of the father suggests a word about the poet's relations to the home-folks. For them he has always had a profound affection, and to them he has dedicated nearly all of his books. His dedications show the heart of the poet. He has always been profoundly ambitious to be heard by the world — by all the world; and yet he has never sacrificed his love for the home-folks by putting the names of the renowned over against his titles.

Of the first childhood of Riley not much is known. He was an eccentric and not a well-grown boy. He was smaller in stature and not so strong as his age would indicate. His hands were little. His face and hair were white. He joined in the sports of the village, but not the rougher sort. There was an element of singularity about him which prevented his complete assimilation with the rest. He was sent to the village school, but there the nature of the boy stood in the way of what we call education. Nor need we greatly sorrow in the case of this exceptional genius that the formalities and processes of the graded and high school came to naught. His development lay not that way. It is an open question whether hydrostatics and logarithms would not in the case of the poet have been a positive detriment to his development and ascendancy. Would not such forms of knowledge have hung like cobwebs before his eyes, not to be easily brushed away when he would fain be looking at the humorous and pathetic aspects of human life?

But there is another education of which Riley has had an abundance of the best, and that is, the education of the senses. What he knows, he knows by his senses. To him the eye and the ear are everything; that is, the eye and the ear, the touch, the taste, the intellectual gaze, the emotion, the sentiment, the heart within.

A biographer not careful of the reputation of his subject would say that young Riley at length "ran off" from Greenfield. We say he went away. He was then in his teens. Lamentable it is, but he joined himself to a show and took to such travel and experience as the exhibition afforded.

He was valuable to the management and interesting to himself for his ability to play the fiddle and the guitar. To this day we may note in his

poetry humorous references to the music extorted countrywise from these instruments. Whither the young stroller went with the exhibition, nobody knows. He does not himself know. It is one of the peculiarities of the man that he has no bump for locality. It is the literal truth that the places which he visits swim around and find no lodgment in his memory.

Let none think, however, that the mind of the poet is in anywise obscure, or that it does not profoundly and distinctly know. I have seen in his manuscript, which he always prepares with the utmost care, certain places where he has been rhetorically or grammatically in doubt. It may be noted there that he has written the proper thing, erased it, interlined the improper, then read again, erased the improper, and gone back to the true! Critics and scholars may some day be surprised and instructed by a study of the changes and other peculiarities in Riley's manuscript.

While our poet was traveling with "the show," he began to come into that intimate contact with human nature and to acquire that living sympathy with its mysteries and distresses which have constituted the principal materials of his artistic life. We have remarked about his love for music. That was one thing which bound him to the far-off underside of human nature with which he was at that time associated. He could sing. He knew by heart all the old ballads and folk-songs of the Ohio Valley. How many instruments he can play no man knoweth to this day. How many sounds and imitations of man and beast he learned to produce in his character of *attaché* to a show, it were vain to conjecture. How he drifted along and got detached and found his way back to his native town, we know not.

Riley was still a boy when he began to show signs of facility in creative art. One of his early whims was to draw and paint. He can at the present time make excellent pen-sketches as illustrations for his poems. I saw him one evening draw "Billy Goodin'" (the boy who *eats* everything, in one of the "Rhymes of Childhood") to please the little girl who had been reciting the piece. And the sketch might do honor to Thackeray or Cruikshank.

Riley went out on the sign-writing business. In painting signs, he introduced a mixture of art with his artisanship. Sometimes he pretended to be blind while he painted — to the admiration of men! Meanwhile, how the struggle for existence was maintained, how he fed himself and where he slept, none may ever know. The pale-faced, blue-eyed, small-handed, fiddle-playing, sign-writing boy, now approaching full growth, rambled about several States. He was as unknown as any particle of human dust that ever drifted through this blinded sphere.

Once more at Greenfield the strange young fellow began "to write for the papers." Aye, more; he became associated editorially with a county newspaper. What he produced we do not know, though doubtless it is there in print. It would be instructive and amusing — provocative alike of laughter and of tears — if we could now regain and put together all that this strange and inspired mortal produced in the little journal where he first tried his powers of composition. There it was that he became a poet. By and by his pieces found a limited insertion in papers of a larger growth.

the struggle for recognition was hard, long, and doubtful. He learned to send his poems to reputable newspapers and magazines; but they all went one way. The waste-basket swallowed them at a gulp. Probably no other young writer, of whatever merits, has suffered in his first days more deeply by rebuff and rejection and indifference than has Riley. Even when at last he had a volume ready for publication, it was flatly refused by one of the best publishing houses in the West.

The name of the Hoosier poet began to be generally known. His wings grew. His songs flew everywhere. His name was spoken by fame. Literary rumor took him up, and carried him far. His humorous and pathetic pieces, so quaint and original, were quoted by reputable journals as far as the Alleghanies, westward to the Missouri, northward to Mackinaw, southward to the place of the magnolias. Presently he published his first volume of Hoosier songs. This was the "Old Swimmin' Hole and 'Leven More Poems." The people laughed and cried by turns over the humor and the pathos of these pieces.

It was in this work that the poet came to us in the lovable character of old Benj. F. Johnson, of Boone. Glad we are to say that the veteran still lives, that his eye is not dim, nor his natural force abated. The first publication was made in 1883. Three years afterward Riley published his book of sketches—in prose and verse—under the title of "The Boss Girl and other Stories," now entitled "Sketches in Prose and Occasional Verses." This publication brought him added fame. The title story, now known as "Jamesy," is fit to rank with the best short pieces of Bret Harte.

Scholars and men of letters soon recognized the possibilities that were in the coming man. In 1887 another volume of poems appeared under the title of "Afterwhiles." In this the romantic as well as the humorous and pathetic side of Riley's genius is seen in many of the poems. In the following year came the volume entitled "Pipes o' Pan at Zekesbury," in which the author introduces us to the "Raggedy Man" and many other characters gathered from the common lot, but glorified with the touch of sympathy and song. It was in this volume that the genius of Riley for delineating child character in its natural forms and passions, which has now found full expression in "A Child-World," was first strongly displayed.

In 1891 was published "Neighborly Poems; on Friendship, Grief, and Farm-Life," including a republication of the "Old Swimmin'-hole" series, all from the pen of the old farmer poet, Benj. F. Johnson. Meanwhile a volume entitled "Old-fashioned Roses," from the title-poem, was made up mostly from pieces which had appeared in "Afterwhiles," and was brought out by Longmans, Green & Co., London. In 1891 also appeared an *édition de luxe* of "An Old Sweetheart of Mine," taken from "Pipes o' Pan" and illustrated with colored plates. In 1893 appeared the volume entitled "Green Fields and Running Brooks;" also, "Poems Here at Home," published by the Century Company. This was followed in the fall of 1894 by "Armazindy," in which some of the best qualities of Mr. Riley are again displayed.

Several years previously the poet prepared for publication, and did publish locally, the work called "The Flying Islands of the Night." Hitherto the cycle of his poetry had shown only the work of a lyrical genius, singing the brief and pathetic songs of the people. Riley's muse had appeared to be of short flight; she fluttered about the hedges, orchards, gardens, rising possibly to the top of the old beech tree by the cabin. The ability of the poet to continue long on wing had been doubted. He accordingly published "The Flying Islands," describing the work, as if to challenge public opinion, as a "Phantastic Drama in Verse." The plan and style are a protest against the current criticism that his work is wholly lyrical. In the "Flying Islands" he first displays his constructive skill, and is no longer local. He is no longer a mere master of dialect, a serio-humorist, but a creative artist, rising into a new world of vision and dream.

"The Flying Islands of the Night" is one of the most original compositions in the English language. The critics, failing to perceive that the work is a *conceit*, a *fantasy*, a thing of pure imagination and weird whimsicality, as much as the "Midsummer Night's Dream" itself, have seemed thus far to shake their heads and sheer off from the "Flying Islands;" but the poem is none the less destined at the last to triumph. It is a work of universal humanity as much as "Faust." The author has not only constructed, but created and peopled his flying islands. The beings who inhabit Wunkland and Spirkland are as real and living in their kind as are the people of the streets. Krung is a king, and Jucklet is immortal.

The latest product of this beautiful native soul is "A Child-World." This work has an analogy in one particular to the "Flying Islands of the Night;" that is, it is a *single* poem made up of parts or episodes, some of which are songs in themselves, and others a kind of interludes in the faintly traced drama of the whole. The poet speaks in some parts for himself; in other parts he speaks and interprets in his characters.

"A Child-World" shows the poet as a revealer of the scenes and incidents, the joys and hopes, of childhood. The place of the child-world is in the West, though the life depicted is so natural and purely human as to fit almost every type of home sentiment in every land. It is a mosaic of pictures, the colors of which have been caught, we think, fresh from the memories of the poet himself. "A Child-World" seems to be the world in which he dwelt in the first years of his life. No doubt most of the characters are gathered from the group that used to be seen of evenings and mornings about the humble Riley home in Greenfield. The old folks are all here. The blessed features of the home-place revive and blossom. Here is the cherry-tree:

Its bloomy snows
Cool even now the fevered sight that knows
No more its airy visions of pure joy —
As when you were a boy.

In the home-group are Johnty with his conscience, and the tow-headed Bud who uses the superlative, and Maymie with her hazy cloud of hair, and

Alex who had the "Festibul," and little Lizzie, and Uncle Mart, and the slender, sweet Mother, and the Hired Man, and Noey Bixler, and Almond Keefar, and the Poet, and Jason, and all the rest with their respective gifts of story or fairy-tale, — on and on to the end of the beautiful dream.

Into this work are set, as we have said, many poetic pieces so touching and full of soul that one may scarcely name them without tears. Here, for example, is the ditty of the Willow, and here is the song of the Child-heart, and here the anthem, "While the Heart Beats Young," and here the song of the "Warm Health-giving Weather," and "The Dreamer," and Floretty's piece, and "The Old Snow-Man" —

Ho! The old Snow-Man
That Noey Bixler made:
He looked as fierce and sassy
As a soldier on parade.

Here also are the pieces that constitute the woof of the child-world: the Hired Man's Philosophy, Maymie's story of Red Ridinghood, Bud's Fairy Tale, Cousin Rufus's Story, and in particular Alex's Bear Story, which he "ist maked up his-own-se'f." Out of all these the reader, knowing not the original, might be entertained for hours with extracts amounting to the whole. It is all like a dream which the flinty soul of the critic also sees once more through blinded eyes from his far-off place looking back to the days and scenes that were and are no more.

The poetry of James Whitcomb Riley has reached its popularity by means of certain qualities which it possesses, different in kind and measure from anything to be found in any other of our American bards. The first of these, perhaps, is the absolute naturalness and fidelity of Riley's work. The transcript is from both man and nature, but principally from man. More properly, it is fidelity to life in all its forms, whether man-life or some other kind. Riley sings the sorrows of the cricket, the exaltation of the tree-toad, with as much truthfulness and hearty sympathy as though humanity were at stake. So vivid is his appreciation of the world of small life hidden in grass and orchard that he only, of all our later bards, is able to create Fairies and Little Folks. He makes even the stiff, philosophical mind believe in the lost fairyland which vanished with Shakespeare:

An', wite by the pump in the pasture-lot,
He showed me the hole 'at the Wunks is got,
'At lives 'way deep in the ground an' can
Turn into me er 'Lizabuth Ann.

Let no one forget the fairy sketch in which Mrs. Squidjicun is represented as sitting under a clover leaf paring dewdrops for breakfast! The husband of this fairy-lady appears in "A Child-World" as the hero of Bud's story.

Up in the realm of humanity nobody doubts the fidelity of the pictures which Riley draws. Many times these are painfully true. Think of the little hunchback who erstwhile weighed thirty-six, and *still weighs thirty*, sitting at the window and shaking his fist at the burly Christmas boys outside, challenging them to fight, and laughing, unconscious of the awful thing that

has him. Oh, it is pitiful! Or again, take Jonah, of the harelip, who was shunned by everybody, left to his own desolation until what time he was drowned in an act of heroism, and washed up away down the creek, face upwards, harelip still there, more ugly than in life, but triumphant, *loul*, wept over, silently jubilant in the unconscious victory over the hell of living.

In hardly any other poetry do we find such a mixture of pathos and humor. The emphasis is on the commingling of these qualities. The reader, under the spell of Riley's poetry, — that is, if he is deep in it, — hardly knows whether to laugh or cry. If Riley were a wit, the admixture of things in his song would be complete. He has, however, but little wit — just as a poet ought not to have. That is, *he hurts nobody*. His humor is immeasurable; but he does not possess that quality of mind which delights in sting and satire. He never carries a whip, even for the bad. In one single instance old Benj. F. Johnson — perhaps on a rainy day and soured with an indigestion — writes "Mylo Jones's Wife," but when he comes to anathematize that bad woman, even *his* anger half turns to humorous, *jest*:

Dad-burn Mylo Jones's wife!
Ruther rake a blame caseknife
'Crost my wizen than to see
Sich a womern rulin' me.

In Riley all suffering and all calamity run, if possible, through the shadows of pathos into the sunny places of humor. The sufferer, whoever he is, always shares the laugh. Does not "Coon-dog Wes," utterly ruined by the crushing of his legs — both of them — under the tree which he had chopped down, survive and laugh even at that?

As fer him, he'd say, says 'ee,
I'm resigned to bein' lame:
They was four coons up that tree,
And hounds got 'em, jest the same.

Higher up than this, or deeper down, the sorrow sometimes breaks the heart, but it does not kill. The old man and his aged wife cannot participate in the services of Decoration-day, but they still live and have joy in the heart. They are alone with the memory of their Elias. They see the troop of little girls go by in white, carrying their loads of roses. They hear the bands play. They see the carriages and the procession. Then, when all are gone, they go out alone under the apple trees to a single grave. They would gladly have joined with the rest, but they could not. The old man says:

We've tried that — me and Mother — where Elias takes his rest
In the orchurd — in his uniform, and hands acrost his breast;
And the flag he died fer, smillin' and a-ripplin' in the breeze
Above his grave — and over that — a robin in the trees.
And yit it's lonesome — lonesome. It's a Sund'y-day to me,
It 'pears like — more'n any day I nearly ever see —
Still, with the Stars and Stripes above, a-flutterin' in the air
On every soldier's grave, I'd love to lay a lily there.

The ability of Riley to seize upon and depict even the common

circumstances, and at the same time to clothe them with a vestment which if not poetical, why then, Messieurs the Critics, what is it? It is this quality, we believe, in Riley's verse which finally conquered Mr. Howells. He went down before the poet's cricket and bumble-bee and rooster:

The bumble-bee is pelted down
 The wet stem of the hollyhock;
 And sullenly, in spattered brown,
 The cricket leaps the garden walk.
 Within, the baby claps his hands
 And crows with rapture strange and vague;
 Without, beneath the rosebush, stands
 A dripping rooster on one leg.

At times the muse of Riley becomes strangely intense and earnest. Then it is that the profounder soul within is stirred to its depths. Among several of the songs that exhibit this quality of intense, soul-moving thought and sorrow, the best, perhaps, of all is the one entitled "Home." Indeed, I hesitate whether or not to say this is the greatest of all Riley's poems:

We must get home: all is so quiet there:
 The touch of loving hands on brow and hair —
 Dim rooms, wherein the sunshine is made mild —
 The lost love of the mother and the child
 Restored in restful lullabies of rain.
 We must get home, we must get home again.

We must get home; and, unremembering there
 All gain of all ambitions elsewhere,
 Rest — from the feverish victory and the crown
 Of conquest whose waste glory weighs us down.
 Fame's fairest gifts we toss back with disdain —
 We must get home, we must get home again.

We must get home, where, as we nod and drowse,
 Time humors us and tiptoes through the house,
 And loves us best when sleeping babywise,
 With dreams — not tear-drops — brimming our clenched eyes, —
 Pure dreams that know nor taint nor earthly stain.
 We must get home — we must get home again!

Many mistakes have been made in the popular, and even critical, estimate of Riley and his genius. One of these, perhaps the most important, is that which makes him to be a poet of *narrow range*. There is an opinion that the instrument of his art has only a few tones, when, as a matter of fact, it is the broadest diapason that we have seen in many a year. It is not true that Riley sings only in a few keys. He has poems that *lie further apart* in the realms of song than can be paralleled in the case of any other bard of these much-singing days. The fact is that the very extremes of human nature have, as it were, been touched and sung by our poet. Here, for example, are two of his well-known poems, "The Fishin'" and "Were there ever two products of the human mind more wide these?"

Wunst we went a-fishin' — me
 An' my Pa an' Ma all three,
 When they was a picnic, way
 Out to Hanch's Woods, one day.

An' they was a crick out there,
 Where the fishes is, an' where
 Little boys 'taint big an' strong
 Better have their folks along!

* * * * *

Purt' nigh dark in town when we
 Got back home; an' Ma says she,
 Now she'll have a fish fer shore!
 An' she buyed one at the store.

And here, in contrast, is the beautiful, mystical, romantic poem of

ILLILEO.

Illileo, the moonlight seemed lost across the vales —
 The stars but strewed the azure as an armor's scattered scales;
 The airs of night were quiet as the breath of silken sails,
 And all your words were sweeter than the notes of nightingales.

Illileo Legardi, in the garden there alone,
 With your figure carved of fervor, as the Psyche carved of stone,
 There came to me no murmur of the fountain's undertone
 So mystically, musically mellow as your own.

You whispered low, Illileo — so low the leaves were mute,
 And the echoes faltered breathless in your voice's vain pursuit;
 And there died the distant dalliance of the serenader's lute:
 And I held you in my bosom as the husk may hold the fruit.

Illileo, I listened. I believed you. In my bliss,
 What were all the worlds above me since I found you thus in this? —
 Let them reeling reach to win me — even heaven I would miss,
 Grasping earthward! — I would cling here, though I clung by just a kiss.

And blossoms should grow odorless — and lilies all aghast —
 And I said the stars should slacken in their paces through the vast,
 Ere yet my loyalty should fail enduring to the last.
 So vowed I. It is written. It is changeless as the past.

Illileo Legardi, in the shade your palace throws
 Like a cowl about the singer at your gilded porticos,
 A moan goes with the music that may vex the high repose
 Of a heart that fades and crumbles as the crimson of a rose.

Throughout all Riley's excursions as a poet may be seen traces of a certain quaintness of spirit and method. Perhaps in a majority of all his printed poems, reaching now well up to a thousand, such a trace of quaintness may be discovered. An example is that odd stanza, broken off into zigzag and running down like a companion-way in the afterpart, as we see first in *Little Orphant Allie*, the famous "Goble-un" poem, which has been imitated hundreds of times in the verse-writing of the day.

Riley of all men living is, we believe, the only poet who ever produced a poem written in blank verse and rhyming tetrameter; and yet that is precisely the kind of a poem which he has given us in the "Flying Islands of the Night." In that marvellous last scene, in which Krung the king stands

in reflective and despairing mood after the death of Krestilomeem, — bewailing his loss, remembering her overpowering beauty, and trying to make analysis of his reasons for loving her in spite of her crimes, — he says that it may have been this or that which made him her slave :

Or — who will say? — perhaps the way she wept.
Ho! — have ye seen the swollen heart of summer
Tempest, o'er the plain, with throbs of thunder
Burst apart and drench the earth with rain? She
Wept like that. — And to recall, with one wild glance
Of memory, our last love-parting — tears
And all — it thrills and maddens me! And yet
My dreams will hold her, flushed from lifted brow
To finger-tips, with passion's ripest kisses
Crushed and mangled on her lips. . . . O woman! while
Your face was fair, and heart was pure, and lips
Were true, and hope as golden as your hair,
I should have strangled you!

I shall conclude these inadequate comments on the genius of James Whitcomb Riley with the citation of a single bravura from "A Child-World." It is that sweetest of sweet songs out of the dewy dawn, called

SONG OF THE CHILD-HEART.

The Child-heart is so strange a little thing —
So mild — so timorously shy and small, —
When *grown-up* hearts throb, it goes scampering
Behind the wall, nor dares peer out at all!
It is the veriest mouse
That hides in any house —
So wild a little thing is any Child-heart!

*Child-heart! — mild heart! —
Ho, my little wild heart! —
Come up here to me out o' the dark,
Or let me come to you!*

So lorn at times the Child-heart needs must be,
With never one maturer heart for friend
And comrade, whose tear-ripened sympathy
And love might lend it comfort to the end, —
Whose yearnings, aches, and stings,
Over poor little things,
Were pitiful as ever any Child-heart.

Times, too, the little Child-heart must be glad —
Being so young, nor knowing, as *we* know,
The fact from fantasy, the good from bad,
The joy from woe, the — *all* that hurts us so!
What wonder then that thus
It hides away from us? —

So weak a little thing is any Child-heart!
Nay, little Child-heart, you have never need
To fear us; — we are weaker far than you —
'Tis *we* who should be fearful — we indeed
Should hide us, too, as darkly as you do, —
Safe, as yourself, withdrawn,
Hearing the World roar on
Too wilful, woful, awful for the Child-heart!

THE ARENA FOR JULY.

Absorption of the American Magazine of Civics.

As already announced in the Editorial synopsis of THE ARENA for May the *American Magazine of Civics* has been purchased and absorbed by THE ARENA. In the latter a department, to be entitled "*The Civic Outlook*" or some other appropriate caption, will be maintained as a matter of special interest to the American Institute of Civics; and to this department Henry Randall Walte, Ph. D., President of the American Institute, will be the Special Contributor. Dr. Walte's first article was to have appeared in the current number of THE ARENA, but unavoidable delays have carried over his contribution to July. The myriad readers of THE ARENA, as well as the members of the American Institute of Civics, will be deeply interested in the articles on the "*Civic Outlook*."

The Citadel of the Money Power.

One of the leading features of THE ARENA for July will be a debate between Mr. Henry Clews and the Editor on the true place of Wall Street in American civilization. Mr. Clews submitted to THE ARENA a contribution on "Wall Street, Past, Present, and Future," in which he sets forth the history, conditions, and prospects of that prodigious power, which he represents. The paper came as a sort of challenge, and the gauntlet is taken up by the Editor in his Reply to Mr. Clews, which will perhaps set the country to thinking on the merits of the case.

The Founder of The Arena.

The readers of THE ARENA will be well pleased to re-welcome to the pages of their favorite magazine its distinguished founder, Mr. B. O. Flower, who will appear in the number for July, and will speak once more, after a silence of several months, to his thousands of admirers. His subject will be "John Ruskin."

Hon. Charles A. Towne.

After the eloquent William Jennings Bryan there is a consensus of opinion that Hon. Charles A. Towne, of Minnesota, Chairman of the National Committee of the Silver Republican Party, stands preëminent as a defender of the cause of

the people. His powerful speech on Free Coinage will be remembered as one of the unanswered and unanswerable arguments of the great campaign. Mr. Towne will appear in THE ARENA for July with a caustic review of the Waldorf Banquet given recently in New York to the ex-President of the United States, and will handle severely the speeches delivered on that occasion.

Credit and Prices.

The keen debate now running through journalism relative to the relation of credit and prices is taken up in THE ARENA for July by A. J. Utley, Esq., of Los Angeles, who views the question on the new and progressive theory that prices are not wholly, or even principally, determined by the old *laissez-faire* actions and co-actions of supply and demand, but most largely by the condition and volume of the currency.

The Single Tax in Operation.

In the number for July, Honorable Hugh H. Lusk, a publicist of New Zealand, will present an able paper on the above subject, which will be of unusual interest to American readers, for the reason that Mr. Lusk has deduced the materials of his contribution from his own experience and observation as a member of the New-Zealand legislature.

Studies in Ultimate Society.

The issue for July will contain two important contributions to a better understanding of the Theory of Life. Mr. Lawrence Gronlund, author of "*The Co-operative Commonwealth*," presents an article entitled "*A New Interpretation of Life*," in which the altruistic view is advanced and supported with able argument; while Mr. K. T. Takahashi traverses the same ground in the opposite direction, presenting his views under the head of "*Individualism vs. Altruism*."

Prof. John R. Commons.

Under the caption of "*Natural Selection, Social Selection, and Heredity*," Prof. John R. Commons, of Syracuse University, contributes to THE ARENA for July a strong scientific article setting forth several new views on the great question of the epoch.

ANNOUNCEMENT.

Many of our subscribers having received the impression that we are the "late management" referred to in Mr. B. O. Flower's circular letter, we simply reply that we are not the late management referred to, and that we are, and have always been, on the most friendly terms with Mr. Flower. That gentleman herewith graciously confirms our friendship, and we are pleased to inform our patrons that he will join us as special contributor, beginning with the July number.

A Card from Mr. B. O. FLOWER.

To the readers of THE ARENA:

I take pleasure in announcing to my friends that, since the parties through whose agency my relations to The Arena Publishing Company were broken and my success impaired are no longer connected in any manner whatever with THE ARENA, and the new management having assured me that the policy of THE ARENA is to continue to be that of a great liberal reformatory review under the Editorial management of Dr. John Clark Ridpath, I have consented to act as special contributor, and will prepare a paper for each issue of the review. It is, indeed, a pleasure to again speak to my host of friends through the columns of the review I founded, and it is doubly gratifying to me to know that THE ARENA is now in hands which will maintain it as a great liberal reformatory review.

Cordially Yours
B. O. Flower

We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into *the arena*,
Where like gladiators we must fight for them.--Heine.

25 CENTS

The ARENA

JUNE, 1897

EDITED BY
JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL. D.

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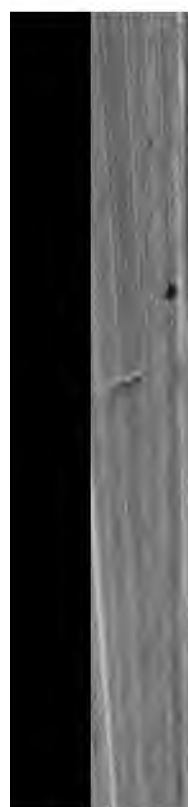
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